

**IN MEMORIAM ELIZABETH ZACHARIADOU
(1931-2018)**



Elizabeth Zachariadou nous a quittés le 26 décembre 2018.

Née en 1931 à Salonique dans une famille déplacée originaire de Cappadoce, elle fut encore enfant le témoin des souffrances provoquées par l'occupation nazie – elle m'a raconté avoir vu des personnes mourir de faim dans la rue sous ses yeux. Devenue, après la libération et la guerre civile grecque, une étudiante brillante, elle eut la chance d'obtenir une

bourse de l'État grec qui lui permit de compléter sa formation à Londres à la School of Oriental and African Studies, auprès du professeur Wittek, dont la rencontre la marqua profondément. Sa thèse sur la *Chronique des sultans turcs* fut publiée à Salonique en 1960. Cette même année, après un séjour de six mois en Turquie, elle commença à travailler au Centre d'études byzantines de la Fondation Royale (aujourd'hui Nationale) de la Recherche. C'est lors d'une mission pour le compte de cet Institut qu'elle découvrit le fonds ottoman du monastère de Saint-Jean à Patmos. Mais l'histoire la rattrapa : fuyant en juillet 1969 le régime des colonels, elle dut s'exiler au Canada avec son mari le grand byzantiniste Nikos Oikonomidès, épousé en 1966. Celui-ci occupa à l'Université de Montréal une chaire d'histoire byzantine ; elle-même put faire quelques remplacements aux universités de Montréal, de Sherbrooke et McGill. C'est au Canada que naquirent leurs deux filles. En 1985 elle obtint enfin en Grèce un poste de professeur à l'Université de Crète, qu'elle occupa jusqu'à sa retraite en 1998.

Cette histoire personnelle nourrie par les horreurs du xx^e siècle forgea une personnalité déjà naturellement forte. Elizabeth Zachariadou ne conçut d'animosité pour aucun peuple, ne nourrit aucune aigreur ou esprit de revanche, se bornant à avoir la dent dure pour toute forme de nationalisme, de bellicisme ou de xénophobie.

Elle-même était au contraire ouverte à tous, curieuse de tout, toujours désireuse d'échanger des points de vue et de diffuser sa science. Ceci apparaît clairement à ses choix linguistiques : grecque, formée en Angleterre, mariée à un savant d'une exceptionnelle francophonie, elle a publié en anglais, grec et français plus d'une centaine d'articles et plusieurs livres dont on trouvera la liste ci-dessous. C'est que, pour elle, la science historique se devait de parler plusieurs langues. Ses travaux en grec sont académiques et la rédaction de *Turcica* est fière d'avoir proposé de certains une traduction en français¹. Mais Elizabeth Zachariadou avait aussi à cœur de donner au public grec les éléments nécessaires pour mieux comprendre ce qu'étaient les Ottomans, ce qu'avait été la *tourkokratia*, sans irénisme ni turcophilie de principe, mais aussi sans hostilité *a priori* et, surtout, en se méfiant des légendes noires (ou blanches).

¹ « Histoire et légendes des premiers Ottomans », *Turcica* 27 (1995), p. 11-21 ; « Les notables laïques et le patriarcat œcuménique après la chute de Constantinople », *Turcica* 30 (1998), p. 119-134. Plus récemment, E. Zachariadou a publié un troisième article dans notre revue, cosigné avec N. Vatin : « L'application à Patmos de la loi de confiscation des "biens monastiques" (*kenise vakfi*) », avril-mai 1570 », *Turcica* 48 (2017), p. 65-111.

Elizabeth Zachariadou était une spécialiste de la fin de l'époque médiévale : celle de la fin de l'Empire byzantin, des émirats turcs d'Anatolie et des débuts de l'Empire ottoman, jusqu'au XVI^e siècle. Elle s'intéressait particulièrement, de ce fait, à la Méditerranée et au monde monastique orthodoxe, dont elle fut une des premières à exploiter systématiquement les archives ottomanes. Cette spécialisation exigeait une érudition croisée, d'helléniste et de turcologue, qui lui était propre et qui nourrit son œuvre personnelle. Elle n'hésitait pas à mettre cette double compétence au service de fructueuses collaborations avec des spécialistes de domaines voisins. Je songe surtout au livre écrit à quatre mains avec Anthony Luttrell, le grand spécialiste de la Rhodes des Hospitaliers, mais aussi aux travaux qu'elle a bien voulu signer avec Gilles Veinstein et moi-même : le premier tome du catalogue du fonds ottoman des archives du Monastère de Saint-Jean à Patmos et plus d'un article fondé sur cette exceptionnelle documentation n'auraient pu voir le jour sans son intime connaissance du contexte grec et de la bibliographie en grec.

Une courte notice ne peut pas rendre compte de l'ensemble de l'œuvre d'une riche vie de chercheuse. Je me bornerai à souligner quelques points. On peut d'abord souligner l'importance qu'accordait Elizabeth Zachariadou à la recherche et la mise en valeur de la documentation. Un de ses premiers articles, paru en 1966 dans le numéro initial de la revue *Σύμμεκτα*, fut précisément consacré à faire connaître l'intérêt des documents ottomans conservés au monastère de Patmos. Elle devait y revenir par la suite en lançant la préparation d'un catalogue de ce fonds. Parallèlement, elle contribuait activement à la publication (en grec) des registres des cadis d'Héraklion. Un livre important, paru en 1996, est de même fondé sur l'exploitation systématique de la documentation de première main, ce que revendique d'emblée son titre : *Dix documents concernant la Grande Église (1483-1567)*. Un autre aspect important du travail d'historienne d'Elizabeth Zachariadou est l'attention qu'elle portait aux individus, aux hommes qui vivaient dans la Méditerranée de la fin du Moyen Âge et du début de l'époque moderne, des hommes qu'elle envisageait sans illusion sur la nature humaine, avec du recul et souvent de l'ironie, mais aussi beaucoup de sympathie. L'autre facette de cette vision était le sens du concret : Elizabeth Zachariadou savait ce que c'est que de naviguer dans un caïque en hiver ; elle connaissait les sols, les arbres, les ports, et ne se laissait pas tromper par les chiffres à qui l'on peut toujours faire dire ce qu'on veut. Un de ses travaux les plus importants s'intitule *Trade and Crusade*. Ce titre résume bien l'image qu'elle se faisait de la

Méditerranée orientale de ce temps : l'hostilité religieuse y est une réalité, qu'on ne doit pas oublier ; mais les relations humaines sont faites aussi d'échanges, notamment commerciaux, et de compromissions.

Son arrivée en 1985 à Rethymno dans le département d'histoire de l'Université de Crète et dans l'Institute for Mediterranean Studies permit à Elizabeth Zachariadou de donner, avec son collègue et complice Vassilis Demetriadès, toute la mesure de ses capacités d'enseignante et d'organisatrice de la recherche². La mise en place progressive d'un programme d'enseignement et de programmes de recherche permit de rassembler autour d'elle un milieu enthousiaste de jeunes ottomanistes très bien formés sur place (ou à Salonique par John Alexander), qui continuent aujourd'hui à faire vivre un centre d'études ottomanes qui est un des plus importants au monde et qui attire de tous les horizons. Particulièrement efficace fut une politique de colloques internationaux sur des sujets bien ciblés permettant d'inviter une trentaine de spécialistes reconnus. Une série notamment mérite d'être mentionnée : celle des « Halcyon Days in Crete » qui, depuis 1991, réunit tous les trois ans des universitaires et chercheurs des quatre coins du monde, heureux de discuter de leurs travaux, mais aussi de partager le charme de la Crète en janvier. Parfaitement édités – les quatre premiers par Elizabeth Zachariadou elle-même –, les actes sont des volumes de référence que toute bibliothèque universitaire se doit de posséder.

La retraite prise en 1998, attristée par le décès prématuré de Nikos Oikonomidès le 31 mai 2000, ne diminua pas l'activité d'Elizabeth Zachariadou. Elle continua à publier des travaux de qualité, à entretenir d'intenses relations avec ses collègues et à participer à des congrès internationaux. Quand la fatigue commença à s'installer, elle n'en resta pas moins en contact avec ses amis, notamment ses jeunes amis de Rethymno qui lui vouaient une affection filiale. Sa science, la générosité avec laquelle elle la partageait, la malicieuse gentillesse de son regard vont beaucoup nous manquer.

Nicolas Vatin

² Sur ce sujet, cf. Ursinus (Michael), « Ottoman Studies Triumphant : the Success Story of Rethymno, Crete », *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 40 (2016), p. 89-98.

Faute de place, on se bornera ici à fournir une liste des ouvrages publiés ou dirigés par Elizabeth Zachariadou³.

Το Χρονικό των Τούρκων Σουλτάνων (του Βαρβερίνου ελλην. Κώδικα 111) και το ιταλικό του πρότυπο, Salonique, 1960.

Trade and Crusade. Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300-1415), Venise, 1983.

Romania and the Turks, Londres, 1985 (volume d'articles dans la collection Variorum Reprints).

Ιστορία και Θρύλοι των παλαιών Σουλτάνων (1300-1400), Athènes, 1991 (nouvelle édition complétée, 1999)

The Ottoman Emirate (1300-1389), Halcyon Days in Crete I, Rethymno, 1993 (actes édités par E. Zachariadou ; traduction turque : *Osmanlı Beyliği (1300-1389)*, Istanbul, 1997).

Δέκα τουρκικά έγγραφα για την Μεγάλη Εκκλησία (1483-1567), Athènes, 1996.

The Via Egnatia under the Ottoman Rule (1380-1699), Halcyon Days in Crete II, Rethymno, 1996 (actes édités par E. Zachariadou ; traduction turque : *Sol Kol. Osmanlı Egemenliğinde Via Egnatia*, Istanbul, 1999).

Natural Disasters in the Ottoman Empire, Halcyon Days in Crete III, Rethymno, 1999 (actes édités par E. Zachariadou ; traduction turque : *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Doğal Afetler*, Istanbul, 2001).

The Kapudan Pasha: His Office and his Domain, Halcyon Days in Crete IV, Rethymno, 2002.

Ιεροδικείο Ηρακλείου, Τρίτος Κώδικας (1669/73-1750/67), Heraklion, 2003 (E. Karantzikou, P. Photeinou ; éd. E. Zachariadou).

Το Χρονικό των Ουγγροτουρκικών Πολέμων (1443-1444), Heraklion, 2005 (avec G. Aivali et A. Xanthynakis).

Studies in Pre-Ottoman Turkey and the Ottomans, Aldershot, 2007 (volume d'articles dans la collection Variorum Reprints).

Ιεροδικείο Ηρακλείου, Πέμπτος Κώδικας. Μέρος Α' (1673-1675) και Μέρος Β' (1688-1689), Heraklion, 2008 (M. Varoucha, Ph. Chaireti, M. Sariyannis ; éd. E. Zachariadou).

Sources for Turkish History in the Hospitallers' Rhodian Archive, 1389-1422, Athènes, 2008 (avec A. Luttrell).

³ On trouvera une bibliographie des travaux d'E. Zachariadou entre 1960 et 2005 dans le volume édité en son hommage : *Archivum Ottomanicum* 23 (2005/06), p. 13-27.

Ιεροδικείο Ηρακλείου, Τέταρτος Κώδικας. Μέρος Α' (1672-1674) και Μέρος Β' (1683-1686), Heraklion, 2010 (G. Aivali, F. Chairiti, P. Photeinou, M. Sariyannis ; éd. E. Zachariadou).

Catalogue du fonds ottoman des archives du Monastère de Saint-Jean à Patmos. Les vingt-deux premiers dossiers, Athènes, 2011 (avec N. Vatin et G. Veinstein).

Ιεροδικείο Ηρακλείου, Δεύτερος Κώδικας. Μέρος Α' (1661-1665) και Μέρος Β' (1670-1671), Heraklion, 2014 (G. Aivali, E. Kolovos, M. Sariyannis ; éd. E. Zachariadou).

ZEYNEP OKTAY USLU

THE ŞAṬḤİYYE OF YŪNUS EMRE AND KAYĞUSUZ ABDĀL: THE CREATION OF A VERNACULAR ISLAMIC TRADITION IN TURKISH

New perspectives in the study of classical texts criticize an essentialist approach to textual production and edition, stressing the importance of the material matrix and social context of a text in establishing its meaning. Accordingly, “the truth of art – and philology – lies not within the artefact itself but in its relationship to its context of production.”¹ This context also includes the dynamic relationships with readers belonging to interpretive communities which can be both simultaneous and successive.

In this sense, perhaps the greatest mistake of narratives regarding the emergence of Anatolian Turkish as a literary medium was that of reading early Anatolian Turkish texts as they would be read in a modern Turkish interpretive community. Thus was born a nationalist framework which posited the emergence of Anatolian Turkish as a struggle to win precedence

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1. Altschul, Nelson, “Transatlantic Discordances,” p. 1. For an overview of recent approaches and criticisms see Chartier, Elton, “Crossing Borders.”

over Persian and Arabic.² As I will discuss below, the emergence of a vernacular Islamic tradition was also interpreted among similar lines, always linked to a “pre-existing” national identity.

One area of research which brought these two narratives together was the emergence of Alevism, currently the second largest religious denomination in Turkey.³ The history of Alevi piety is embodied in the large corpus of works known under the title of “Alevi-Bektashi literature,” with its own multitude of genres, terminology and symbolism, as well as its own aesthetic conventions. Though largely unstudied and unedited, the formation of this corpus is in fact vital for our understanding of the development of vernacular religious tradition in Anatolia. Our knowledge of the religious conceptions of early Anatolian Muslims, still in its infancy, is largely centered on the textual production of the urban elite. Important exceptions to this are the early texts of dervish piety, which display a range of dynamics showing how religious groupings are formed and defined, and how this relates to the social roles of dervish groups.

In this paper, I will focus on the poetry of two major figures in the establishment of a vernacular mystical tradition in Turkish, Yūnus Emre (d. 1320-1[?]) and ̖ayğusuz Abdāl (fl. second half of the 14th- first half of the 15th century). Together with figures like Sulṭān Valad (d. 1312), ʿĀşık Paşa (d.1332) and Gülşehrī (d. after 1317), Yūnus Emre belongs to the very first generation of authors who are known to have written in Western Turkish, which as a written language can only be traced back to the late 13th/early 14th century. While Yūnus Emre is the veritable forefather of mystical and lyric poetry in Anatolian Turkish,⁴ ̖ayğusuz

2. For an overview of literary production in this era, the development of Old Anatolian Turkish as a written language, as well as a detailed critique of the current state of scholarship, see Peacock, Yıldız, “Introduction”.

3. Despite similarities in religious belief with Twelver Shiʿism, attempts to put Alevism under this category are entirely inaccurate, due to its unique doctrine and practices, as well as its history. Secondly, we should always remember that “Alevism” itself is a modern term, which tends to put a multitude of groups with varying beliefs and practices under a single category.

4. Information on Yūnus’ life is scarce and relies heavily on the references in his poems as well as legendary tales. For a record indicating his date of death, see Erzi, “Notlar ve Vesikalar I”. According to the general opinion, Yūnus was born in an area nearby the Sakarya river and lived in the Tapduğ Emre convent located at Emrem Sultan near Nallıhan. He donated his land in Sarıköy to the convent. References in his poems indicate that Yūnus was a disciple of Tapduğ Emre, who was in turn the disciple of Şarī Şaltuğ. There are graves attributed to Yūnus in various places in Anatolia as well as in Azerbaijan. Scholars agree on the authenticity of the grave in Sarıköy, near Sivrihisar. The oldest copy of his *Divān* dates from the 15th century.

Abdâl is rightly credited as the founder of Alevi-Bektashi literature.⁵ Despite its unique character, Kaygusuz's poetry was highly influenced by that of Yûnus Emre, in both content and language.⁶ In one of his poems, Kaygusuz openly expresses this influence and his effort to find his own voice: "*Ben kendü sözüüm söyleyem şî'r-i Yûnusı terk idem*" (I shall speak my own words; I shall stop imitating the poetry of Yûnus).⁷

I will analyze the poetry of the two mystics, in particular those belonging to the genre named the *şaṭḥiyye*,⁸ from several complementary angles. First, I will investigate how this poetry is used in positing a social boundary between the religious elite and the dervish milieu, the latter extending to the common people, thereby creating a common religious sphere between the dervish milieu and their intended public. Secondly, I will investigate how this performance of boundaries plays into the creation of a literary genre. To this end, I will focus on the creation of the genre of the Turkish *şaṭḥiyye*,⁹ as different from the classical *shatḥ*, by Yûnus

5. See Gölpinarlı, *Kaygusuz Abdal*, p. 10. Several points of reference help us contextualise Kaygusuz Abdal's importance for Bektashi history. Not only was he the first *abdâl* (a kind of antinomian Sufi) to produce major literary works, he was also the first dervish known to call himself *bektâşî*. Kaygusuz's relation to Hacı Bektaş (d. ca. 669/1270-71) can be traced through his master Abdâl Mûsâ, who was a follower (*muḥibb*) of Hacı Bektaş's spiritual daughter, Hâtûn Ana. According to Bektashi tradition, Kaygusuz Abdâl initiated the use of the twelve-gored Qalandari cap (*tâc*). Kaygusuz and his master are name holders of two of the twelve sheepskin ceremonial seats (*pûst*) in the Bektashi *meydân* (ceremonial room), linking them to the duties of *nakîb* (helper of the *mürşid*) and *ayakçı* (in charge of domestic duties such as cleaning) in the Bektashi ceremony (*cem'*). The lodge of Kaygusuz in Egypt, which continued to exist until 1965, was one of the four Bektashi lodges holding the rank of *khalîfa*.

6. An examination of the two poems in the appendix reveals that Kaygusuz's poem may be a *naẓîre* (imitation poem) to the one by Yûnus. Compare the sixth couplet in Yûnus's poem with the sixth quatrain in Gölpinarlı's recension of Kaygusuz's poem, both of which include the phrase '*leylek koduk toğurmuş*' [the stork gave birth to a donkey foal]; see Gölpinarlı, *Kaygusuz Abdal*, p. 68. With reference to the Sufi teachings of the two poets, compare the discussion of different types of intelligence ('*aql*') in the beginning of Kaygusuz's *Delîl-i budalâ* with Yûnus's discussion of the same topic in the *Risâletü'n-nuşhiyye*; see Yûnus Emre, *Risâletü'n-Nushîyye*, Tatcı ed., p. 48-49; Kaygusuz Abdâl, *Delîl-i Budalâ*, 49-50.

7. See Kaygusuz Abdâl, *Dîvân*, Ankara Milli Kütüphane MS. Mil Yz A 7621/2, dated 920 (1514), fol. 219a. Citations will be made from this copy of the *Dîvân* unless indicated otherwise. For a description of this manuscript as well as a list of its contents see Oktay, *Mesnevî-i Baba Kaygusuz*, p. 11, p. 67.

8. The oldest copy of Yûnus's poem dates from the year 940 (1540); see Yûnus Emre, *Yûnus Emre Divânı*, Tatcı ed., p. 4. Kaygusuz's poems, on the other hand, are found in the two oldest copies of his *Dîvân*, dated 907 (1501-2) and 920 (1514).

9. I use the word "Turkish" here not as an ethnic term, but as reference to the language in which these *şaṭḥiyye* were unanimously written.

Emre and his successor Kaygusuz Abdāl. The Turkish *ṣaṭḥiyye* can be defined as a poem which hides a spiritual and social truth under a layer of funny, surprising, and seemingly obscure allegorical formulations. I will investigate the similarities and differences between the Turkish *ṣaṭḥiyye* and the classical Islamic genre of the *shath*. I will show how the *ṣaṭḥiyye* bridges the gap between classical Sufi concepts and genres of folklore (at the time oral). I will thus sketch an instance of vernacularization where the localization of the dominant literary formation went hand in hand with the reappropriation of the local oral idiom. I will demonstrate that boundary-making and cultural and religious transfer are complementary aspects of the same dynamic, which are highlighted depending on the context.

My larger aim is to offer a context-based, multi-dimensional approach which will shed light on the role of dervish piety in the formation of Alevi-Bektashi belief and practice, as well as on the dynamics of the emergence of a vernacular religious tradition, as it plays out in the Anatolian Turkish literary realm.

THE KÖPRÜLÜ PARADIGM

For most of the 20th century, the Islamization of Anatolia was understood largely through the lens of early Republican scholar M. Fuad Köprülü. Despite recent critical studies exposing its lack of objectivity,¹⁰ what is now called the “Köprülü paradigm”¹¹ still holds sway in Turkish scholarship. This paradigm relies heavily on a dichotomy between urban and rural practices of Islam and credits “rurally based” dervish groups with the Islamization of Turkmen tribes. With a nationalist agenda, it aims to create a close link between Anatolian Islam and Central Asia through the figure of Aḥmad Yasawī (Ahmet Yesevi), and while disregarding Anatolia’s ethnic diversity, it constructs a narrative of its religious diversity along Sunni-oriented and nationalist lines.

Köprülü’s narrative is particularly relevant to the general (mis)understanding of the emergence of Alevi groups. According to this narrative,

10. See Dressler, *Writing Religion*; Dressler, “How to Conceptualize,” p. 241-260; Karakaya-Stump, “The Vefā’iyye,” p. 279-282; DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion*, p. 17-39; DeWeese, “Foreword.”

11. See Köprülü, *Early Mystics*; Köprülü, “Anadolu’da İslamiyet;” Köprülü, “Abdal Musa.” The same paradigm was further developed in the works of authors such as Irène Mélikoff and Ahmet Yaşar Ocak.

the Turkmen tribes who constituted the first Alevis were only partially Islamized due to their distance from urban centers and lack of knowledge of Arabic and Persian. This led to a syncretic belief system which subsumed their pre-Islamic beliefs under a superficial layer of Islamization. The dervish groups credited with semi-Islamizing these Turkmen tribes were akin to shamans in Islamic garb. They were the forerunners of the Bektashis, the dervish group closely related to the Alevis in belief and practice, which became the official Bektashi order in the 16th century.¹²

We can summarize the recent critique of this paradigm in the following way:

- 1) The works composed by members of these so-called “heterodox” dervish groups as well as their religious networks show in fact that they were thoroughly Islamized.¹³
- 2) Claims to a strong Yasawī presence among these dervish groups cannot be corroborated.¹⁴
- 3) The historical documents held by Alevi families point rather to an affiliation to Abu’l-Wafā’ Tāj al-‘Ārifīn al-Baghdadī (d. 495/1101 or 501/1107), a renowned 11th century Sufi of *seyyid* status.¹⁵ Also notable is the fact that Abu’l-Wafā’ was partly Kurdish,¹⁶ thus further problematizing the general representation of the formation of Alevi belief and practice as a phenomenon that primarily took place in the Turkmen milieu.
- 4) The claimed dichotomy between urban and rural religious practices does not hold up to scrutiny.¹⁷

Despite this multi-faceted criticism, scholars have continued to agree with Köprülü and his legacy on a fundamental matter: the role of dervish

12. The nature of the relationship between Alevis and Bektashis, who had similar beliefs and practices, has recently been the subject of a body of research. See Karakaya-Stump, “Kızılbaş, Bektaşî, Safevî İlişkilerine Dair;” Karakaya-Stump, “The Bektashi Convents.”

13. See Karamustafa, “Early Sufism;” Karamustafa, “Kaygusuz Abdal.” The focus on the pre-Islamic heritage in modern scholarship is also due to the fact that this scholarship relies heavily on hagiographies, and not nearly as much on works by the dervishes themselves.

14. See note 10; also see Karamustafa, “Yesevîlik.”

15. See Karakaya-Stump, “The Vefā’iyye;” Ocak, “The Wafā’î Tariqa.” The claims to the existence of a Sufi order in Abu’l-Wafā’’s name have been problematized in a recent article; see Brack, “Was Ede Bali a Wafā’î Shaykh?”

16. For the biography of Abu’l-Wafā’ see Karakaya-Stump, “Subjects of the Sultan,” p. 38-50.

17. See Yıldırım, “Sunni Orthodox.”

piety in the formation of Alevi belief and practices. Studies have identified dervish piety as displayed by the early Bektashis, *Abdāls of Rūm*¹⁸ and other dervish groups as an integral part of what officially became Bektashism in the 16th century.¹⁹ In addition, it has been demonstrated that the lodge of the *Abdāls of Rūm* in Karbala, identified as a Bektashi lodge in the mid-18th century, served as the primary center of authority for the Alevi milieu, in both religious and legal terms, until it was replaced by the Bektashi lodge in Kırşehir in the 19th century.²⁰ We can now estimate that the particular form of piety displayed today by Alevism and Bektashism began to develop from the 12th or 13th century onwards in parallel with the Islamization of Anatolia, and consolidated socially and doctrinally in the 15th and 16th centuries.²¹

SELF-DIFFERENTIATION FROM REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY

One of the less apparent flaws in Köprülü's conceptual framework is his idea of a lack of relationship between "urban" representatives of Islam and "rural" tribes, which caused the development of distinct modes of piety. Anthropological research suggests that in the creation of religious boundaries, interaction, not its absence, plays the main role. The following definition of ethnic boundary-making by Fredrik Barth can also be applied to religious boundaries. According to Barth, "ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance, but are quite to the contrary often the very foundations on which embracing social systems are built."²² Barth also says that what defines the group is the boundary, and not the "cultural stuff" it encloses, thus allowing the boundary to be maintained while the "cultural stuff" (in this case units of belief and practice) may change. This highlights the fact that boundaries are performative in nature and that they depend on how they are drawn and expressed by actors, both during and after their initial formation.

The role of boundary-making in the formation of religious identity can be exemplified in a multitude of ways throughout the history of Islam. The multiple aspects of confession-building in the Ottoman Empire can

18. See below for further details about this dervish group.

19. See Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, p. 61-84; Karamustafa, "Kalenders."

20. See Karakaya-Stump, "The Bektashi Convents."

21. See Karamustafa, "Aleviliğin Oluşumu."

22. Barth, "Introduction," p. 10.

also be evaluated in this regard.²³ Yet due to the supremacy of the Köprülü paradigm throughout the 20th century, instances of collective boundary formation in the Anatolian religious landscape were often cast in narratives in which charismatic leaders gained a following among simple folk through messianist propaganda. This perspective served to overshadow, and not highlight, the points of contact between different religious groups.

In our context, as in any other, literature plays a prominent role in group formation. As Sheldon Pollock puts it, “it is in part from acts of reading, hearing, performing, reproducing, and circulating literary and political texts that social groups come to produce themselves and understand themselves as groups.”²⁴ There is an intimate link between the emergence of Anatolian Turkish as a literary language and the formation of distinct modes of piety in Anatolia and the Balkans. This is due to the central role of dervish groups in both processes. According to Pollock, “choosing a language for literary and political text production implies affiliating with an existing sociotextual community or summoning such a community into being.”²⁵ In this context, what was summoned into being was a religious community which became the foundation on which later Alevi belief and ritual was built.

The case of Anatolian Turkish differs from Pollock’s portrayal of vernacularization in South Asia where the royal court is the only place where literarization occurs. In his *Between Two Worlds*, Cemal Kafadar often underlines the mobility and fluidity of both identities and power structures in the frontier culture of Anatolia. This is evident in the literature of the dervish milieu where, as Cemal Kafadar explains, hagiographies and warrior epics “operated on the basis of a dualism of us against them while recognizing that the boundaries of those two spheres are constantly being redrawn.”²⁶ This dualism was not only between Christianity and Islam, but also between the dervish milieu and the *dānişmends* (school-men) and religious scholars.²⁷ As we will see, for both Yûnus Emre and Kaygûsuz Abdâl, group formation through the act of promulgating their religious message in written Turkish entailed positing a boundary between themselves and the religious elite, defined as power holders. These boundaries were performed and negotiated in the realm of literature.

23. See Terzioğlu, “Ottoman Sunnitization;” Krstić, *Contested Conversions to Islam*.

24. Pollock, *The Language of the Gods*, p. 28.

25. Ibid., p. 27.

26. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, p. 72.

27. Ibid., p. 110.

Perhaps the best-known Anatolian Turkish mystic of all time, Yūnus Emre's various politically charged portrayals in present-day Turkey can be misleading.²⁸ Contrary to the mutually antagonistic attempts to portray him as either "orthodox" or "unorthodox", this period in Anatolian religious history was not marked by a fully established orthodoxy.²⁹ Yet this did not prevent a certain level of hostility towards dervish circles by the representatives of institutionalized Islam. Allegations of infidelity directed at Yūnus's community in his era were quite severe.³⁰ Yūnus's poetry shows plenty of instances where this hostility is reciprocated, albeit always in a mystical context. He frequently distances himself from representatives of religious authority, and criticizes a purely legalistic view of religion:

<i>Haķikat bir deñizdür şerī'at anuñ gemisi</i> ³¹	The truth is a sea, religious law is its boat
<i>Çoklar gemiden çıkup deñize talmadılar</i>	Many have failed to leave the boat to dive into the sea
<i>Bular geldi tapuya şerī'at tutdı turur</i>	They came in [God's] presence but religious law kept them bound
<i>İçerü girübeni ne varın bilmediler</i>	Upon walking in they failed to recognize where they were
<i>Dört kitābı şerħiden 'āşīdür haķikatde</i>	Those who comment on the four books are in truth sinners
<i>Zire tefsir okuyup ma'nīsın bilmediler</i>	For they read commentaries without knowing their meaning ³²

28. For a discussion of this matter see Ocak, "Yunus Emre," p. 183-198. Among the various editions of Yūnus's *Dīvān*, I will rely on the one by Abdūlbaki Gölpınarlı; see Yūnus Emre, *Risālat al-Nushiyya ve Dīvān*, Gölpınarlı ed.

29. See Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, p. 71-76. Kafadar's use of the term "metadoxy" to express this period's case of being beyond doxies has been widely accepted among academics critical of the Köprülü paradigm. Furthermore, in this period, as Devin DeWeese underlines for the same period in Inner Asia, we need to distinguish Sufi communities, "marked [...] by organizational patterns based on local and regional traditions and shrines, on hereditary lineages of shaykhs, or on the individual charisma of particular teachers [...], from the actual Sufi *ṭarīqahs* organized around specific *silsilahs* and conscious of themselves as distinct spiritual communities based upon a particular 'way' of doctrine." (DeWeese, *Islamization in the Golden Horde*, p. 139). We thus need to understand the mystics of this period, including Yūnus Emre and Kaygusuz Abdāl, not as representatives of the various *ṭarīqahs* which appropriate them later on, but as individual thinkers and actors. This line of thinking is also important for our understanding of the figure of Hacı Bektaş.

30. See Turan, "Selçuklular Türkiyesi;" quoted in: Başgöz, "The Human Dimension," p. 39.

31. The metric error in the verse was fixed by Gölpınarlı by reading the word *şerī'at* as *şer'at*.

32. Yūnus Emre, *Risālat al-Nushiyya ve Dīvān*, p. 55 and fol. 78a-b. All translations from Turkish belong to me.

In other poems, Yûnus Emre openly targets official representatives of religion: the *müftî*, *mudarris*, *faḳîh*, and last of all, the *şūfî*.³³

<i>Bu dervîşlik berâtın okumadı müftîler</i>	The müftî have not read this dervish warrant;
<i>Anlar ne bilsün anı bu bir gizlû varâkdur</i>	How can they know such a secret leaf? ³⁴
<i>Medreseler müderrisi okumadılar bu dersi</i>	Madrasa professors have not read this lesson
<i>Şöyle kaldılar ‘âciz bilmediler ne bâb durur</i>	They were left helpless; they failed to recognize what chapter this was ³⁵
<i>Sen faḳîhsin ben faḳîr saña hiç tañumuz yok</i>	You are a jurist and I am poor man; you do not surprise us
<i>‘İlmüñ var ‘amelüñ yok günâhlara batarsın</i>	You have the science, but you lack the deed; you are deep in sin ³⁶
<i>Yüri hey şîftî zerrâk ne sâlûslık şatarsın</i>	Walk away, you deceitful Sufi! Why do you sell hypocrisy?
<i>Haḳḳdan artuḳ kim ola kula dilek viresi</i>	Who other than God can grant the servant’s wishes? ³⁷

While the importance of adhering to religious law is not absent from Yûnus’s poetry, more pronounced is the value of spiritual love as the true act of worship:

<i>Oruç namâz gûsl u hacc hiçâbdur ‘âşıklara</i>	Fasting, daily prayer, ablution, and pilgrimage are obstacles to a lover
<i>‘Âşîḳ andan münezzeḥ ḥâlîş heves içinde</i>	In his genuine desire, the man of love is free of these ³⁸

Lastly, Yûnus tells us that his esoteric view of religion makes him the target of blame by the religious elite:

<i>İy beni ‘ayıblayan gel beni ‘ışḳdan kurtar</i>	O blamer, come and save me from love
<i>Eliñden gelmez ise söyleme fâsid haber</i>	If that you cannot do, do not speak corrupt words ³⁹

33. For an analysis of the relationship between the institutionalization of Sufism and the appearance of antinomian dervish movements, see Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends*, p. 25-38.

34. Yûnus Emre, *Risâlat al-Nushiyya ve Dîvân*, p. 57 and fol. 81a-b.

35. Ibid., p. 60 and fol. 85a.

36. Ibid., p. 108 and fol. 150a-b.

37. Ibid., p. 145 and fol. 201a.

38. Ibid., p. 120 and fol. 166a.

39. Ibid., p. 46 and fol. 66a.

In this respect, also telling is Yūnus's expression of his spiritual lineage as "Yūnus'a Tapduğ u Şaltuğ u Barak'dandur naşib [Yūnus's spiritual lot comes from Tapduğ, Şaltuğ, and Barak]." ⁴⁰ While the name of Şari Şaltuğ (d. shortly after 700/1300) is particularly important for his role in the Islamization of the Balkans as told in the *Şaltuğ-nāme*, ⁴¹ Barak Baba, his disciple, is a key early figure in the development of antinomian dervish piety in Anatolia. ⁴² Yūnus's self-description as a "strange man who wanders from city to city" ⁴³ reveals his heritage as a wandering dervish ⁴⁴ and further illustrates that such multi-faceted social identities cannot be simplified to an urban/rural dichotomy. Nor can they be boiled down to a rift between "learned Islam" and popular belief. Yūnus Emre is fully at ease with the themes and terminology of Classical Sufism. ⁴⁵ As it has been shown, Yūnus Emre's mystical thought bears many affinities to those of Aḥmad Ghazālī and Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, ⁴⁶ while he mentions the latter reverently in his works. Close parallels between some of his poems and those of Sa'dī Shīrāzī and Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī indicate that Yūnus knew enough Persian to do translation. ⁴⁷

Saïd Khorchid's analysis of Yūnus Emre's vocabulary demonstrates that while half of his vocabulary is made up of Turkish words and the rest are in Arabic and Persian, 63.8% of all words used in his work and 70% of the words with highest frequency are in Turkish. ⁴⁸ Due to our lack of similar studies for Yūnus' contemporaries, we cannot ascertain the exact significance of these numbers. However, we can observe that Yūnus had a predilection for referring to Sufi terms with their Turkish counterparts where he could. The following couplet on the state of Oneness

40. Ibid., p. 100 and fol. 140a.

41. See Karamustafa, "Saltuk-name."

42. See Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, p. 62-63; Karamustafa, "Early Sufism," p. 193-196.

43. Yūnus Emre, *Risālat al-Nushiyya ve Dīvān*, p. 190.

44. Although Yūnus Emre spent most of his life in the area between today's Ankara and Eskişehir, we also know from his poems that he travelled extensively. The places mentioned in his poems include Kayseri, Sivas, Maraş, 'upper lands' (Azerbaijan), Damascus, Shiraz, Baghdad, Tabriz, and Nakhchivan.

45. Several authors have underlined that Yunus Emre probably received some form of education; see for instance Rémy Dor, "Introduction," in Younous Émrè, *Cantiques d'Abandon*, p. 14.

46. For an in-depth discussion of Yūnus Emre's historical relationship with the path of love (*mazhab-i 'ishq*) in Sufism, see Karamustafa, "Yunus Emre'nin Yeri."

47. See Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre ve Tasavvuf*, p. 100-101.

48. Khorchid, *La langue de Yunus Emre*, p. 74.

during the pre-eternal pact (*bezm-i elest*), demonstrates that Yûnus paid attention to the nuances of each word indicating Oneness:

<i>Ezelî biliş idük birlige bitmiş idük</i>	In pre-eternity we knew one another,
<i>Mevcûdât düşdi irak vüçüd cân yatağıdur</i>	we had attained oneness
	All existent things have fallen apart;
	the body is a shelter for the soul ⁴⁹

Apart from *biliş* [knowing one another, friend] and *birlige bitmiş* [having attained oneness], Yûnus also uses the word *bilelik* [togetherness] in his repertoire of terms for unity with God. Furthermore, Yûnus complements this vernacular religious vocabulary with a high use of proverbs,⁵⁰ along with references to the Turkish epic tradition and genres of oral poetry.⁵¹ Although he wrote several poems as well as a *mathnawî* (*Risâletü'n-Nuşhiyye*) in formal meter (*ʿarûż*), Yûnus also has an abundance of poems in the traditional syllabic meter. He may have sung these to the accompaniment of the *kopuz* (a type of lute), to which he frequently refers in his poetry.⁵² His poems in formal meter typically have one or more lines which fit the syllabic meter much more closely. His selection of meter enables the caesural pauses which, together with internal rhyming, bring his poetry phonetically closer to the quatrain form prevalent in oral folk poetry.⁵³ According to Rémy Dor, the formal ambiguity thus aimed at by Yûnus allows readers with different social backgrounds to appreciate Yûnus' work in accordance with their own literary understanding.⁵⁴ This is a characteristic which will become particularly important for our discussion of the *şatıhiyye*.

Yûnus's predilection for Turkish words and folk content was taken up by his successor Kayğusuz Abdāl, who pushed this vernacularization one step further, and devoted entire poems to folk themes. The discussion on meter regarding Yûnus's poetry also applies to Kayğusuz Abdāl.⁵⁵ The structural features of Kayğusuz's poetry suggest some relationship

49. Yûnus Emre, *Risâlat al-Nuşhiyya ve Dîvân*, p. 54 and fol. 77a.

50. For a list, see Başgöz, "The Human Dimension," p. 38; Başgöz, *Yunus Emre*, p. 90.

51. See *ibid.*, p. 25, 33-34, and p. 38.

52. See p. 24 for an example to this. The *kopuz* was used by epic poets in performance at least until the 15th century, as evidenced by the numerous references in the *Book of Dede Korkut*. See Tezcan; Boeschoten, *Dede Korkut Oğuznameleri*.

53. For a detailed discussion of these formal aspects see Mazioğlu, "Yunus Emre" and Dor, "La poésie de Yunus Emre," p. 41-43.

54. *Ibid.*, 43; Dor, "À propos du Divan," p. 29.

55. This has led some of his poems to be edited in quatrain form, although they appear in couplets in the manuscripts.

with oral composition or performance. For instance, the use of the *‘arūz* meter in his *Mesnevî-i Baba Kaygusuz* indicates that the syllabic value given to words depends on their pronunciation in spoken Turkish and not on their orthography. This in turn implies that the text was either dictated to a third party in its initial composition or purposely written for oral performance.⁵⁶ Also interesting is the fact that, despite being few in number, Kaygusuz has some verses on profane love which show an affinity with the *‘āşık* (wandering poet-minstrel) tradition which developed from the 16th century onwards. Unlike his other poetry on profane love, these verses do not follow the abstract metaphorical outlook of *dīvān* poetry, but rather describe a concrete, tangible beloved.⁵⁷

Kaygusuz Abdāl drew the boundary between himself and the religious elite more rigidly than Yūnus Emre, hence making his textual production our richest source on *abdāl* piety. Since its early days, the *Abdālān-ı Rūm*, one of the four major dervish groups of Anatolia according to the Ottoman historian *‘Āşıkpaşazāde* (d. after 1484), had clear antinomian tendencies, which reached a peak in the early 16th century around the figure of Otman Baba.⁵⁸ In Kaygusuz Abdāl’s time, distinctions were based more on personal affiliation and temperament, rather than on physical aspects such as dress and ritual. In the following couplet, Kaygusuz indicates two complementary aspects of his temperament:

<i>Gehī abdāl oluram mest ü hayrān</i>	At times I am an <i>abdāl</i> , drunk and bewildered
<i>Gehī ‘āşık oluram zār-ı giryān</i>	At times I am an <i>‘āşık</i> , sorrowful and weeping ⁵⁹

It is the second aspect, that of spiritual love, which ties him to the path of Yūnus. A recently discovered early copy of his poetry collection demonstrates that this path of love was much more pronounced in Kaygusuz’s poetry than previously imagined.⁶⁰ His book of verse, the *Gūlistān*, is in the form of a *mathnawī* interspersed with *ghazals* around the theme of love, which figure regularly after ten *mathnawī* lines.⁶¹ Concurrently, the

56. See Oktay, *Mesnevî-i Baba Kaygusuz*, p. 42-43.

57. See Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Dīvān*, fol. 234a.

58. See Karamustafa, *God’s Unruly Friends*, p. 70-78.

59. Kaygusuz Abdāl, *İkinci mesnevî*, Ankara Milli Kütüphane MS. Mil Yz A 7621/2, dated 920 (1514), fol. 5b.

60. See Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Dīvān*, fol. 114b-235a, 312a-325b.

61. See Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Gūlistān*, Ankara, Milli Kütüphane Mil Yz A 7621/2, dated 920 (1514), fol. 235a-286a; also Berlin Staatsbibliothek Ms.or.Oct. 4044, dated 907 (1501/1502), fol. 140a-210b.

first aspect, that of *abdâl* piety, separates Kaygusuz from the path of Yûnus.⁶² While the path of love distances the dervish from official representatives of religion by creating a boundary between esoteric and exoteric modes of piety, it nonetheless does not break with official religion and religious law, deemed necessary for the common people and those in the early stages of the spiritual path. Expressions to this regard can be found in the works of both Yûnus Emre and Kaygusuz Abdâl:

<i>Müslümānam diyen kişi şartı nedür bilse gerek</i>	A person who claims to be Muslim must know the pillars of Islam
<i>Taînruñ buyruğın tutup beş vaqt namāz kılsa gerek [...]</i>	He must obey the command of God and pray five times a day
<i>Her kim Müslümān olmadı beş vaqt namāzı kılmadı</i>	Whoever does not become Muslim and pray five times a day
<i>Bilün Müslümān olmayan ol tamuya girse gerek</i>	Know that a non-Muslim will go to hell [Yûnus Emre] ⁶³
<i>Pîr saña erkân-ı şalât bildüre İmān islām farz u sünnet bildüre</i>	The spiritual director shall instruct you on the pillars of prayer He shall instruct you on faith, submission, reli- gious duties and traditions
<i>Çün ki bildün şerî at nedür tamām Tarîkat yolında koyasın qadēm</i>	And when you fully know what religious law is Then you shall set foot into the path [Kaygusuz Abdâl] ⁶⁴

Abdâl piety, on the other hand, represents a strong mutual antagonism with official representatives of Islam. A recent article devoted to Kaygusuz Abdâl puts his *abdâl* piety under scrutiny from a multiplicity of angles.⁶⁵ In his “Kaygusuz Abdal: A Medieval Turkish Saint and the Formation of Vernacular Islam in Anatolia,” Ahmet T. Karamustafa explains Kaygusuz Abdâl’s disregard for the *sharî’a* and his understanding that salvation can only be achieved in the here and now, via a spiritual self discovery. Karamustafa shows how Kaygusuz distances himself from the Sufis, who are in his eyes the representatives of institutionalized religion. Karamustafa

62. Also telling in this respect is Yûnus’s critical opinion of the dervish Geyikli Baba (fl. 14th century), who shared the same social circle with Hacı Bektaş; see Yûnus Emre, *Risâlat al-Nushiyya ve Dîvân*, p. 161.

63. Ibid., 77-78 and fol. 108a-b. İlhan Başgöz speculates that poems with such contents were written at an early period of Yûnus’s life, before he became a mystic. See Başgöz, “The Human Dimension;” Başgöz, *Yunus Emre*, p. 21-23.

64. Kaygusuz Abdâl, *Mesnevî-i Baba Kaygusuz*, p. 111.

65. See Karamustafa, “Kaygusuz Abdal.”

demonstrates Kaygusuz's strong criticism of the Sufis, whom he accuses of hypocrisy.

In Kaygusuz Abdāl's works, what was, with Yūnus Emre, a condemnation of the *muftī* and *mudarris* for their lack of spiritual understanding, becomes directed to the Sufi and the ascetic (*zāhid*), who not only lack spiritual knowledge, but also claim to be the sole possessors of it.⁶⁶ This accusation acquires an equally fervent second dimension, where the *abdāl* becomes himself the object of blame. The following couplets from two consecutive poems by Kaygusuz demonstrate this animosity in all its aspects:

(I) *Ṭanukluk virdiler bengiliğine*
Ehl-i sünnet ü cemā'at dimişler

Müslümānlık yolın varmaz yitürmüş
Yola gelince bu heyhāt dimişler

[...]
Dā'im mest ü harāb meyhānelerde
Bu müslümān degül feryād dimişler

Ne bellü tersādur ne hod müslümān

Ne bellü Türk imiş ne Tat dimişler
[...]

Ne sünneti bilür kaṭ'ā ne farzı
Ne delil bilür ne āyet dimişler

Dā'im esrār yir [ü] kırkār saḳalın
Görün bu dehr-i bid'at dimişler

(II) *Mescide varduğın kimsene görmez*
Velī meyhāneye seyyār dimişler

[...]

They say: "The people of the tradition of
Muhammad and the consensus of the
Ummah

Have testified to his hashish addiction."

They say: "He does not follow the path of
Islam

Alas! He is lost to the path!"

They say: "He spends his whole time in tav-
erns, fully drunk,

This is not a Muslim, God help!"

They say: "Is he a Christian or a Muslim? A
Turk or a Persian?

It is impossible to distinguish!"

They say: "He knows neither the Sunnah nor
the Fard;

He has absolutely no knowledge of any proof
or verse."

They say: "He constantly eats hemp; he cuts
off his beard.

See this materialist innovator!"⁶⁷

They say: "Nobody sees him go to the
masjid,

But he is a regular of the tavern."

66. Kaygusuz also criticizes the learned (*dānişmend*) and the chief judge (*mollā*). One particularly humorous poem is about the way in which these learned representatives of Islam try to benefit from the deaths in town to fill up their bellies and wallets; see Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Dīvān*, fol. 323a. Kaygusuz ends the poem by saying that these people will not be able to benefit from his own death, because he has nothing but a cloak full of lice.

67. Ibid., fol. 180a-b.

*Zâhidler gürûhu beni göricek
Görün bu mel'ûn-ı kâfir dimişler
Velî şâdik kişi hâlûme bakmış
Habîrdür her hâle settâr dimişler*

*‘Âşıklar göricek i’ tiķâd itmiş
Erenlerden bu da bir er dimişler*

*Kamu halk-ı cihân âhîr sözinde
Budur ol ‘ayyâr u mekkâr dimişler*

*Kamu gönüllerün sürünü bilmiş
Kamu dilleri bu aňlar dimişler
Kaygusuz Abdâl her kim ki gördi
Muhibb-i Ahmed-i Haydar dimişler
İnkâr itdüğünü ikrâra gelmiş
Velî ikrârına inkâr dimişler*

When a group of ascetics sees me,
They say: “Look at this damned infidel!”
Yet the honest person looks at me and says:
“He has knowledge of every state but he hides it.”

When the lovers of God see me, they believe.
They say: “This is another perfect man among
perfect spiritual directors.”

All peoples of the world, in their own tongues
say:

“This is that [beloved] deceitful rogue.”

They say: “He knows the secrets in all hearts;
He understands all languages.”

Whoever sees Kaygusuz Abdâl says:

“This is a lover of Muḥammad and ‘Alî.”

“He has come to earth to avow what he had
denied,

Yet they have mistaken his avowal for
denial.”⁶⁸

These couplets demonstrate a clash of several points of view, the first one being the perspective of “zâhidler gürûhı” [the band of ascetics], backed by the Sunni (authorities), which identifies Kaygusuz as an infidel, due to his lack of regard for the *sharî‘a*, consumption of alcohol and hashish, and antinomian physical appearance. The second perspective is that of the ‘âşık (men of spiritual love) who recognize him as a man of God. The last perspective is that of the common people, who elevate him to the rank of a saint.⁶⁹ This elevation is all the more important, considering that Kaygusuz Abdâl’s poetry contains the first known elaborations of the doctrine of ‘Alî (‘Alî b. Abî Tâlib) as it later figures in Bektashi and Alevi belief. Kaygusuz is still considered an important saint in Alevi circles.

In fact, Kaygusuz Abdâl’s corpus includes several key elements of what later becomes the religious doctrine of the Bektashis and Alevis: Poetry in praise of ‘Alî b. Abî Tâlib⁷⁰ as well as passages expounding the

68. Ibid., fol.180b-181a.

69. Kaygusuz touches upon the radical differences in the public opinion regarding his sainthood and infidelity; see for instance Kaygusuz Abdâl, *Dîvân*, fol. 169b. In an article on Otman Baba’s hagiography, Halil İnalçık gives a similar account of the varying reactions towards Otman Baba; see İnalçık, “Dervish and Sultan,” p. 221. This reminds us that disparities in public opinion were a quality all *Abdâls* of Rûm shared.

70. See Kaygusuz Abdâl, *Dîvân*, fol. 129a, 131b, 135b, 136a, 157b, 207a, 222a; also see Kaygusuz Abdâl, *Dîvân*, Berlin Staatsbibliothek Ms.or.Oct. 4044, dated 907 (1501-2),

theoretical foundation for the veneration of ‘Alī;⁷¹ references to the doctrine of Muḥammad-‘Alī⁷² as well as passages expounding the doctrine;⁷³ references to the Twelve Imams;⁷⁴ veneration of the *ahl al-bayt* (the prophet’s family).⁷⁵ Together, these doctrinal references are the earliest in Alevi-Bektashi history, and establish Ẓaygusuz Abdāl as a foundational figure for Bektashism and Alevism.

As explained above, the Köprülü paradigm bases itself on an urban/rural dichotomy. According to this paradigm, the Alevis only had contact with a “popular” form of Islam propagated by dervishes who themselves lacked the urban education required for true Islamic knowledge. The life example of Ẓaygusuz Abdāl shows the difficulty of trying to portray these dervish groups as representatives of rural life. Not only did Ẓaygusuz Abdāl travel extensively⁷⁶ (like his precursor Yūnus Emre) and frequently refer to several cities in his works,⁷⁷ he was also of urban origin. According to his hagiography, Ẓaygusuz Abdāl was the son of the governor of Alā’iye (Alanya).⁷⁸ His hagiography includes the tale of how he renounced his “royal” heritage for the path of God as brought to life in the figure of his master Abdāl Mūsā (fl. 14th century). The pen name of Serāyī (palace-dweller) which appears in some of Ẓaygusuz Abdāl’s poems also points to such an origin. The fact that Ẓaygusuz Abdāl received some form of “urban” education is corroborated by his poems in Persian, couplets in Arabic, citations of Qur’anic verses, references to Persian poets such as

fol. 309b, 320b; Ẓaygusuz Abdāl, *Serāy-nāme*, Berlin Staatsbibliothek Ms.or.Oct. 4044, fol. 29b [Ẓaygusuz Abdāl, *Saraynāme*, p. 226-227].

71. See Ẓaygusuz Abdāl, *Kitāb-ı mağlaṭa*, Berlin Staatsbibliothek Ms.or.Oct. 4044, fol. 266a-267a, 268a-b, 278b-280a.

72. See Ẓaygusuz Abdāl, *Dīvān*, fol. 182a, 187a, 223a; the phrase ‘Aḥmed-i Ḥaydar’ on 166b, 177b, 180b, 223b as well as in the poem quoted above; the phrase ‘Aḥmed ü Ḥaydar’ on 166b, 209b. Also see Ẓaygusuz Abdāl, *Serāy-nāme*, fol. 20b, 21a, 24b, 26b, 39b, 56a, 57b [Ẓaygusuz Abdāl, *Saraynāme*, p. 190-193, p. 206-207, p. 214-215, p. 266-267, p. 332-333, p. 338-339].

73. See Ẓaygusuz Abdāl, *Kitāb-ı mağlaṭa*, fol. 266a, 273b.

74. See Ẓaygusuz Abdāl, *Dīvān*, fol. 136a, 137b.

75. See Ẓaygusuz Abdāl, *Dīvān*, fol. 129a, 139b.

76. His hagiography narrates his travels to Egypt (where he established a lodge), Mecca, Medina, Damascus, Hama, Aleppo, Kilis, Antep, Baghdad, Kufa, Najaf, Karbala, Samarra, Nusaybin; see *Ẓaygusuz Abdal Menākıbnāmesi*, Güzel ed., p. 104-130.

77. In addition to Hatay and some of the cities above, Ẓaygusuz also mentions place names in the Balkans in his poetry. According to some researchers, the existence of a neighbourhood and a fountain in the name of Ẓaygusuz in Bitola indicates that he may have lived in the region for some time; see Dağlı, *Ẓaygusuz Abdal*, p. 18-19; Güzel, *Ẓaygusuz Abdal*, p. 93.

78. See *Ẓaygusuz Abdal Menākıbnāmesi*, 90 ff.

Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār and Saʿdī, and lastly, secular love poetry in the style of court poetry.⁷⁹

Kayğusuz Abdāl gives us the clues to understanding how his socially-accepted sainthood came to coexist with the strong accusations of infidelity.⁸⁰ In a previous article,⁸¹ I showed how Kayğusuz Abdāl's doctrinal and social positions shift regularly to accommodate different types of audience, whereby he simultaneously speaks to audiences with varying spiritual levels. I further illustrated that this "multi-perspectival"⁸² quality of his works may sometimes result in a juxtaposition of radically different points of view. I argued that this juxtaposition played itself out also as an alternation between the tendencies to reject society or blend into it as a spiritual director. All of these dynamics suggest that Kayğusuz Abdāl viewed his literary output primarily as a performance, always dependent on its immediate relationship with his audience. I use the term "performance" as defined by Erving Goffman in his *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*: "all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants."⁸³ For Kayğusuz, social and doctrinal positions as well as self-designations are not part of a solid self-referential "identity". They acquire meaning in context, during interaction, and may thus change with a change of context.

For Kayğusuz Abdāl, different ways of understanding Islam depended not on territorial distinctions but on performative categories. While he could freely navigate between the categories of *abdāl*, ʿāşīk (lover of God) and *mürşid* (spiritual director), he had to break with other categories radically in order to establish his social identity. His criticism of representatives of institutionalized Islam allowed him to relate to his audience in a certain manner. It enabled him to distance himself from institutional religion, lacking the moral and spiritual aspects which he thought were the true definitions of religion in the eyes of the common people. One way to reinforce the boundary between his public and the religious elite was

79. See in particular Kayğusuz Abdāl, *Dīvān*, fol. 134a, 152b-156b, 215a-218b, 224b-234b. Some of these are on the theme of spring.

80. Interestingly, he presents this coexistence as the result of a geographical dichotomy, separating him and his followers from 'the people of the city' (*şehr ehli*, *şehirlü*). See *ibid.*, fol. 176a, 225a, 252a; Kayğusuz Abdāl, *Üçüncü meşnevî*, Ankara Milli Kütüphane MS. Mil Yz A 7621/2, dated 920 (1514), fol. 18b.

81. See Oktay, "Layers of Mystical Meaning," p. 73-99.

82. I thank Ahmet T. Karamustafa for proposing me this term.

83. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self*, p. 8.

to speak the language of the common people, understood as both the act of writing in Turkish and an engagement with the verbal arts of the Turkish vernacular. In his article on Kaygusuz Abdāl, Ahmet T. Karamustafa also stresses the use of vernacular language as a marker of a type of piety. He thus states that: “The fissure between institutionalized Şūfī paths that took shape around the nuclei provided by authoritative, and increasingly also authoritarian, Şūfī masters on the one hand and loose dervish groups that assembled around the example of libertine itinerant Şūfī masters on the other hand can now be seen to include, at least partially, a linguistic rift.”⁸⁴

In his *Delīl-i Budalā*, Kaygusuz states that a number of dervishes told him: “*Mī’dānī nemī’dānī bilmeyüz. Kuş dili mi söylersin? Türkçe söyle kim añlansun.* [We do not understand the Persian phrases ‘you know’ and ‘you don’t know’. Are you speaking the language of birds? Speak Turkish so that you can be understood.]”⁸⁵ Similarly in his *Dil-güşā*, Kaygusuz says that the scribe to whom he dictated his work, who was also a dervish, once asked him: “*Fārsī mī’dānī. Hiç Türkçe bilmez misin?* [You know Persian. Don’t you know any Turkish?]”⁸⁶ Further on in the same work, he explains his use of Turkish in the following manner:

Biz dillerde Türkī dilin bilürüz. Gün doğıcağ ırte oldu dirüz; dolmıcağ gıce oldu dirüz. Şuyuñ geldüğinden yaña yuğaru, gitdiginden yaña aşığadur. Türkī dilince hemān bu kadar bilürüz.

Turkish is the language that we know. When the sun comes up we say the day has come; when it goes down we say the night has come. “Upwards” is the opposite of the direction of water fall; “downwards” is in the direction of water fall. This is what we know in the Turkish language.⁸⁷

Kaygusuz’s words illustrate his preference for Turkish over Persian as initially due to a criticism by a fellow dervish, further emphasizing his need to dissociate from his “learned” roots. They also stress the collective aspect of his textual production in Turkish, as underscored by his use of the first-person plural.

84. Karamustafa, “Kaygusuz Abdal,” p. 337.

85. Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Delīl-i Budalā*, p. 58. The expression *mī’dānī* is repeated throughout the text of the *Delīl-i Budalā*. Thus in one sense Kaygusuz is mocking his own text.

86. Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Dil-güşā*, p. 99.

87. Ibid., 120-123.

Despite its deep nationalist roots, Modern Turkish literary historiography has based itself on a paradigm of high culture and low culture, wherein the literary value of classical poets was evaluated according to their proficiency in the formal meter (*‘arûz*) and their capacity to exemplify the aesthetics of *Dīvān* poetry via an extensive use of Arabic and Persian words. Instead of trying to understand the social dynamics behind the use of “plain” Turkish by dervish groups, the knowledge of the field was founded on generalizations such as the dervish groups’ distance from urban centers and their lack of proficiency in Arabic and Persian. As Kayğusuz Abdāl’s corpus suggests, the assumption that he and his fellow dervishes were not fully Islamized is entirely off the mark. We can say the same for his precursor Yûnus Emre. These dervishes not only situated themselves and their teachings within Islam; they were also thoroughly aware of the dynamic relationship of their literary production with their classical Sufi heritage of Persian and Arabic origins.

THE MAKING OF A GENRE: HOW FOLK TRADITION AND SUFI TRADITION COME TOGETHER IN THE TURKISH ŞAṬḤİYYE

If textual production in Turkish was directly linked to the dervish group’s particular social position, how did this impinge upon form and content? In this section of my paper, I will try to investigate the relationship between textual production in the dervish milieu and the social environment surrounding these dervishes via the creation of a particular genre, the Turkish *şaṭḥiyye*, as a medium of dialogue between folk culture and the “learned” Islam represented by Classical Sufism. For this I will focus on the *şaṭḥiyye* of Yûnus Emre, the first example of the genre, and those of Kayğusuz Abdāl, who is his best-known successor in the genre. I will show that, while transferring Sufi concepts to the realm of folklore, the *şaṭḥiyye* also serves to reinforce boundaries between the folk and the representatives of official religion, who cannot participate in the the former’s symbolic world.

Although the Turkish *şaṭḥiyye* has been the topic of some anthologies and articles,⁸⁸ we still lack a narrative of how the genre developed in the Turkish realm. This path of development will be available to us only after

88. See Kurnaz, Tatcı, *Türk Edebiyatında Şathiye*; Tatcı, *Yûnus Emre Şerhleri*; Pinguet, “Remarques;” Pinguet, *La Folle Sagesse*, p. 75-93.

we can distinguish it theoretically and structurally from the *shaṭḥ* in the formative period of Sufism, such as those of al-Ḥallāj (d. 922) and Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 874 or 877-8).⁸⁹ As Sheldon Pollock explains, “it is only in response to a superposed and prestigious form of preexistent literature that a new vernacular literature develops.”⁹⁰ Our dervishes conceptualized their vernacular as a bridge between cosmopolitan and oral idioms, and in the context of the *ṣaṭḥiyye*, between the preexistent form of the *shaṭḥ* and genres of folklore. According to Pollock, “everywhere, and quite predictably, the new literary vernacular felt compelled by a common if unacknowledged law of technological preservation to present itself as a continuation of the archaic oral.”⁹¹ The formation of the Turkish *ṣaṭḥiyye* was one such instance which was deeply tied to the particular political stance of the dervishes studied earlier.

Medieval theoretical writing on the *shaṭḥ* emphasizes its involuntary aspect, whereby it is spoken in a state of ecstasy as a natural outcome of contemplation.⁹² Ecstatic sayings are said to be signs of a state of union with God which annihilates the mystic’s selfhood. The words spoken in such a state become divinely-inspired, or for some, the very words of God. The sayings thus resemble an early stratum of ḥadīth qudsī⁹³ as well as a group of sermons attributed to ‘Alī b. Abi Ṭālib.⁹⁴

In their self-identification with the word of God as expressions of a state of absolute union, the following examples by Yūnus and Ḳaygūsuz follow the classical *shaṭḥ* tradition:

89. In this respect, in the Turkish milieu, the following remark by Carl Ernst is far from the truth: “When the theoretical outlook associated with the Andalusian master Ibn ‘Arabi came to dominate the intellectual expression of Sufism, *shathiyat* became mere allegories for the subtle doctrines of Ibn ‘Arabi’s school. After this time, inspired speech became a conventional rhetorical device.” See Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy*, p. 6. As we will see, since its early days, the experiential effect of the *shaṭḥ* was directed towards the listener. The Turkish *shaṭḥ* tradition not only borrowed from the early examples of the genre, but also created its own literary devices in maintaining the value of paradox and shock.

90. Pollock, *The Language of the Gods*, p. 328.

91. Ibid., 441-442.

92. See Abū Naṣr ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Sarrāj al-Ṭūsī, *The Kitāb al-luma’ fi’l-taṣawwuf*; Rūzbihān al-Baqlī, *Sharḥ-i shaṭḥiyyāt*. For an overview of the *shaṭḥ* tradition see: Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy*.

93. See Graham, *Divine Word*, p. 173, quoted in: Ernst, “Shaṭḥ.” The *shaṭḥ* was also considered to resemble expressions in the Qur’an and hadīth known as enigmatic utterances (*mutashābihāt*); see Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy*, p. 18-19.

94. See Amir-Moezzi, “La Divinité de l’Imam,” in *La Religion discrète*, p. 89-108.

<i>Yûnus degül bunu diyen kudret dilidür söyleyen</i>	This is not Yûnus speaking; the speaker is the tongue of omnipotence
<i>Kâfir ola inanmayan evvel âhîr hemân benem</i>	Those who don't believe are infidels; I am the <i>First</i> and the <i>Last</i> ⁹⁵ [Yûnus Emre]
<i>Cümleyle mevcûd benem Ka'be benem put benem</i>	I am present for all; I am the Kaaba; I am the idol
<i>Arada makşûd benem uşda fülân bendedür</i>	I am the purpose of all; in me is found so-and-so
<i>Eyvel ü âhîr benem tedbîr ü takdîr benem Gani vü fakîr benem nûr-ı imân bendedür</i>	I am the <i>First</i> and the <i>Last</i> ; I am the plan and the preordination I am the <i>Rich</i> and the poor; in me is found the light of faith ⁹⁶ [Kaygusuz Abdal]

The above words by Kaygusuz manifest a central theme in his poetry, that of paradox, which he often portrays as a coexistence of opposites.⁹⁷ As underlined by Yüksel Pazarkaya, Yûnus Emre's poetry also brings together contradictory elements as the foundation of his paradoxical language.⁹⁸ Paradox is a key element in the classical definitions of the *shaṭḥ*, where the knowledge and experience of God is said to be achieved only in a state of absolute unknowing.⁹⁹ This paradox is in turn defined as a reflection of the dual (or multi-layered) structure of reality itself, the paradoxical relationship between the manifest and the hidden.¹⁰⁰ In fact, modern scholarship has established that most of the *shaṭḥ* are not spoken in states of ecstasy, but are rather ways of expressing one's spiritual teaching in a counter-intuitive and shocking manner, achieved by bringing together affirmations and negations which should not co-exist according to common sense. This method of speaking allows the disciple to get rid of the cognitive obstacles put forth by the act of reasoning.¹⁰¹ Once these obstacles are overthrown, the esoteric meaning can manifest itself.

95. Yûnus Emre, *Risâlat al-Nushiyya ve Dîvân*, p. 94 and fol. 131a.

96. Kaygusuz Abdâl, *Dîvân*, fol. 135a. In all excerpts, the words in italics are the Names of God, thus further stressing the divinity of the speaker.

97. For a discussion of the concept of *coincidentia oppositorum* with regard to the mystical doctrine of Ibn 'Arabî, see Corbin, *L'Imagination créatrice*.

98. See Pazarkaya, "Les paradoxes," p. 114.

99. See Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy*, p. 32-36.

100. See Corbin, "Introduction," p. 7-19; Ballanfat, "Réflexions."

101. See Lory, "Les paradoxes mystiques." Also see Corbin, "Introduction." Although Ernst generally focuses on the element of inspiration in the *shaṭḥ*, in his *Words of Ecstasy*, he categorizes the sayings on faith and infidelity as a different category of *shaṭḥ*, which is not directly due to divine inspiration. He calls this type of *shaṭḥ* "less prophetic than paradoxical." See Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy*, p. 141.

As medieval debates demonstrate, both proponents and opponents of the genre agree on the fact that the *shaṭḥ* makes the hidden meaning apparent. It thus produces in its listener an initial feeling of ambiguity or confusion (due to the difficulty of simultaneously understanding the juxtaposed layers of meaning), and often shock. In their poems, Yūnus Emre and Kaygūsuz Abdāl frequently qualify their poetry as manifesting the hidden. Furthermore, they state that God manifests Himself through their poetry:

<i>Diyen ol işiden ol gören ol gösteren ol</i>	He is the one who speaks, hears, sees,
<i>Her sözi söyleyen ol şüret cān menzolidür</i>	and shows
	He is the one who says every word; the
	form is the halting-place of the soul
<i>Şüret söz kında buldı söz ıssı kaçan oldu</i>	How did the form find words? When did
<i>Şürete kendü geldi dil hikmetiñ yoludur</i>	it come to possess words?
	He manifested Himself in the form; lan-
	guage is the path of wisdom ¹⁰² [Yūnus Emre]
<i>Kaygūsuz Abdāl ben isem aña rāzum</i>	If I am Kaygūsuz Abdāl, understand my
<i>dinle sözüm</i>	secret, listen to my words
<i>Benüm dilümde söyleyen küllî o şahdur</i>	In my tongue, the speaker is none but
<i>ben hiçem</i>	that sultan; I do not exist ¹⁰³
<i>Hem benüm vaşfumu söyler cümle dil</i>	All languages speak my qualities
<i>Hem bu serâyda delüyem hem ‘âkil</i>	In this palace I am both the sane and the
	insane ¹⁰⁴ [Kaygūsuz Abdāl]

Yet the poems referred to so far, which closely follow the classical *shaṭḥ* tradition, are not the poems by Yūnus and Kaygūsuz identified as *şaṭḥiyye* in modern scholarship; nor are they the poems repeatedly commented and imitated in Ottoman literature. In this respect, Yūnus Emre's most famous and possibly most controversial poem is his only “*şaṭḥiyye*”, which begins with the verse “*çıkdum erik dalına anda yidüm üzümi*” [I climbed the branches of a plum tree and ate grapes there].¹⁰⁵ The last

102. Yūnus Emre, *Risâlat al-Nushiyya ve Dîvân*, p. 47 and fol. 67b.

103. Kaygūsuz Abdāl, *Dîvân*, fol. 219b.

104. Kaygūsuz Abdāl, *Serây-nâme*, fol. 57a [Kaygūsuz Abdāl, *Saraynâme*, p. 336].

105. See Appendix I for a full translation of the poem. For a published English translation, see Yūnus Emre, “Selected Poems,” p. 169-170. The famous *shaṭḥiyya* of Barak Baba (d. 1307-8), who can be linked to Yūnus Emre via his master Tapduk Emre as previously mentioned, may also be of interest in this context, although the inaccessibility of meaning is much greater in the latter; for the *shaṭḥiyya*, its Persian commentary and modern Turkish translation see Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre ve Tasavvuf*, p. 255-275, 457-472.

couplet of this poem with vibrant and nearly obscure symbolism manifests a purpose of composition which is profoundly different from that of the classical *shāhī*:

<i>Yûnus bir söz söylemiş hiçbir söze</i>	Yûnus has spoken words like no other
<i>beñzemez</i>	They hide the face of meaning from the
<i>Münâfıklar elinden örter ma'nî yüzini</i>	hands of hypocrites ¹⁰⁶

The fact that this couplet is situated at the very end of the poem is particularly relevant. In his analysis of stress patterns in Yūnus Emre's poetry, Rémy Dor demonstrates that the most perfect pattern, with an alteration of stressed and unstressed syllables, is located in the last couplet. The form of the last couplet thus underlines its particular importance as the place of maximum signification.¹⁰⁷ Kaygūsuz Abdāl also attaches similar importance to the last couplet of his *ṣaṭhiyye* as a key to interpreting the meaning of the poem, which otherwise serves to obscure the truth. In the last couplet of his famous poem beginning with the verse “*Ḳaplu kaplu bağalar / Ḳanatlanmış uçmağa*” [Tur tur turtles / Have put on wings to fly],¹⁰⁸ Kaygūsuz questions the capacity of words to convey the truth and subtly criticizes those capable of hearing only the exoteric:

<p><i>Kaygusuzuñ sözleri Hindistānuñ kızları</i> <i>Bunca yalan sözile gire misin uçağa</i></p>	<p>These words by Kaygusuz, the walnuts of India With so many lies, do you still think you will enter heaven?</p>
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When we look closely at this poem edited in the appendix, we see animals performing many human activities, such as asking somebody's hand in marriage, building a bridge, weighing grain etc. The difference between human qualities and those of animals is a major theme in Kāyğusuz's poetry. Knowing this difference is a skill which needs to be cultivated by the disciple in the path.¹⁰⁹ An ignorant man is one who is unaware of the divine attributes with which he has been invested. The qualities and actions of such a man resemble those of an animal. In this

106. Yûnus Emre, *Yûnus Emre Dîvânı*, Tatcı ed., p. 428-430. While Tatcı's edition is a critical edition of the poem, the poem also figures in: Yûnus Emre, *Risâlat al-Nushiyya ve Dîvân*, p. 204. The word *münâfîk* (hypocrite) is replaced by the word *câhiller* (ignorants) in some manuscripts.

107. Dor, "La poésie de Yunus Emre," p. 42; Dor, "À propos du Divan," p. 29.

108. See Appendix II for a full edition and translation of the poem.

109. See Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Mesnevî-i Baba Kaygusuz*, p. 110; Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Dīvān*, fol. 321a.

sense, we can interpret Kaygusuz's poem as a reversal of the order of the world. Instead of people acting like animals, we have animals acting like humans.

Another major theme in Kaygusuz's *şatıyye* is that of food, where Kaygusuz speaks of his consumption of hashish and endless appetite. His references to various dishes make his poetry an important source for the history of Turkish cuisine.¹¹⁰ In one poem, Kaygusuz says that he is at war with his appetite and continues to describe all the different foods he wishes to consume, as well as the wealth that he longs for.¹¹¹ We thus have the impression that Kaygusuz is mocking his base self (*nefs*) in his unique humorous way. This mockery often turns into blame:

*Sen aş u itmegi gözle Kaygusuz Abdāl
Bu surra kaçan irişür seniñ gibi ser-sām*

O Kaygusuz Abdāl, you'd better go after
cooked food and bread
How will a foolish idiot like you ever
attain this secret?¹¹²

Kaygusuz has several *şatıyye* in which he speaks in the first person to tell the story of how he was led astray by elder women who offered him food and possessions in order to make him their lovers.¹¹³ In other *şatıyye*, Kaygusuz describes the sexual advances which take place between him and a pasha, who refrains from becoming intimate with Kaygusuz due to his embarrassment of the dervish's social status.¹¹⁴ On one level, these poems contain a vehement critique of society, which judges people according to their wealth and status, and not on their moral character. On another level, the poems once again represent an allegory of the base self, one's personal Satan, which can appear in any of the forms described by Kaygusuz.

In addition to many such poems with seemingly absurd, subversive, and humorous content,¹¹⁵ in his prose work named the *Kitāb-ı mağlaṭa* [The Book of Prattle], Kaygusuz constantly plays with, contradicts, and transforms the

110. See Gökyay, "Kaygusuz Abdal ve Sımâtiyeleri."

111. See Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Dīvān*, Berlin Staatsbibliothek Ms.or.Oct. 4044, fol. 339b.

112. See Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Dīvān*, fol. 125b.

113. Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Dīvān*, fol. 315a-316a, Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Dīvān*, Berlin Staatsbibliothek Ms.or.Oct. 4044, fol. 334a-335a.

114. Ibid., fol. 335a-b.

115. For a similar example in which humour is used to subvert social order and dissimulate the mystical experience, see Alexandre Papas's portrayal of the 17th century Central Asian mystic Mashrab in Papas, *Mystiques et Vagabonds en Islam*, p. 127-136.

created meaning, thus forcing the reader to break all prejudices and pre-conceived notions.¹¹⁶ One article which deals with this aspect of Kaygusuz's poetry is Catherine Pinguet's "Remarques sur la poésie de Kaygusuz Abdal." In this article Pinguet states that in Kaygusuz Abdāl's poetry, "convergence between realities takes place on the plane of the inconceivable and the singular."¹¹⁷ She designates this aspect of Kaygusuz Abdāl's work as an "inversion of the natural order of things"¹¹⁸ and defines its purpose as the creation of a language which will only be understood by a person of the same spiritual rank.¹¹⁹ Elsewhere in his poetry, Kaygusuz makes various references to the importance of dissimulation:

<i>Fāş olmağul Manşūr gibi cāhil saña ta'n imesün</i>	Do not divulge like Ḥallāj; do not let the ignorant condemn you
<i>'Āşık gerek sırrı dā'im bīgāneden pinhān gerek</i>	The man of love must always keep his secret hidden from the stranger ¹²⁰
<i>Her sözün yirin bilüp ehline söyle söyleseñ Kî saķın şöhet içinde ehl-i inkār olmasun</i>	You should know the place for each word and say it to the right people Make sure that among the company there are no men of denial ¹²¹
<i>Cümle vücūdda cān ben oldum epsem ol Cān içinde cānān ben oldum epsem ol</i>	I have become the soul in all bodies; be quiet! I have become the beloved inside the soul; be quiet! ¹²²
<i>Sırruñı saķın 'ārif iseñ naşıye virme Her bî-ḥabere maḥrem-i esrār demek olmaz</i>	If you are a gnostic, do not present your secret to the foreigner One must not call every ignorant a confidant ¹²³
<i>Söylesem oda yaķarlar şabr idersem ölürem</i>	If I speak, they will burn me in fire. If I keep to myself, I will die.
<i>Ol sebeddendür sözümi şöyle muğlaķ söylerem</i>	That is why I speak with abstruse words ¹²⁴

116. See Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Kitāb-ı mağlaķa*, fol. 263b-288b ff. For various discussions of this work see Oktay, *Mesnevî-i Baba Kaygusuz*, 14, 29-48; Oktay, "Layers of Mystical Meaning;" Karamustafa, "Kaygusuz Abdal," p. 334-336.

117. Pinguet, "Remarques," p. 33.

118. Ibid., 15.

119. Ibid., 21.

120. Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Dīvān*, fol. 136b.

121. Ibid., fol. 146b.

122. Ibid., fol. 207a.

123. Ibid., fol. 209a. Also see Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Gülistān*, fol. 237a.

124. Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Dīvān*, Berlin Staatsbibliothek Ms.or.Oct. 4044, fol. 305a. Also see the fifth couplet in the same poem.

Before I come back to the social context of the deliberate act of dissimulation undertaken by both poets, I wish to focus on the literary tools used, most notably the flagrant imagery. As shown by Pertev Naili Boratav in his *Zaman Zaman İçinde*, this type of imagery is taken directly from the *tekerleme* (tongue twisters¹²⁵) which figure in the beginning of the *maşal* (fairy/folk tales).¹²⁶ Boratav portrays a reciprocal relationship in which Kaygusuz makes use of the *tekerleme* as a literary medium and in time, with subsequent narrations his poems change to become *tekerlemes* with independent lives in the oral tradition.¹²⁷ A *naẓīre* (imitation poem) written by Niyāzī Mıṣrī (d. 1694) shows that Yūnus's imitators were well aware of the affinity between the *tekerleme* and this type of poetry:

<p><i>Tatsız kabağ gibi bir tekerleme söz ile</i> <i>Yūnuslayın Niyāzī 'irfānī ārzūlarsın</i></p>	<p>With a tongue twister tasteless like a squash Niyāzī, you desire the spiritual knowledge of Yūnus¹²⁸</p>
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Boratav identifies the purpose of the *tekerleme* as a way of introducing the audience to the world of the fairy tale, where the notion of reality in daily life will no longer hold.¹²⁹ When a *tekerleme* is spoken during the tale, it serves again to remind the audience of the supernatural nature of the fairy tale world she is experiencing where things simply do not have to make sense. Many times the storyteller openly says that her craft is to tell lies – the exact expression found in Kaygusuz's quatrain quoted above.

The *şatıhiyye* also has affinities with other genres of folk literature. In a voluminous anthology of folk literature, Doğan Kaya includes one *bilmece* (riddle) and one *mani*¹³⁰ (genre of folk poetry in quatrains),

125. This translation, although the closest, lacks validity. This is because this genre, which could be in verse or prose or both, does not aim at difficulty of pronunciation.

126. The use of the indirect past tense also brings the poems closer to the fairy tale, which was traditionally told using this tense.

127. Boratav gives the example of two *tekerlemes* born out of Kaygusuz's poem quoted above. See Boratav, *Zaman Zaman İçinde*, p. 49-50; p. 94-95. Catherine Pinguet also makes reference to this reciprocal relationship between the *şatıhiyye* and the *tekerleme*; See Pinguet, "Remarques," p. 15-18; Pinguet, *La folle sagesse*, p. 93. However instead of seeing this imagery as a tool in what is openly expressed as an attempt at dissimulation, Pinguet is inclined to interpret it as an outcome of an ecstasy induced by the use of hashish.

128. Tatçı, *Yūnus Emre Şerhleri*, p. 63; quoted in Pinguet, "Remarques," p. 17; Pinguet, *La folle sagesse*, p. 93.

129. See Boratav, *Zaman Zaman İçinde*, p. 40-59.

130. The word is considered to be a vernacularized form of the word *ma'nā* (meaning), which in time came to be associated with this type of folk poetry.

both of which seem to be in direct relationship to Kaygusuz's şaṭḥiyye beginning with the verse "Kaplū kaplū bağalar kanatlanmış uçmağa [Tur tur turtles have put on wings to fly]", edited and translated in the appendix.

Mani

Gittim arpa biçmeğe
Eğildim su içmeğe
Dediler yarin gelmiş
Kanat açtım uçmağa

I went to harvest barley
I bent down to drink water
They said my beloved has arrived
I opened my wings to fly¹³¹

Bilmece

Masal masal matladı
İki sıçan atladı
Kurbağa kanatlandı
Gelin çıktı çardağa
Mart o...du bardağa
Bardak iki parça oldu
Gelinin yüzü kara oldu (Cevap: yazla kış)

The tale became astonished
Two rats jumped
The turtle put on wings to fly
The bride went out to the bower
The month of March farted in a glass
The glass broke in two
The bride turned red [literal: black] with shame (Answer: summer and winter)¹³²

These 20th century examples from two separate folk genres indicate that Kaygusuz's poem lived on in the folk imagination in various forms, wherein the anonymous creators of these poems and riddles relied on Kaygusuz's şaṭḥiyye as a literary source from which they could readily improvise.¹³³

Another aspect of the şaṭḥiyye's affinity with the *tekerleme*, *bilmece*, and *mani* is in the source of imagery. Both Yûnus Emre and Kaygusuz Abdâl rely entirely on images from natural and social life for their şaṭḥiyyes and frequently use local proverbs and idioms. That is to say, they make absolutely no reference to Islamic terminology, although the content remains a hundred percent Islamic. This is evident in Kaygusuz's allegories of the base self in the poems mentioned above, where it appears in the forms of tasty food, physical comfort, wealth, and sexual freedom imagined as relationships with elderly women and pashas. The Islamic content can also be seen in the common interpretation of the first line of

131. Kaya, *Anonim Halk Şiiri*, p. 30.

132. Ibid., 512.

133. The genre of the *bektâşî fıkrası* (Bektashi anecdote), written examples of which date from the early 20th century, can also be considered in relation to Kaygusuz Abdâl's legacy. The majority of the anecdotes in the only known anthology derive their humor from the opposition between the representatives of exoteric religion (the *sofu*, 'âlim, zâhid) and the Bektashi *baba*. As such they squarely fit within the antinomian legacy established by Kaygusuz Abdâl's sense of humour. See Yıldırım, *Bektâşî Fıkraları*.

Yūnus Emre's *ṣaṭhiyye* quoted above, "I climbed the branches of a plum tree and ate grapes there." The seven known classical commentaries of the poem all interpret this line as the act of a hypocrite Sufi who tries to obtain esoteric science from the tree of exoteric science.¹³⁴

When compared with the majority of their poems¹³⁵ as well as their other works, where both authors exemplify an intricate knowledge of Sufi terminology, these poems display a deliberate choice on the part of their composers to reword their Sufi knowledge within the dominant folk tradition of their intended public. One famous example is Kaygusuz's allegory of the base self (*nefs*), which is portrayed as a goose that simply will not get cooked.¹³⁶ In Yūnus Emre's *ṣaṭhiyye*, the line "I climbed the branches of a plum tree and ate grapes there" is followed by: "*Bostān ıssı kaçıyup dir ne yirsin kozumı*" [The owner of the orchard scolded me: "Why are you devouring my walnuts!"]. To interpret the couplet, the commentaries rely on the Doctrine of the Four Gates (*dört kapı*),¹³⁷ a formulation of spiritual hierarchy which later became a defining theoretical framework in Anatolian Sufism as well as in Alevism. They identify the plum as the gate of *ṣerī'at* (religious law), the grape as the gate of *ṭarīkat* (the path, meaning esoteric observance) and the walnut as the gate of *ḥaḳīkat* (truth, meaning unity with God).¹³⁸ It is thus safe to assume that the word *koz* (walnut) already had a frame of reference in the tradition, which the poets could tap into by way of metonymy.

Non-religious genres of folk literature in Anatolian Turkish were only put down in writing from the 17th century onwards.¹³⁹ Therefore, we do not have the opportunity to explore the full network of intertextuality displayed by these *ṣaṭhiyye*. The similarity between a proverb and a phrase which figures in both Yūnus's poem and that of Kaygusuz¹⁴⁰ can

134. See Tatcı, *Yūnus Emre Şerhleri*, p. 114-292.

135. We must remember that such poems constitute only a small fraction of Kaygusuz Abdāl's poetry, although he has become identified with them in secondary literature. As stated above, Yūnus's original *ṣaṭhiyye* is the only extant example of its kind in his corpus.

136. See Gölpinarlı, *Kaygusuz Abdal*, p. 84-87.

137. Yūnus Emre and Kaygusuz Abdāl's works contain some of the earliest elaborations of this doctrine. For a discussion of the doctrine, see Oktay, "Layers of Mystical Meaning."

138. See Tatcı, *Yūnus Emre Şerhleri*, p. 164-166.

139. The only exception to this is the *Book of Dede Korkut* put down in writing in the second half of the 15th century.

140. See the phrase '*Balık kavağa çıkmış*' [The fish climbed the poplar tree] in Yūnus Emre, *Yūnus Emre Dîvânı*, Tatcı ed., p. 429 and Gölpinarlı, *Kaygusuz Abdal*, p. 68. It is almost identical with the proverb '*balık kavağa çıkınca*' [when the fish climbs the poplar tree], indicating 'never' in a sarcastic tone.

be read as an indicator of a much wider web of references.¹⁴¹ The very fact of the transfer from the Sufi conceptual framework to folkloric imagery, with absolutely no explanatory tools embedded within the text, suggests that the allegorical connotations of the imagery were immediately visible to their public. In his article entitled “Orality, Textuality, and Interpretation,” John Miles Foley explains the relationship folkloric texts have with oral tradition in the following manner:

Such richness of meaning derives from the simple fact that any performance or text – whether oral or oral derived – is not “the whole story.” Its elements have life outside the narrow confinement of any given configuration, and that life is a matter not only of compositional utility but also of aesthetic content. The metonymy of phraseology or narrative pattern collectively constitute a kind of anaphora, or epiphora, in which the repeated elements occurs not in contiguous line or stanza but in a “contiguous” performance or text in the poetic tradition, or, ultimately, in the contiguous yet unspoken tradition.¹⁴²

It is by way of the “contiguous yet unspoken tradition” that Yûnus and Kaygusuz’s *şatḥiyye* are able to communicate with their public and escape being interpreted as senseless. However, this unspoken tradition does much more than a transfer of symbols. It transposes the experiential aspect of the folk genre, in this case the *tekerleme*, to the realm of an Islamic mystical experience. As explained above, the *tekerleme* normally works to dissociate the listener of the *maşal* from his common sense of reality. In blurring the lines between truth and lie, between what is possible and what is not in the style of the *tekerleme*, the mystical poem creates a feeling of confusion in its audience, thus engendering an *experience of paradox*. This in turn, links the Turkish *şatḥiyye* with its classical counterpart, the *shaṭḥ*, which is as we saw paradoxical in nature and involves the shattering of one’s sense of self, which is the only way direct knowledge can appear.

The obvious question is: who is this experience intended for? Affinities in genre allow us to identify the public as those versed in folk tradition, in this case in the *tekerleme* and the *maşal*. This affinity is further stressed by the use of the syllabic meter by both poets, which ties them to the folk tradition as opposed to the classical tradition from which they borrow the religious content of their works. A closer look at their corpora reveals that both poets alternate between the syllabic and formal meters (‘*arûż*)

141. See Schimmel, “Yunus Emre,” p. 73.

142. Foley, “Orality,” p. 43.

in accordance with their subject matter, terminology and thus intended audience.¹⁴³ While poems in formal meter (*‘arūz*) typically manifest denser Sufi terminology, in the poems composed in the syllabic meter, social themes come to the forefront. All of this allows us to come to the following conclusion: In the case of the *ṣaṭhiyye*, the transfer of religious knowledge and experience from the realm of Sufi terminology to that of folk literature has a certain audience in mind.

Perhaps in delimiting the audience, we need to look at who it excludes. In the last line of his poem, Yūnus states that the excluded are none other than the “hypocrites”. In fact, each couplet of the poem is a different allegory establishing a stark contrast between the hypocrite representative of exoteric religion and the true mystic. In another poem, Yūnus also posits this antagonism as one between religious practices:

<i>Ben bir kitāb okudum kalem anı yazmadı</i>	I read a book no pen has ever written
<i>Mürekkebe eyler isem yetmiye yidi deñiz</i>	If I were to put it into ink, seven seas would not suffice
<i>Ben oruç namāz için süci içdüm esridüm</i>	For fasting and daily prayer I drank wine and became drunk
<i>Tesbîḥ ü seccādeyçün diñledüm çeşte</i>	For the rosary and prayer rug I listened to çeşte and <i>ķopuz</i>
<i>ķopuz</i>	
<i>Yūnus’uñ bu sözinden sen ma’nī añlarısıñ</i>	If you understand the meaning of these words by Yūnus
<i>ķonya menāresini göresin bir ķuvalduz</i>	You shall see the minaret of Konya as a packing needle ¹⁴⁴

While the first couplet here questions the nature of the knowledge exhibited by “learned” religious scholars, the second couplet represents this clash as one between mere exoteric observance and intoxicated love and devotion to God, symbolized by Sufi rituals such as *samā’* (audition). The third couplet gives us the dynamic behind dissimulation: Yūnus’s words can only be understood by those who know that exoteric observance by itself is as small in the eyes of God as a packing needle.¹⁴⁵

143. A striking example for this common practice in the Turkish Sufi milieu is the work of Seyyid Seyfullāh Nizāmoghlu (d. 1601). Compare the form and language of his *ilāhīs* with his poem *Seyr-i kemāl*; see Kocatürk (ed.), *Tekke Şiiri Antolojisi*, p. 233-240; Seyyid Seyfullah, *Manzum Eserler*, p. 257-263.

144. Yūnus Emre, *Risālat al-Nuṣhiyya ve Dīvān*, p. 70 and fol. 97b-98a.

145. Also revealing in this respect is Niyāzī Mısrī’s interpretation of the ninth couplet of Yūnus’s *ṣaṭhiyye* as the self-concealment of the true gnostic when faced with the boasts of the hypocrite ascetic, which cause him to feign ignorance in his speech; see Tatcı, *Yūnus Emre Şerhleri*, p. 173-174.

Similarly, in Kaygusuz Abdāl's social criticisms, the word *sālūs* (hypocrite) comes to the forefront, paired usually as *zāhid-i sālūs* (the hypocrite ascetic), and less often as *sūfī-i sālūs* (the hypocrite Sufi). Kaygusuz is particularly disturbed by the so-called "teaching of Islam" which has a central role in the hypocrite Sufi's claim to religious authority:

<i>Diñle sözüm aña zârum ben zâhidem</i>	Hear my words; understand my lament;
<i>nefsüm keffâr</i>	I am an ascetic; my base self is an
<i>Ḥalka naşîhat eylerem ben duţaman</i>	excessive infidel.
<i>ıldum nâ-çâr</i>	I offer counsel to the people but I cannot
	hold my own advice; I have no
	remedy. ¹⁴⁶
<i>Zâhidem İslâm yolında halkı da'vet</i>	I am an ascetic; I summon people to the
<i>eylerem</i>	path of Islam.
<i>Velî benüm naşîhatüm hiç baña kılmaz</i>	Yet my own advice has no effect on
<i>eşer</i>	me. ¹⁴⁷

In addition to this strong antagonism, there is a second aspect of Kaygusuz's social self-positioning underlined by Ahmet T. Karamustafa: The fact that he "chose to blend in with regular people by avoiding special dress, urban speak and *sharī'a* based recipes for social conduct and ritual."¹⁴⁸ Thus the language Kaygusuz employed was a part of this effort to blend in, which would only be possible by an adaptation of folk elements and an inclination towards the formal aspects of folk tradition.

We can say that for both authors, those who are not meant to understand the poem's content are the "hypocrite" representatives of legalistic and exoteric religion. This is because the poem works by creating a paradox which confuses the base self (*nefs*) and collapses its defense system, while weakening the person's grasp on his accepted reality. This allows the experiential truth to appear. Yet the exoteric observer's bond to the *nefs* is too strong, reinforced by a lifetime of self-promotion through religious observation. Moreover, the poems are not meant to be understood by reason (*'aql*), even for their intended audience.¹⁴⁹ Understanding only occurs by way of experience, which breaks down one's sense of self by

146. Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Dīvān*, fol. 145a.

147. Ibid., fol. 145a.

148. Karamustafa, "Kaygusuz Abdal," p. 337.

149. For Kaygusuz Abdāl, this capacity which is denied to the intellect belongs to the faculty of love; see Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Dil-güşā*, p. 110-111; Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Delīl-i Budalā*, p. 53, 55; Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Serāy-nāme*, fol. 31b, 39a [*Saray-nāme*, p. 234-235, p. 264-265]; Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Kitāb-ı Mağlaṭa*, fol. 280a, 282b; Kaygusuz Abdāl, *Mesnevī-i Baba Kaygusuz*, p. 126-127, p. 141.

breaking down his or her sense of reality. The catch here is: this type of knowledge can be achieved by an audience which may be completely unfamiliar with Islamic terminology.

In his *Anatomy of Criticism*, Northrop Frye classifies literary genres according to their relationship to allegory: “Within the boundaries of literature we find a kind of sliding scale, ranging from the most explicitly allegorical, consistent with being literature at all, at one extreme, to the most elusive, anti-explicit and anti-allegorical at the other.”¹⁵⁰ The example of the *şatîyye* offers a radically different dynamic, where the most allegorical can at the same time be the most anti-explicit. This in turn pushes the experience of the poem towards two opposite poles: The first is that of the common people who, although not necessarily versed in mystical terminology, still find familiar codes of symbolism and experience allowing them to participate in its meaning. The second is that of the official representatives of “learned” Islam, who, despite their greater familiarity with Sufi concepts, are excluded from an experience of the poem due to their inability to break the face of reality and participate in the allegory as opposed to trying to decipher it mentally. As with the doctors of law faced with the classical *shatî*, the content of the poem remains unbelievable and scandalous to them.

Coming back to our earlier discussion of boundary-making, we can claim that the experience of the *şatîyye* is one which *performs* a social boundary. This understanding of boundaries via their performative character also allows us to refrain from seeing them as rigid categories. Boundaries are constantly negotiated in individual and communal contexts, which partake in their maintenance while allowing for perpetual shifts and cross-overs. As mentioned earlier, in the frontier culture of our authors “one could move from place to place, allegiance to allegiance, and identity to identity with an ease and acceptability hard to even imagine in more settled societies.”¹⁵¹

The example of the *şatîyye* demonstrates to us that the performative character of poetry was an integral aspect of the performance of personal and communal identity. In fact, going back to our earlier discussion, we can say that for Kaygusuz, the refusal of a fixed identity was also expressed via the performative opportunities of poetry. A comparison of his poetry with his prose shows us that the “multi-perspectival”

150. Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism*, p. 89.

151. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, p. 140.

quality of his work is much more pronounced in his poetry. While doctrinal and terminological shifts occur perhaps once every page in his prose, they appear as often as every two couplets in his poetry. This allows us to speculate that poetry was probably a greater tool in Kaygusuz's eyes, in as much as it it allowed for: 1) The possibility of speaking simultaneously to a multiplicity of people of various spiritual levels; 2) The performance of social categories and personas which he could negate or reinforce at his will. We should remember in this context that Kaygusuz Abdâl is rightly credited as the founder of "Alevi Bektashi literature." The importance he devotes to poetry acquires greater meaning in light of the liturgical, doctrinal, social, and spiritual roles of poetry in the Alevi-Bektashi religious system.

What unites Kaygusuz's various purposes in using poetry as his medium of performance is the *experiential* effect on which each of these rely. As such, poetry serves to stimulate a change in the person of the listener, via an intricate balance between what the listener can and cannot understand. We can further link this notion with the social persona of the dervish, who also has a similar experiential effect. In one of his poems, Kaygusuz defines his physical look as an act of dissimulation aimed at engendering misunderstanding and confusion:

*Kaygusuz Abdâl genci bulduñise saklağıl
Şüretüñ vîrân eyle gören bid'at şansun*¹⁵²

Kaygusuz Abdâl, if you have found the
treasure, hide it

Ruin your appearance, so that those who
see will mistake it for an innovation

Once again, this confusion is only directed at the authoritarian religious authority. The men of love (*'âşık*), the saints (*evliyâ*), and the righteous of the folk all agree on his sainthood. In fact, this agreement is made possible precisely because a line is drawn between the "learned" and the folk, where the authoritarian claims to Kaygusuz's infidelity do not hold in the general public. Despite all efforts to the contrary, the common people knew that, when Kaygusuz said "*Bunca yalan sözile gire misin uçmağa*" [With so many lies, do you still think you will enter heaven?], he was addressing himself to the official representatives of Islam.

The exclusion of Kaygusuz Abdâl from all bibliographical dictionaries, despite his enormous corpus of writing, indicates that in the case of

152. Kaygusuz Abdâl, *Dīvân*, fol. 213b. The word *bid'at* appears as *bida'at* in the manuscript for metric reasons.

Ḳayğusuz, the boundary-making worked both ways. This, however, in no way meant his exclusion from poetry *mecmū'as* and Sufi education repertoires, as evidenced by a proliferation of both his individual poems and copies of his works. Also telling in this respect is the contrast between Yūnus Emre's commonly accepted sainthood and the chief *muftī's fatwā* indicating that his poem must be considered *kūfr* (infidelity), in an era when confessional boundaries were harshly strengthened.¹⁵³ This, however, was a fight Islamic authorities could not win, as Yūnus's mystical understanding of Islam permeated all social strata in the Ottoman realm. On the other hand, Ḳayğusuz Abdāl's strand of *abdāl* piety remained mostly limited to Bektashi and Alevi circles, and became a central element of their religious views and practices.

CONCLUSION

The view of dervish groups as bearers of Islam to the Anatolian "rural" environment and Turkmen tribes in particular, set forward by Fuad Köprülü and developed further by his successors, had several shortcomings: it set a strict dichotomy between urban and rural modes of piety, despite evidence to the contrary; it described dervish piety as an inadequate representation of Islam, a syncretism based primarily on pre-Islamic beliefs, although the textual production by the same dervish groups showed no signs of pre-Islamic belief. Dervish poets wrote in plain Turkish not because they lacked the type of education which would allow them to use Persian and Arabic words, but because their relationship with their audience demanded it. This relationship also led them to take part in a repositioning of their religious knowledge and experience within the context of the popular tradition surrounding them. This was made possible by a merging of the genres and concepts of classical Sufi literature with those of folk tradition. A vernacular language of Islam was thus formed as a transfer of a cosmopolitan form of mystical knowledge and experience into its closest parallels in the folkloric realm. As such, the localization of "the full spectrum of expressive qualities of the superposed cosmopolitan code",¹⁵⁴ described by Sheldon Pollock as a defining aspect of vernacularization, was complemented by another aspect: a reformatting of the old oral idiom itself.

153. See Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, p. 87.

154. Pollock, *The Language of the Gods*, p. 322.

Furthermore, Köprülü's paradigm failed to grasp a major dynamic at play: the boundaries he perceived between legalistic and mystical understandings of Islam in Anatolia were neither territorial nor essential. They were continually performed by actors on both sides, open to shifts and changes depending on the immediate context. In this sense, the earliest examples of the Turkish *şatḥiyye* show that the transfer of Sufi knowledge into the realm of folk literature also formed and performed a boundary: it allowed the common people to participate in a type of mystical experience from which Islamic authorities were *de facto* excluded. This dynamic interplay of inclusion and exclusion was at the heart of the emerging Turco-Islamic landscape, as well as the poetic foundation of what later became Alevi-Bektashi literature.

APPENDIX I¹⁵⁵

*Çıkıdım erik dalına anda yidüm üzümü
Bostân ıssı kaçtıyup dir ne yirsin közümü*

I climbed the branches of a plum tree and
ate grapes there

The owner of the orchard scolded me:
“Why are you devouring my walnuts!

*Kirpiç koydum kazğana poyrazıla
kaynatdum*

I put sun-dried mud in the cauldron, boiled
it with the north-east wind

Nedür diyü şorana bandum virdüm özüni

When someone asked me what it was,
I dipped and gave it to him

*İplik virdüm çulhaya şarup yumağ itmemiş
Be-cidd işmarlar gelsün alsun bezini*

I gave yarn to the weaver, but he failed to
wind it into a ball

He exhorts in a serious tone: “Tell him to
come get his cloth!”

*Bir serçenün kanadın kırk kañluya
yükletdüm*

I loaded the wings of a sparrow on forty
oxcarts

Çifti dahı çekmedi kaldı şöyle yazılı

The spans could not pull them; so they
remained as was their lot

*Bir sinek bir kartalı kaldurup urdı yire
Yalan degül gerçekdür ben de gördüm
tozunı*

A fly lifted an eagle and threw it on the
ground

This is the truth, not a lie; I myself saw
the rising dust

*Balığ kavağa çıkmış zift turşusun yimege
Leylek koduğ toğurmuş bağ a şunuñ sözini*

The fish climbed the poplar tree to eat
pickles of tar

The stork gave birth to a donkey foal; hear
what he says!

155. Yûnus Emre, *Yûnus Emre Dîvânı*, Tatcı ed., p. 428-430 (The diacritics on the poem have been added by me).

<i>Bir küt ile güreşdüm elsüz ayağum aldı</i> <i>Güreşüp başamadum göyündürdi özümi</i>	I wrestled with a cripple; with no hands he grabbed my legs I fought but could not beat him; he burned me inside
<i>Kâf tağından bir taş şöyle atdılar baña</i> <i>Öylelik yire düşdi bozayazdı yüzümi</i>	From the mountain of Kaf they threw a rock at me It fell on such a spot that it almost destroyed my face ¹⁵⁶
<i>Gözsüze fışıldadum şağır sözüm işitmiş</i> <i>Dilsüz çağurup söyler dilümdeki sözümü</i>	I whispered to the blind; the deaf heard my words The mute screams and shouts the words on my tongue
<i>Bir öküz boğazladum kaçıldum sere kodum</i> <i>Öküz ıssı geldi eydür boğazladuñ kazumu</i>	I slaughtered an ox, threw it on the ground Its owner came and said: "You strangled my goose!"
<i>Uğrılık yapdum ana bühtân eyledi baña</i> <i>Bir çerçi geldi eydür kanı alduñ gözgümü</i>	I stole from him; he falsely accused me A peddler came and said: "You took my mirror; where is it?"
<i>Țosbağaya uğradum gözsüzsepek yoldaşı</i> <i>Şordum sefer kıncaru Kayseriye azımı</i>	I ran into the tortoise; the mole was his companion I asked: "Where to?" He was sprinting towards Kayseri
<i>Yünus bir söz söylemiş hiçbir söze</i> <i>beñzemez</i> <i>Münâfıklar elinden örter ma'nî yüzini</i>	Yünus has spoken words like no other They hide the face of meaning from the hands of hypocrites

APPENDIX II¹⁵⁷

<i>Qaplu qaplu bağalar kıanatlanmış uçmağa</i> <i>Dirilmiş kertenkele bile kıonup göçmege</i>	Tur tur turtles ¹⁵⁸ put on wings to fly Lizards gathered together to migrate as nomads
<i>Bir püre bir muṭ tuzı götürmüş şehir gider</i> <i>Geh segirdür geh yiler hamle ider uçmağa</i>	A flea carries a muṭ ¹⁵⁹ of salt into town At times it walks; at times it runs; it makes an effort to fly

156. Although Tatcı prefers the word "yire," the word "yola" appears in a larger number of copies. The translation which would match the meaning given to the line in the commentaries would be: "It fell on half a day's road and almost destroyed my face."

157. Kayğusuz Abdâl, *Dîvân*, Ankara Milli Kütüphane MS. Mil Yz A 7621/2, fol. 314a-b. For a version of the poem which is almost entirely different, see Gölpınarlı, *Kaygusuz Abdal*, p. 68-70. In the edition, the poem is incorrectly displayed in quatrain form. The poem does not figure in the oldest copy of Kayğusuz's poetry collection, dated slightly earlier (907/1501-2) than the Ankara manuscript (dated 920/1514).

158. While the word "kaplubaga" means turtle, the word "kaplu" means "covered" or "with a shell," thus creating an additional level of word play not visible in the English translation.

159. A unit of mass.

<i>Allâhı bile gide üç balıcağ kışlamış</i> <i>Şusuzluğdan buñalmış kañlı ister göçmege</i>	To know and reach God three little fish passed the winter Sweltered with dehydration they want oxcarts to migrate
<i>İki çay ortasında böcek tohüm ekmiş</i> <i>Dirilmiş sivri siñek imeci gelmiş biçmege</i>	Bugs planted seeds in between two streams ¹⁶⁰ Mosquitoes gathered together to work in a group and harvest the crops ¹⁶¹
<i>Kırbağa gül yüzinde bir çift lecek bir tutmuş</i> <i>Toşbağa kille almış gelmiş çeçin ölçmege</i>	The frog hid its beautiful face with a pair of veils The tortoise bought a mosquito net and came to measure his heap of grain
<i>Üyez dañı ok yay almış tağda tavşan avlar</i> <i>Ayuyı belinletmiş toñuz turur kaçmağa</i>	The horsefly took a bow and arrow and went to the mountains to hunt rabbits ¹⁶² The pig awakened the bear; it makes a move to escape
<i>Bir kepelek bir mûşuñ depmiş oyluğın şımış</i> <i>Sivri siñekden korkmuş kömüñ ağzın açmağa</i>	A butterfly kicked a mouse and broke its thigh bone ¹⁶³ The water buffalo got scared of the mos- quito and could not open its mouth
<i>Kömüñ hamama girmiş tana dellâklik eyler</i> <i>Deve kapuya gelmiş destür ister göçmege</i>	The water buffalo went to the public bath where the calf works as a shampooer The camel came to the door to ask permis- sion for his journey
<i>Karınca bir deveyi başmuş âmulhte eylemiş</i> <i>Bir kaç yârenler ister tenhâ yirde içmege</i>	The ant defeated the camel and taught him a lesson ¹⁶⁴ It wants a few friends to go drinking in a secluded place
<i>Amasya ırmağında leklek köpri eylemiş</i> <i>Yükli yüklü ördekler gelmiş andan geçmege</i>	The stork built a bridge on the river of Amasya Ducks came full of loads to pass the bridge
<i>Amasyanuñ çayları şusuzluğdan kurumuş</i> <i>Sivasuñ minâresi egilmiş su içmege</i>	The rivulets of Amasya dried up with lack of water The minaret of Sivas bent down to drink water
<i>Yarasa bir karıyı almış yaruğa çıkmış</i> <i>Bir köca ister bulmaz ol karı koşmağa</i>	The bat took an old woman and went out to the light The woman wants a husband to be intimate with but cannot find one ¹⁶⁵

160. The line has a metrical error.

161. The line has a metrical error.

162. The caesural pause in this line does not fit the rest of the poem.

163. In the manuscript, the word *mûş* was changed to *kömüş* as a way of correction. However, this correction disrupts the meter.

164. The line has a metrical error.

165. The caesural pause in this line does not fit the rest of the poem.

Çağal tavuğa gelmiş kızın oğluna diler
Dilkü tavşana binmiş gider saçü saçmağa

The coyote visited the chicken to ask his
daughter's hand in marriage to his son
The fox mounted the rabbit; together they
go to distribute wedding gifts

Eşek torbastıyile âhûrdan çıkmış gider
Geh segirdür ağırur varıban şu içmege

The donkey left the stable with its sack
At times it runs; at times it brays; it goes
to drink water

Kaygusuzuñ sözleri Hindistānuñ kozları
Bunca yalan sözile gire misin uçmağa

These words by Kaygusuz, the walnuts of
India
With so many lies, do you still think you
will enter heaven?

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Zeynep Oktay Uslu, *The Şaṭḥiyye of Yûnus Emre and Kayğusuz Abdâl: The Creation of a Vernacular Islamic Tradition in Turkish*

This paper attempts to shed light on the dynamics at play in the emergence of a vernacular Islamic tradition in Turkish and the role of dervish piety in the formation of Alevi-Bektashi belief and practice. It focuses on the poetries of two major early figures: Yûnus Emre (d. 1320-1[?]) and Kayğusuz Abdâl (fl. second half of the 14th- first half of the 15th century). Both poets make use of their poetry in positing a social boundary between the religious elite and the dervish milieu, the latter extending to the common people, thereby creating a common religious sphere between the dervish milieu and their intended public. The paper investigates how this performance of boundaries and self-positioning vis-à-vis the common people play into the creation of a literary genre. Its focus is on the creation of the genre of the Turkish *şaṭḥiyye*, as different from the classical *shahî*, by the two poets. The genre bridges the gap between classical Sufi concepts and genres of folklore (at the time oral). It includes a reformatting of the poets' religious knowledge and experience within the context of the popular tradition surrounding them. As such, it is an instance of vernacularization where the localization of the dominant literary formation went hand in hand with the reappropriation of the local oral idiom. The *şaṭḥiyye*'s unique attributes illustrate that boundary-making and cultural and religious transfer are complementary aspects of the same dynamic, which are highlighted depending on context.

Zeynep Oktay Uslu, *Les şaṭḥiyye de Yûnus Emre et Kayğusuz Abdâl: la formation d'une tradition islamique vernaculaire en turc*

Cet article se propose d'éclairer les dynamiques à l'œuvre dans l'émergence d'une tradition islamique vernaculaire en turc ainsi que le rôle de la piété derviche dans la formation de la croyance et de la pratique alévies-bektachies. Il se concentre sur les poésies de deux grandes figures : Yûnus Emre (m. 1320-21) et Kayğusuz Abdâl (seconde moitié du xiv^e siècle-première moitié du xv^e siècle). Dans leurs poésies, les deux auteurs dessinent une frontière sociale entre l'élite religieuse et le milieu derviche, ce dernier s'étendant au peuple ; ils créent ainsi une sphère

religieuse commune au milieu derviche et au public visé. L'étude analyse comment cette construction des limites sociales et ce positionnement vis-à-vis des gens ordinaires jouent dans la création d'un genre littéraire. Elle se concentre sur la création par les deux poètes du genre de la *şatıhiyye* en turc, différente du *şatıh* classique. Le genre comble le fossé entre les concepts soufis classiques et les genres du folklore (oral à cette époque). Il comprend un reformatage des connaissances et expériences religieuses des poètes dans le contexte de la tradition populaire qui les entoure. De ce fait, il s'agit d'un cas de vernacularisation où la localisation de la formation littéraire dominante allait de pair avec la réappropriation de l'idiome oral local. Les caractéristiques spécifiques de la *şatıhiyye* démontrent que la création de limites et le transfert culturel et religieux sont des aspects complémentaires de la même dynamique, qui sont mis en évidence en fonction du contexte.

INGRID HOUSSAYE MICHIEZI

THE SILK MARKET IN BURSA AROUND 1500 AS IT APPEARS IN THE FLORENTINE BUSINESS ARCHIVES

Bursa is so important that there must be someone there at all costs, as this is the most important place on this sultan's land; it is a place where a lot of business and deals are done.¹

Around 1500, Bursa was a crucial center of silk production and trade. Located in North-Western Anatolia, the Ottoman city served as the point of arrival for caravans conducting precious silks from the coasts of the Caspian Sea. Florentine agents dispatched in the Ottoman Empire by Florentine companies bought a portion of the cargo carried by those caravans. Examination of these companies' accounts books and correspondence reveals the vitality of this business and provides new insight about the mechanisms of the silk trade in Bursa. These commercial sources demonstrate that Florentines depended on Ottoman intermediaries,

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1. HBS Medici Family Collection, Baker Library Special Collections, Harvard Business School, MS547 (from now on HBS MS547), letter to Niccolò Michelozzi, f°87r°, August 1501: “È in *Bursia* che lla inportantia del *tutto* bixogna vi stia l° in ogni modo, che è luogho di portanza à più che terra di *questo Sultano*; è luogho di faciende e di merchantie asai.” The italics in some of the words transcribed from the ancient Tuscan language indicate, according to the standards, the development of abbreviations in the original text. The translations to English have been made by the author in order to facilitate the understanding of the reader and without literary purposes. Some words or expressions that do not have their current equivalent have not been translated or have been left in the original language, which does not have an impact on the meaning and general understanding of the text.

particularly Jewish merchants and artisans, to acquire silk and participate in the caravan trade.

From the 13th century onwards, the textile industry was the main-spring of Florentine commercial expansion in Europe and the Mediterranean Basin. Florence mainly produced luxury broadcloths made of fine English wools (named the *San Martino* type). The crisis of the wool sector in the first third part of the 15th century led however to a progressive reorientation towards the production of medium quality broadcloths, manufactured with Mediterranean wools (named the *garbo* or *sopramano* type). Simultaneously, silk fabric production became the new mainstay of the Florentine textile industry's luxury sector.² The necessity of importing more and more silk to run the Florentine industry led Florentine companies to expand commercially towards the Byzantine, and subsequently Ottoman, East. Florentine silks were thus as much an engine of trade expansion as the result of business connections established with and in the Ottoman Empire, beginning in the second half of the 15th century to import raw Persian silks to Tuscany.

Scholarship has long neglected Florentine testimonies regarding their activities in and with the Ottoman Empire, particularly those derived from business interactions.³ However, the amount of such documents is significant and their variety in shape, content, and chronology – account books, correspondence, descriptions of journeys, and chronicles – is noteworthy. The Florentine sources are rich in information and provide a new perspective on the economic functioning of the Mediterranean East in the 15th and 16th centuries, revealing new dynamics.⁴

Florence is classically presented as one of the most powerful and illustrious Italian republics of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, thanks, in particular, to its performance in the business world. Nevertheless, its naval weakness and its late arrival on Mediterranean waters made it a second tier power in an East Mediterranean area dominated by Genoa and Venice. The Ottoman markets represented a locus of commercial exchange,

2. About the development of the Silk industry, see Dini, "L'industria serica"; Franceschi, "Un'industria nuova e prestigiosa", "Florence and Silk"; Goldthwaite, "Le aziende seriche"; Tognetti, "The Development of the Florentine Silk Industry", *Un'Industria di lusso*.

3. Some exceptions include the works of Hidetoshi Hoshino and of Halil İnalcık which will be quoted later in this paper.

4. Numerous authors underline the importance of European archives in the writing about the economic history of the Ottoman Empire. See Eldem, "Capitulations"; Fleet, *European and Islamic*; Faroqhi, "In Search of Ottoman History".

but also, for European merchants, a strategic space to circumvent prevailing spheres of influence, which sometimes gave rise to confrontations. The balance of power in the region was constantly evolving, and when Florence began asserting its trade interests with the East, it came into direct conflict with Venetian interests. Deprived of a fleet for a significant portion of this period, Florence was never a naval threat to the Mediterranean powers. However, the military and naval conflicts between Venice and Genoa have, for a long time, obscured Florence's importance on the Mediterranean scene from the eyes of historians. Examination of commercial sources reveals that Venetian and Genoese control of the Mediterranean was, in fact, less absolute than historians have previously maintained. The commercial records suggest that, for almost 80 years, Florence was a real economic power, capable of competing with Venice in the Eastern Mediterranean, and of diverting monopolies by the means of differentiated strategies. Moreover, given that Florentine traders were relatively few in number and that they had no fleet, the importance of the business between Florence and the Ottoman Empire cannot be measured only based on the direct participation of the Florentine traders. Other groups took part in the business between these two States, by land and by sea. These Florentine sources thus facilitate consideration of commercial competition and conflicts, of which also testifies the literary sources.⁵ They shed new light on Florence's place in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 15th and 16th centuries and offer important testimony on the functioning of the silk market in Bursa.

The accounting data of several Florentine workshops regarding silk fabric production reveal that approximately a third of the raw silks used in the manufacturing process, at the end of the 15th century and at the beginning of the 16th, came from Persia. Around 1450, for example, the company Andrea Banchi used such a proportion of Persian silk.⁶ From April 1490 until October 1494, during its first accounting year, the company Iacopo Salviati bought more than 14,565 Florentine pounds of raw silk (about five tons), among which 4,429 pounds (one and a half ton) consisted of Persian silks – a little more than 30% of the total.⁷ All these silks were purchased in the Bursa market.

5. This is particularly apparent in the writings of the Venetian Doges and the Florentine chronicles. See Baron, "The Anti-Florentine Discourses"; Dei, *La Cronica*.

6. Edler De Roover, "Andrea Banchi".

7. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Archivio Salviati, seria I (from now on Salviati I), registers 400, 409.

Table 1. Silks bought by the Company Iacopo Salviati
(April 1490-October 1494).

Origin of the silk	Quantities (pounds)	Proportion
Persia	4 429.4	30,4%
Spain	4 120.5	28,3%
Abruzzi region	1 806.2	12,4%
Calabria region	1 699.11	11,7%
Vicenza (Veneto region)	974.5	6,7%
Others	1 533.61	10,5%
TOTAL	14 563.3	100%

1 pound of Florence = 0,3395 kg.

The object of negotiation: Persian Silks

Persian silks made their appearance on the Italian markets in the 13th century, when Chinese production ceased reaching Europe. The imports and the Italian dependence on this commodity increased gradually during the 14th and the 15th century.⁸ Sericulture had been established in Persia as early as the 10th century, as shown by the Persian geographer Istakhri, who asserts that silk was produced in large quantities in Tabaristan (Mazandaran).⁹ Marco Polo, in the narrative of his journey, also noted the silk production of Gilan, a province lying along the Southwest coast of the Caspian Sea. During his return through Persia in 1293-1294, he mentioned some Genoese visiting the Caspian Sea where they bought the silk of the Gilan. He also wrote that they were navigating with their own boats and were transporting this precious commodity on land.¹⁰

The largest portion of the raw silks used in Italian industries came from regions located around the South coast of the Caspian Sea, especially the provinces of Karabakh, Shirvan, Gilan, Mazandaran and Khorasan of the Timurid Empire (subsequently Safavid Iran).¹¹ Florentine sources refer mostly to silks named *stravai* (Asterabad), *leggi* (Lahijan), *talani* (Talish)

8. See Edler De Roover, *The Silk Trade of Lucca*; McCabe, *The Shah's Silk*, p. 18-19, p. 29.

9. al-Istakhri, *Kitāb al-Masālik*, p. 179: "Silk is produced in great quantities throughout all quarters of Tabaristan; it is sent, for the greater part, to Amol."

10. See Ciociltan, *The Mongols*, p. 102-103.

11. Herzog, "The Iranian Raw Silk Trade."

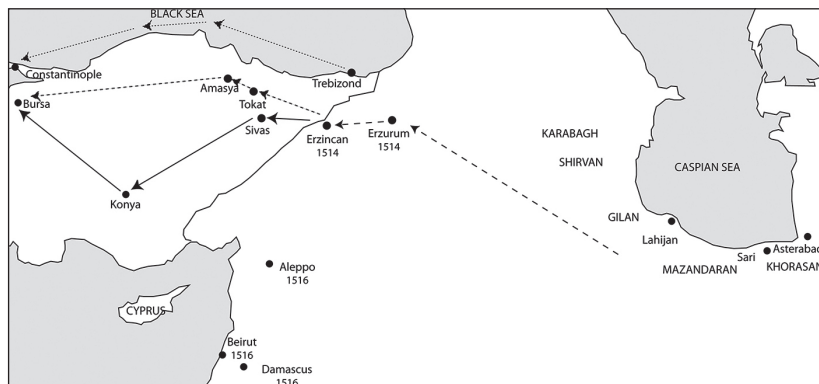


Fig. 1. Origins and itineraries of the Persian silks around 1500 (map of the author).

and *sari* (Sari).¹² The only surviving silk treatise was drafted in Florence around 1450. It dedicates two chapters to the various types of silks then used in the Florentine workshops, and to their prices. It describes the silk named “istravai” as more opaque and rougher than Spanish silk, but points out that, like the latter, it had many functions. The silk *leggi*, lighter than the *stravai*, was mainly used for the weft.¹³ The testimonies of Florentine merchants describe it as of lower quality. For example, Giovanni Maringhi, who was a Florentine agent in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 16th century, wrote in May 1501 to Piero Venturi, that he bought some *leggi* of such good quality that it was very close to the *stravai*.¹⁴ The prices of the silks in Florence also reflected the quality of the product. The same treatise mentions that Spanish silk was the most expensive, followed by the *stravai*, and then the *leggi*.

12. About the origins of the silks commercialized in Florence see Pegolotti, *La Pratica della mercatura*, p. 208, p. 297-300; Matthee, *The Politics of Trade*; Molà, *The Silk Industry*.

13. See Gargioli, *L'Arte delle seta*, chapters 69 (*Delle compre e tare delle sete*) and 70 (*De' pregi delle sete*).

14. His correspondence for the period 1501-1503 is preserved in Harvard Business School (HBS MS547). See letter to Piero Venturi, f°55r°, May 1501: “E per il presente [...] vi si da fardelli tre di setta legi chonperata in Bursia per nostro ordine per le mani del nostro Ghazzeto per asp. 59 libra a danari chontanti [...] È una delle così belle sette chome si sia pesata in Bursia dua anni fa d'andare a paraghone della stravai. Sapiatela vendere”!

These silks were transported via caravan, because the sea route through the Black Sea from Trabzon to Constantinople, which was very active during the Byzantine period, had been gradually abandoned. From the places of production, the silk caravans progressed towards Erzurum and Erzincan.¹⁵ Then, after paying customs duties, they crossed Anatolia from southeast to northwest through Sivas and Konya, or through Tokat and Amasya.¹⁶ The Ottoman conquests during the reign of sultan Bayezid Ist had secured control of these silk routes. The caravans then arrived in Bursa, the Ottoman's first capital after its conquest from the Byzantines in 1326. The fiscal data studied by Suraiya Faroqhi suggests that Bursa had a population of around 40,000 inhabitants,¹⁷ slightly less than half the population of Constantinople.¹⁸ The city was also a major center of silk product production; at the beginning of the 16th century, it was home to approximately one thousand looms, located in either private houses or in major workshops that contained twenty to fifty looms. Slaves comprised a considerable proportion of the workforce. A system of vertical mobility enabled them to win their freedom by weaving a certain quantity of silk products.¹⁹ In the 15th century, when the Florentines became increasingly involved in trade with the Ottoman Empire, the weaving centers were already well established. The weavers of Bursa were committed to the production of luxurious Ottoman velvets (*çatma*) primarily for the internal market.²⁰ However, Florentine merchants also purchased some of Bursa's silk products. In May 1501, Giovanni Maringhi sent to Florence a silk fabric produced in Bursa that he had been appointed to purchase at some previous point by ser Pacie Banbelli.²¹ In

15. Erzurum became an increasingly important customs post for the caravans coming from Persia, third after Constantinople and Smyrna (Izmir).

16. See Hitzel, "Production et techniques;" İnalçık, "The Ottoman Economic Mind."

17. See Faroqhi, *Travel and Artisans*, particularly chapter 7. Even if the author focuses on a later period, the chapter contains numerous interesting points.

18. Regarding the population of Constantinople, see İnalçık, "İstanbul."

19. See Çizakça, "A Short History;" Faroqhi, *Artisans of Empire*; Sahillioğlu, "Slaves." Female workforce was also important: Gerber, "Social and Economic Position".

20. On Ottoman silk fabrics, see Rogers, *Costumes*; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, *Silks for the Sultans*; Krodý, *Flowers of Silk & Gold*; Atasoy, *IPEK*; De Jonghe, *The Ottoman Silk Textiles*; Maury, *À la Cour du Grand Turc*; Monnas, *Renaissance Velvets*; Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, chapter 8.

21. HBS MS547, letter to Niccolò Michelozzi, f°66r°, May 1501: "E alsi per il detto vi mando una pezza di drappo di Bursia belisimo la quale darete a ser Pacie Banbelli che ma la chonmisse più fa; chosta asp. 180 e di ttanti n'avete a valere da llui che sono ducati III e grossi VIII, e di ttanti mettete a nostro e avisate."

October 1501, he also purchased silk commodities used to dress little girls. His letters reveal that these purchases were not episodic because other similar acquisitions had previously been accomplished.²²

“I haven’t been to Bursa yet because the ‘stravai’ caravan hasn’t arrived.”²³

Every year, 300 in 400 camels escorted to Bursa “la ghrande charovana di stravai e di leggi.”²⁴ They drove around 200 *yüks* of raw silk, or about 30 tons of product, into Bursa, which the Florentine traders fervently awaited.²⁵ Their letters reveal constant hope to see the caravans arriving. The rhythm of arrival chanted that of the business in Bursa. Bartolomeo Tebalducci, who operated in Constantinople for the Corbinelli company, wrote in December 1512, for example, that a new silk caravan was expected and that, de facto, he would finally be able to sell faster his woollen broadcloths.²⁶ All the letters of Giovanni Maringhi, who was living in Pera, focus on the arrivals of these convoys, the placement of new quantities of silk on the market, and the influence of the availability of the product on its price. The scarcer the Persian silk became on Bursa’s market, the more its price increased. Concurrently, the arrival of a new caravan would create a price drop. Giovanni Maringhi explained this direct link between availability and price in his letters:

There is no silk left in Bursa, or little, and it sells every day at 69 or 70 aspres the pound for *franchi*, at 63 aspres the pound in cash, and it maintains itself at such prices because the new caravan does not appear. In my opinion it will continue to rise rather than fall and it will remain at these prices for a long time if it does not arrive.²⁷

22. Ibid., f°102r°, October 1501: “Di già abiamo chonmesso in Bursia 4 veste di chamucha per lle fanciulle della sortta ne mandamo l’altra volta, e di *proximo* s’attendono e vi si manderanno, che saranno della bella sortta.”

23. Archivio di Stato di Firenze (from now on ASFI), *Manoscritti*, 94, f°26r°, June 29th 1499: “Per anchora non sono ito in Bursia perché non è giunta la charovana della stravai.”

24. Ibid., f°18r°, April 28th 1499.

25. From Hitzel, « Production et techniques », p. 14: 1 *yük*=154 kgs. In 1513, the Ottoman archives indicate a cargo of 400 *yüks*.

26. ASFI, *Manoscritti*, 94, f°54r°, December 21st 1512: “In fra l’o mese s’atende nuova charovana di sete e gli arà panni istimo s’abino a finire bene per aviso vi sia.”

27. HBS MS547, letter to Niccolò Michelozzi, f°89v°, August 1501: “In Bursia non v’è rimasto seta o pocha, e tutto giornno si vende per lla terra a 69 o 70 asp. libra per li franchi, a 63 asp. libra per *danari* chontanti, e in tali preggi si mantiene che nuova charovana non ne apariscie. È più presto per montare che per chalare che lla mia opinione è che l’abbi a stare in su questi preggi I tenpo di diqua se già non ne viene.”

Persian traders from the western part of Iran, mainly Azeri, organized the export of the raw silk before it reached Bursa and exchanged it mostly with western products that Italians imported to the Ottoman Empire.²⁸ This situation lasted until Selim Ist's wars against his Safavid neighbour. Once in Bursa, caravans unloaded their cargo in the central market (*bezzāzistān* or cloth market) and weighed it on scales installed in the caravanserai of cocoons (*Koza Han*).²⁹ After the weighing, a broker – the *simsār*, himself controlled by a representative of the sultan – collected the taxes. Following these formalities, the caravan traders obtained certificates that listed the weight of the silk and the duties they paid. They could then buy locally manufactured products or articles imported by European traders. Fabrics from the European textile workshops predominated in this latter category.³⁰

How merchants purchased precious silks

Selling woollen broadcloths in large quantities

The woollen broadcloths (*panni*) with which Florentine traders flooded the Ottoman markets represented their main “currency.” Indeed, Florentine traders did not transport cash with them; they counted on the sale of their textile products to acquire funds, or make deals. Benedetto Dei, whose papers glorify Florence and deride the Venetians, praised the virtues of such commercial processes:

We are much more powerful than you in goods, because your *Signoria* has and does only in Alexandria, for spices and for cottons and waxes; in which we Florentines are more skilled than you, by the Bursa route, and we give in exchange fabrics of wool and silk, while you give ducats of gold, and I know it very well because I remained 12 years in your Venice.³¹

28. McCabe, *The Shah's Silk*, p. 32. These merchants came mostly from Tabriz, Shamakhi, Saad-tukuru, Gilan and Shirvan, but also from Yazd, Shiraz, Qazvin, Kazerun, Ispahan, Kashan and Sabzevar. Some of them settled in Bursa to serve as agents for their business partners in Persia.

29. Bagbanci, “Formation of the Historical Commercial Centre.”

30. İnalcik, Quataert, *An Economic and Social History*, p. 223-224.

31. Dei, *La Cronica*, f°62v°, p. 134: “no[i] siano assai più potenti in sulla merchatantia che non siete voi, perché la signoria vostra non à e non fà in altro paese che in Alesandria, pe lle spezerie e pe’ i choton e ciere; la qua’ chose no[i] Fiorentini l’abiano più abile di voi, pe lla via di Bursia, e diano pe ll’incontro panni e drappi, e voi date be’ duchatazi d’oro, che llo so benissimo perché sono istato 12 anni a dilungho a Viniezia vostra.”

Giovanni Salviati's registers (1491-1493), preserved in the Salviati Archive in Pisa, enable a reconstruction of the complete trade chain going from the production of woollen broadcloths in Florence to their sale in Constantinople during those years.³² The purchase prices of the broadcloths in Florence closely mirrored their sale prices in the Ottoman Empire. Florentine merchants thus made no profit, and did not include the costs of transportation in final sale prices. The woollen broadcloths merely served as a "currency" that allowed them to acquire the silk that they sold for a profit in Florence. Through different Salviati account books, one can trace a shipment sent to Constantinople from Florence on October 16th 1492, beginning with the purchase of the textile products in Florence and culminating with their sale in Constantinople. This commercial expedition ended definitively about five years later, on July 3rd, 1497, after the Florentine merchants returned and sold the commodities they imported from the East.³³

Marco Bembo, a Venetian merchant, wrote in a letter of 1479 that the people of Bursa knew no other woollen broadcloths than those of Florence, supporting Benedetto Dei's claims about the superiority of the Florentine textile production.³⁴ Some Florentines established themselves in Bursa a few decades before the Ottoman conquest. Bertrandon de la Brocquière, first esquire of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, stayed ten days in the house of one of them. He traveled from Damascus to Bursa in 1432-1433 in a 3,000 camel caravan made up of traders and pilgrims returning from Mecca. After about a fifty-day journey, he reached the city and found Florentine and Genoese traders from Pera interested in purchasing spices in Bursa. He also mentioned the trade of silk fabrics with which numerous craftsmen and shopkeepers in the city were already involved.³⁵ The Bursa judicial cases for 1478-1480 and 1484-1486 that Halil İnalçık studied mention Florentine traders concerned about disputes with Muslims, Jews, and other Italians – mostly Genoese and Venetians.³⁶

The Florentine merchants formed a small group. Some of them settled in Bursa; others traveled constantly between Pera and Bursa, shepherding important broadcloth cargo. Giovanni Salviati always stayed in Pera. He

32. Salviati I, 397, 398 and 399.

33. Salviati I, 362, 363, 364, 369 and 399.

34. See Sopraca, "Les marchands vénitiens."

35. See La Brocquière, *Le Voyage d'outremer*, particularly p. 131-137.

36. Other sources refer to the Florentine presence to Bursa: see Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa*; Yerasimos, *Les Voyageurs*.

used agents in Bursa like Maso Fronti who oversaw the sale of his broadcloths, or Sandro Rucellai who shipped them from Pera to Bursa.³⁷ Giovanni Maringhi did the same. He settled in Pera with an employee who assisted him, and had an agent based permanently in Bursa.³⁸ The latter, Giovanni Gazzetti, made the purchases, and a young boy, Bernardo Risaliti, escorted the goods to the capital.³⁹ These merchants formed a small, interconnected world revealed in their correspondence, account books, and travel narratives. For instance, Giovanni Maringhi kept accounts in Giovanni Salviati's registers, and affixed his testimony in a paper drafted in Pera dated November 16th, 1493, preserved in one of Giovanni Salviati's registers. This paper refers to a statement made by Giovanni Salviati, then bedridden from the plague. Close to the death, he recognized a debt contracted with Lorenzo Ridolfi, another Florentine merchant, whose balance did not appear in his account book. Maringhi, like other Florentine merchants, wrote inside the paper in his own hand validating Giovanni Salviati's words.⁴⁰ Thus, Maringhi was already in Pera in 1493, eight years before the first traces of his correspondence. He traveled frequently between Florence and Constantinople. Some years later, in 1497-1498, Maringhi accompanied Bonsignore Bonsignori and Bernardo Michelozzi during their stay in the Levant.⁴¹ They stayed in Bursa for more than ten days, hosted by Tommaso Fronte – none other than Maso Fronte,

37. Salviati I, 397, f°36d: “Panni di chonto di Francesco Gherardi proprio, debono avere [...] asp. 4 800; sono per lla monta di 4 cholonbini chorsivi vendé in Bursia Maso Fronti per me più di [...] E detti panni chondusse Sandro Rucellai.”

38. HBS MS547, letter to Niccolò Michelozzi, f°87r°, August 1501: “che ttornni [Bernardo Risaliti] in ogni modo perché Giovanni Ghazetti chome arà servito l'an[n]o che noi lo rafermamo che sarà al primo di giennaio proximo se ne vorrà tornare e bisognerà vi mandi Lionardo, e Risalito rimarrà qui apresso a di me, e senza l'° qui apresso a di me non posso fare. E in Bursia che lla inportantia del tutto bixogna vi stia l'° in ogni modo che è luogho di portanza à più che terra di questo Sultano; è luogho di faciende e di merchantie asai siché adoperate torni presto acciò non n'abbi senpre a digrosare brichate che me ne bisognierebbe torre l'° altro in ogni modo.”

39. Ibid., letter to Piero Venturi, f°55r°, May 1501: “E per il presente à portatore Bernardo d'Antonio Risaliti nostro giovane vi si da fardelli tre di setta legi chonperata in Bursia per nostro ordine per le mani del nostro Ghazzeto per asp. 59 libra a danari chontanti [...] E alsi questo di di Bursia abbiamo avuto dal nostro Ghazzeto avere chonperato di nuovo somma di setta leggi per asp. 60 libra tenpo 3 mesi, chosa belisima che per vostro chonto ne disengnio li fardelli.”

40. Salviati I, 397, f° XXIX. See Houssaye Michienzi, “Les milieux d'affaires florentins.”

41. Maringhi was the son of a sister of Bernardo Michelozzi, himself brother of Niccolò Michelozzi, who was Lorenzo de' Medici's secretary. Regarding Maringhi, see Houssaye Michienzi, Lassalle, “Étoffes et vêtements.”

the correspondent of the deceased Giovanni Salviati.⁴² The travelers described Bursa as a center of the silk industry whose products they nevertheless considered lower in quality than those produced in Italy. They left Bursa with a Genoese, Giovanni Battista Larcario, who knew Turkish and Greek.⁴³ The testimonies left by Florentine travelers and merchants reveal their links and underline their common interest: selling in Bursa textile fabrics manufactured in Florence, and buying Persian silk. Giovanni Maringhi emphasized this interest in a 1501 letter:

In Bursa there are continuously 150 *some* of *stravai* and *leggi* silk and many *sari* and soon more are expected; and for now no price has fallen, but I am on a track to take a significant amount and put in it all or part of the woollen fabrics I have from you and Neri and Giovanni Acciaiuoli in Bursa, and by adventure I will still put in it some money in order to make a nice sum, and I feel that this will go forward in every way.⁴⁴

It was really a question of converting broadcloths into silk (*presto potrebbero diventare setta*).⁴⁵ In 1503, a company of *battilori* (gold thread weavers) led by Alessandro di Antonio Gondi commissioned Antonio Miniati, settled in Pera, to inspect the content of a cargo of woollen broadcloths that had been previously entrusted to their deceased agent. They had already received 400 florins and three *stravai* silk burdens, but insisted on investing every penny in silk:

Copy of a commission given in Pera to Antonio Miniati in a letter of September 27, 1503 about the heirs of G^{no} Gondi, from which there was a commission from the hand of Giovanbatista Ghondi as procurator of his other brothers.

† Yhs. Day September 27, 1503.

Dear Antonio. About the death of Giovanni Ranolli, to whom God has granted forgiveness, we need to tell you a little about the things you still have to do for us about our woollens as from them you will be notified.

42. Maso is the nickname of Tommaso.

43. Borsook, "The Travels."

44. HBS MS547, letter to Niccolò Michelozzi, f^o75v^o, June 1501: "In Bursia si trova chontinovamente 150 *some* di seta *istravai* e di *legi* e *sari* assai e di *prosimo* vi se ne attende delle altre; e *per* anchora non vi s'è rotto *pregio* alchuno, ma io sono in sù una certa pista di pigliarne *somma* e di mettervi dentro o *tutto* o *parte* panni mi trovo di *vostro* e di Neri e di *Giovanni* Acciaiuoli in Bursia, e *per* *avventura* vi metterò anchora qualche dette e danari in maniera sarà buona *somma*, e stimo andrà avanti in ogni modo."

45. Ibid., letter to Neri Venturi, f^o63r^o, May 1501: "Io n'ò mandati in Bursia di questi [panni] à portato *Lionardo* XII balle: 7 *sopramani* e 5 *bastardi* che là aranno buona fine e presto potrebbero diventare *setta* aparendovi la nuova *charovana* che dichono saranno 200 *some* di *stravai*."

We sent a commission to Girolamo **io some times ago of 65 *garbo* woollen broadclothes, 23 *san martino* woollen broadclothes, 2 clear red, 1 deep *paonazzo* and also 22 b[raccia] of deep *paonazzo* and 12 b. of *luchesino* in 2 coupons and also approx. 54½ broadclothes of London; and everything was in 18 bales as you will see in his books; and also there was in the foresaid bale 163 0/3 b. of damask of various colours; of which he said in his letters he have finished all of them or good part of them, and that little things remained, so we think that he finished everything, and we had already from this operation 400 *larghi di grosso* in gold money cash in 20 thousand *akçe*, and also 3 burdens of *stravai* silk which was worth 46 523 *akçe*, that is to say 66 523 *akçe* about this account. And in this letter, there is one to the consul in which it is written that everything must be delivered to you and what you have to do. And we beg you, if there are still merchandizes to finish you finish them, if there are any debtors get the money back, put an end to everything. And every money you will get back through this operation, you will invest it in *stravai* silk, or you will exchange it for merchandizes by the Ragusa route, and you will also send the silk by this way, and you will tell us in order to make the insurance.⁴⁶

Giovanni Maringhi estimated that he needed around 600 woollen broadcloths a year. He therefore constantly encouraged his Florentine business partners and workshop managers to produce more. In Pera, he impatiently awaited the caravans coming from Florence through Ragusa (*solecitateli e poi solecitateli che vanno molto adagio e al mandare*).⁴⁷

46. ASFI, Gondi, 36, f°233: “Coppia d’una chomessione data in Pera a Antonio Miniati in una lettera de di XXVII di settembre 1503 attenente alle rede di G^{no} Ghondi da qualli se n’ebbe chomessione di mano di Giovanbatista Ghondi come procuratore ditti altri fratelli. † Yhs addi 27 di settembre 1503. Carissimo Antonio. Rispetto alla morte di Giovanni Ranolli, a cchui Iddio abbi fatto perdono, bisogna vi si dice un pocho di brighe anchor per noi facciete delle nostri lanauoli come da llo ro sarete avisati. Noi li mandamo a chomessione Girolamo **io più fa panni 65 di gharbo, 23 panni di samartino, 2 rosati, 1° paghonasso schuro e più b.22 di panno paghonazzo schuro e b. 12 di luchesino in 2 tagli e più ca. 54 1/1 di panni di Londra; e tutto fu in balle 18 come per e’ sua libri vedrete; e più fu in detta balla b. 163 0/3 di domaschino di più cholori alla vi^a; delle qualli tutte robbe ci discie per più sue lettere averne finito tutti o buona parte d’essi, e che pocho di chosi li restava di modo giudichiamo tutto abbi auto sua fine, e di ggà abbiamo auto per tal chonto larghi 400 di g° in oro chontanti in asp. 20 mila, e più 3 fardelli di seta stravai che montava asp. 46 523, netti fu asp. 66 523 quello s’è auto per questo chonto. E perché in questa sia l’al chonsolo per lla quale se li discie e c’ogni mobile si trovasi a voi chonsegni tutto, e che da voi preghi portasse doppia, el che voi chosse fate. E vi preghiamo sendovi robbe a finire diate loro fine, sendovi debitori a risquotere andiate dritto alli ritratti chossi sendovi altre merchantie, a tutto diate rechapito. E hogni danaro chontro che vi pervenissi per tal chonto in mano ciello inciettate in seta stravai o li date a chanbbia sopra robbe per la via di Rauggia, e chossi mandate le sete per detta via, e ciello fate intendere rispetto al fare della sichurta.”

47. HBS MS547, letter to Niccolò Michelozzi, f°87v°, August 1501.

He expressed his disappointment when the quantities were too low, articulating his desire to receive between 12 and 15 bales of broadcloths from every manufacturer he was dealing with in every caravan.⁴⁸ Every bale contained approximately four to five broadcloths, which meant that he expected every producer to send between 48 and 75 broadcloths in every caravan. In another letter, he explained that he hoped for 150 to 200 broadcloths from two Florentine workshops.⁴⁹ These quantities correspond to the diverse shipments listed in the account books of the Salviati Company of Florence. From June 1482 to May 1508, the company made 26 different shipments to the Ottoman Empire, sending 1,646 broadcloths of varied qualities, which had been purchased from various Florentine workshops.

Some of the products received in Constantinople were sold directly in Constantinople. Nevertheless, an important quantity left the capital for Bursa in order to supply the local market and serve as a currency, or in order to be exported further – to Persia, in particular. Every market was specific and had its particular clientele who asked for precise qualities and colors.

And the wool fabrics, make them be the way I told you and also the colour, the quantity and the touch, because the last ones I received from you were very short and weak; make them hit so that they have a good shape, and take care to put two more pounds of wool, because with the price I will always catch them up to you.⁵⁰

Maringhi gave Florence's *lanaioli* some advice regarding the quality of the broadcloths expected on the Ottoman Empire's markets. He highlighted, for example, the necessity of putting sufficient wool in the broadcloths to make the fabric resistant. He insisted that producers follow his stipulations (*vi priegho non usciete de mia avisi*) and he made recommendations regarding colors and shapes, mostly supporting the use of reds

48. Ibid., f°80v°, July 1501: “*Ser Nicholò charisimo, e gli’è neciesario che voi solecitate e li Ghalilei e chonpa. Alsi Piero Ventturi e chonpa. Perché mi pensavo per questa charovana che è venuta avere in fra tutti e due un ciento panni. Non n’è stato nulla. Solecitateli e di poi solecitateli che inportta assai, che per ogni charovana doverebono mandare 12 o 15 balle per uno.*”

49. Ibid., f°81v°, July 1501: “*aspettavo per la charovana di Luigi Gherardi l° 150 o 200 panni da choteste dua ragioni. Non n’è suto nulla! Attendoli cholla prima charovana. Che Iddio le mandi salvi!*”

50. HBS MS547, letter to Piero Venturi, f°61v°, May 1501: “*E’ panni fate sieno al sengnio dettovi e alsi di cholore e di bontta e di toccho, che gli u[ll]timi ebbi da voi sono tornati moltti chortti e deboli di stiena; fateli pichiare di tteilaio acciò abino buona mano, e non vi churate di metervi più dua libre di lana che chol pregio ve li rifrancherò senpre.*”

(clear to reddish purples) and greens.⁵¹ He expressed his satisfaction when the quality was good and sometimes communicated his disappointment.⁵² He promised to manufacturers that he would sell important cargo at very good prices, if they followed his recommendations.⁵³ Occasionnally, he attached fabric samples to his letters so that his correspondents could produce broadcloths of the quality, shape, and color in demand on the Bursa market.⁵⁴

In Bartolomeo Guanti's register, kept in Bursa between 1484 and 1488, green and blue shades predominated. Nevertheless, around 25 years later, in 1511, the author of a letter written in Pera mentioned the importance of the color red in Bursa. In fact, he asked that every cargo of woollen broadcloths he received contain a quarter of red (*rossi*), a quarter of reddish purple (*paonazzi*), a quarter of leek green (*verde porro*), and a quarter of darker green (*verde bruno*) fabric.⁵⁵ Around the same time, in 1512-1513, Bartolomeo Tebalducci also emphasized the importance of red shades for the market of Bursa. He underlined the differences between Constantinople and Bursa. In Constantinople, the colors were more varied.⁵⁶ The clientele

51. Ibid., letter to Francesco Galilei, f°56r°, May 1501: "Datevi di buona voglia che ttali panni àranno perfetto fine ma vorebbe esere dentro uno rosetto pure dua, non vi churate di farne assai di questi rosseti che ci ànno buono ispaccio, e rossi e rosseti e pagonazzo e fanno vendere degli altri panni assai, che di nuovo vi priegho non usciate de mia avisi cioè, in ogni sei panni: I° rosso, I° rosseto, I° pagonazzo, I° chapo di picchio, I° verde bruno, l'altro sia chome voi volete."

52. Ibid., letter to Francesco Galilei, f°56r°, May 1501: "li u[]ltimi panni che io ebbi da voi di vostro lavoro furono I° chosa in superlativo grado;" Ibid., letter to Neri Venturi, f°63r°, May 1501: "Questi panni che voi avete mandato di presente per Lionardo sono poveri anzi poverissimo."

53. Ibid., letter to Francesco Galilei, f°63v°, May 1501: "Avevi lana in bottega per 120 panni, I° chosa in superlativo grado che mi piacìe somamente, e se saranno al segno me li disegniate ve li farò andare di pregio più sù che nessuno altro panno abbi avuto anchora da voi [...] stimo darvi chagione di fare questo anno meglio di 300 panni."

54. Ibid., letter to Francesco Galilei, f°64v°, May 1501: "E alsì in questa sarà dua sagi di panni in su quali vorrei ne faciesi fare 5 o 6 panni di ciaschuno cholore, cioè panni 10 e 12 in tutto metà di ciaschuno, e vedete di chogli apunto chome e' saggi, e alsì non vi churate di metervi più II o III libre di lana per panno, fateli pichiare bene di ttelaio e chondugli bene chome voi solete, e mandateli chome prima potete che se saranno al segno dettovi ve gli farò andare di pregio che voi vi maraviglierete [...] stimo gli farete volentieri per esere cholori facili e di pocho pregio che gli voglio per Bursia."

55. ASFI, Manoscritti, 94, f°44r°, June 14th 1511, the name of the author is unreadable: "E' panni rossi e cholori per Bursia [...] c[i]oè ¼ rossi, ¼ pagonazi, ¼ verdi porro e qualche verde bruno e simili cholori che sieno finì io ve gli venderò chon guadangnio asai."

56. ASFI, Manoscritti, 94, f°63r°, June 24th 1512: "avendone a mandare fate sieno migliori che questi ultimi e cholorati, cioè verdi bruni, verdi porri pieni, pagonazzi, uno

was also different. People in Constantinople wanted mostly woollen broadcloths, but the presence of the sultan's court allowed them to also sell expensive silk fabrics. By contrast, people in Bursa wanted almost only woollen broadcloths. Nevertheless, despite Bursa's own important silk industry, Florentine agents managed to sell in Bursa some silk fabrics (*drappi*) produced in Florentine workshops.

Dealing with Turkish and Jewish drapers in Bursa

Florentine merchants did not buy precious silk from the Persians or Azeris directly. They bought merchandize from Turkish and Jewish drapers who sold it for the best prices. European traders did not penetrate into the domestic trade and remained dependent on local intermediaries. To obtain significant quantities, Florentine agents in Bursa had to be very attentive to the market and cultivate relationships with drapers. Indeed, Giovanni Maringhi's letters indicate that silk lots disappeared very quickly from the Bursa market. In May 1501, for example, he told Neri Venturi that there were only thirty silk lots in Bursa, which would sell within four days.⁵⁷ Numerous competitive buyers awaited the caravans escorting the silk:

Because the land here [Bursa region] every day wants 5 silk burdens because it consumes them, and Constantinople also consumes a lot, and the Genoese want a certain amount, and also ours need it; so there are enough consumers!⁵⁸

Maringhi's statements indicate that the main silk buyers were the silk manufacturers of Bursa (*la terra propria*) and Constantinople (*Costantinopoli*), as well as the Genoese (*Genovesi*), and Florentines (*nostri*). His letters do not mention the Venetians, who, in fact, managed to get hold of silk from other caravan outlets located further south.⁵⁹ Until the middle of the 15th century, the Venetians bought silk on the Black Sea markets

rosso per balla; di tutti rossi per Bursia", then in March 1513, f°82r°: "avendo a mandare al paese, mandate tutti panni rossi istretti samza nesuno altro cholore perché non c'anno chomdigione salvo per Bursia e vogliano tutti rossi."

57. HBS MS547, letter to Neri Venturi, f°63v°, May 1501: "In Bursia ve ne mancho di 30 some [di seta] che n'a[n]drà tutta in 4 giorno."

58. Ibid., letter to Niccolò Michelozzi, f° 80v°, July 1501: "Perché la ttera prop[r]ia ogni giornno vuole 5 fardelli di seta che li chonsuma, e Chostantinopoli anchora ne chonsuma assai, e Gienovessi ne vogliono somma, e alsi de' nostri anche ne àno di bisongnio siché chonperatori c'è assai!"

59. See Molà, *The Silk Industry*.

(Tana, Trebizond) and in Constantinople.⁶⁰ The loss of their privileges and of access to the territories beyond the Bosphorus Strait, a result of Ottoman conquests, changed their silk supply chains. The markets of Damascus and Aleppo became the main silk supply centers for the Venetians. Caravans from Persia also arrived there, through Bitlis-Diyarbakır-Mardin.⁶¹ They loaded the silk in the port of Tripoli and sent it to Venice through the State galleys (the Beirut line). Silk was the Venetians' main trade commodity in Aleppo in the 16th century.⁶²

The multitude of craftsmen and traders in Bursa included people from very different horizons. Halil İnalcık underlined the activities of the Arabic traders of Damascus and Aleppo who sold their commodities – essentially dyestuff, spices, camlets, and silk – to the craftsmen and merchants of Bursa, and also to numerous Jews from Constantinople.⁶³ Bursa also served as a hub for the trafficking of spices. Merchants arrived there from faraway places such as India. This domestic trade, much more significant than the maritime trade, was mainly run by Turkish, Jewish, and Greek merchants and craftsmen.⁶⁴

European merchants had to deal with – and were completely dependent upon – these merchants and craftsmen.⁶⁵ Outside forces intervened regularly, however. On July 15th, 1505, for example, Florence's consuls of the sea recommended to Florentine traders that they avoid concluding deals with Jews because of the numerous complaints they had received.

Item, considered and understood for arguments and information of more merchants, how much damage followed and follows to the aforesaid nation, in the parts of Romania, of the deals that are made about the silks with the Jews of the place, and about the weighing of the silks at another weight than the one of the Great Lord; have similarly deliberated and decided:

60. See Doumerc, "Les Vénitiens à La Tana".

61. McCabe, *The Shah's Silk*, p. 32.

62. See Ashtor, *Levant Trade*; Banat, Ferguène, "La production et le commerce;" Masters, *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance*, "Aleppo;" Molà, *The Silk Industry*; Vallet, *Marchands vénitiens*.

63. See İnalcık, "Bursa." The author also refers to an Arabic merchant who served as debtor for a Florentine one in 1479.

64. See Eldem, "Capitulations".

65. Benjamin Arbel shows clearly that, in the domestic trade of the Ottoman Empire, the Venetians depended heavily on Jewish traders. They collaborated with the Jews as long as their position of strength in the exchanges between the Empire and the West remained, and as long as they could hold a position of strength with the local suppliers. This situation began to evolve in an unfavorable way for the Venetians at the beginning of the 16th century. See Arbel, *Trading Nations*.

that nobody of the aforesaid nation or considered as from the aforesaid nation, will be authorized in the future to make any silk deal with any of the aforesaid Jews or Hebrews, nor to make any weighing of the silks at another weight than the one of the aforesaid Great Lord, under penalty and punishment of one hundred golden florins, for any time, and for any deal and weight.⁶⁶

If available sources fail to shed light on the heart of such conflicts, they convey some sense of the importance of these local intermediaries and of the low position of western traders who had to face high commission rates and important time credits. In his relation to the Senate of 1564, Daniele Barbarigo, Venetian ambassador, refers to the strong position of the Jews in Ottoman markets. They were fixing the value of the goods while bartering and benefiting from commission rates amounting to 18% a year!

Few of our merchants are in Constantinople, and I am surprised that they are also there, or, to put it better, that some of them are sending there their capital, being handled in the way I see it; selling and buying in a way, which I have seen nowhere else negotiating merchants with so much disadvantage, not finding to sell, except to Jews in a six months period, eighteen per cent a year; and neither otherwise do they want to understand it, and with all that they take, it takes three months and more to get the money back, even if we had to have it immediately in cash; and when we make barter, the Jews decide the price of both sides.⁶⁷

How did it work concretely? From Constantinople, Giovanni Maringhi served as an agent for multiple Florentine companies. He received orders

66. ASFI, Consoli del mare, 9, Ordinamenti della nazione fiorentina in Romania, 15 juillet 1505, f°7r°: “Item, considerato et inteso per querele et informatione di più mercatanti, quanto danno sia seguito et segua alla prefata natione, nelle parti di Romania, de’ bazzarri che del continovo si fanno delle sete con li hebrei del paese, et del pesare dette sete ad altro peso che del gran signore; hanno similmente deliberato et proveduto: che à nessuno della prefata natione o compreso sotto nome di tale natione, sia lecito in futuro fare alchuno bazzaro o merchato di sete con alcuno delli sopradetti giudei o hebrei; né fare pesare dette sete ad altro peso che del prefato Gran Signore, sotto pena et alla pena di *fiorini* cento larghi d’oro in oro, per qualunque volta et per qualunque bazzaro e peso.”

67. Daniele Barbarigo, Baylo of Constantinople, 1564 in Albèri, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori*, p. 53: “Si trovano in Costantinopoli pochi nostri mercanti, e mi faccio meraviglia che anche quelli vi stiano, o, per dir meglio, che alcuno vi mandi i suoi capitali, essendo maneggiati nel modo che io vedo; vendendosi e comprandosi con una forma, che in niun altro luogo ho veduto a negoziare mercanti con tanto disavvantaggio, non trovando da vendere, se non ad ebrei a tempo di mesi sei, con tagliar le ditta a diciotto per cento all’anno; nè altrimenti la vogliono intendere, e con tutto che si tagli la ditta, si sta mesi tre e più e riscotere li denari se ben li doveriano avere di contanti immediate; e quando si fanno baratti, li ebrei fanno il prezzo dell’una e dell’altra.”

to buy silk, which he forwarded to his agent in Bursa. According to the availability of the commodity, the latter sent cargo to Pera, often escorted by a young boy still in training (*giovane*). Meanwhile, Maringhi tried to buy as many lots as possible to increase his profit from resale in Florence. In the same manner, Giovanni Salviati managed to purchase 6,250 pounds of silk (more than two tons) between 1491 and 1493.

Florentine merchants mainly bought silk from the Turkish and Jewish drapers of Bursa who controlled the market. Business records contain no references to direct sales between Persian or Azeri traders and Florentines. Although Ina Baghdiantz McCabe mentions the occasional presence of Armenians silk importers in the archives of Bursa, the correspondences and account books of the Florentines make no reference to them.⁶⁸ In fact, the Armenian traders began replacing the Persian and Azeri Muslims in the silk import market somewhat later, during the reign of Shah Abbas (1588-1629).⁶⁹ Currently available sources and published works lack sufficient information to precisely analyze the process of the sale of the silk from its arrival in Bursa to its resale to Italian merchants.

The sellers who emerge from Bartolomeo Guanti's account book between 1484 and 1488, and from the correspondence of Maringhi, were indeed mainly Turkish and Jewish drapers. In September 1403, Maringhi wrote to inform one of his business partners in Florence about a silk purchase in Bursa through a Jewish intermediary. The price of the silk, including the price of the raw silk ($61\frac{1}{2}$ *akçe* a pound) and the commission (*utile*) of the Jew ($7\frac{1}{2}$ *akçe* a pound), was 69 *akçe*. The commission rate represented a little more than 10%. The Italian agents who acquired the silk also had to pay customs duties that oscillated between 2 and 5%.

† Day September 22, 1503.

Day 11th of last month, I send you my last letter through Pagolo Pasquini; I do not have any other letter from you. This one to tell you that I am restlessly expecting your silk from Bursa. It had to leave Bursa the 21st of this month according to the notifications, and it had some difficulties to arrive because the Jew had some worries. He seems to be free of it, and as I am telling you, it could appear from hour to hour. As soon as it will get here, we will get it on its way, and we will send you the notification and

68. McCabe, *The Shah's Silk*, p. 33.

69. Around 1600, Shah Abbas altered the royal monopoly on the silk trade. He decided that the Armenian traders who had recently settled in the North of Persia (particularly in Isfahan-New Julfa) were the most desirable agents to manage the export of its silk. See Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean*; Herzig, "The Rise;" Matthee, *The Politics of Trade*; Sanjian, *The Armenian Communities*.

the account and the debt receipt that will be missing will be taken on your silk. The silk costs initially 61 *akçe* ½ and the commission of the Jew is 7 *akçe* ½ per pound, a total of 69 *akçe*, which is a good deal. As soon as it will arrive, we will do the inventory, make the calculations and we will send you everything.⁷⁰

Jewish and Turkish drapers, from Bursa or from Constantinople, also represented the majority of the Florentine merchants' clientele. The portion of one of Maringhi's letters extracted below mentions the sale of woollen broadcloths (entire piece or coupon) to three Jewish drapers: two in Constantinople and one in Bursa. The broker was also Jewish.

On day 19 of this month we sold 33½ *pichi* of woollen broadcloths, that is to say 16 *pichi* of woodpecker green and 17½ p. of bastard clear red to Bigliamino Allamano, Jew, draper in Constantinople for *akçe* 1 302.

On day 25 of this month we sold four woollen broadclothes to Iusuffio di Bacciacci, Jew, draper in Constantinople, at 1 587 *akçe* a piece, usual time, broker Aionne Lungo.

The same day we sold to the same Iusuffio four bastard woollen broadclothes at 1 400 *akçe* a piece, usual time, and also 19½ p. of clear red woollen broadcloth.

In Bursia we finished eleven woollen broadclothes to Isache Tapiero, Jew, draper from there, at 1 595 *akçe* a piece.⁷¹

As previously mentioned, the sale of woollen broadcloths was at the heart of the Florentine merchants' silk purchasing enterprise. In a letter dated October 31st, 1512, Bartolomeo Tebalducci explains that they sold

70. HBS MS547, fragment n°3, Settembre 22nd 1503: “† Addi XXII di settenbre 1503. Addi XI° del passato *per* Pagholo Pasquini vi schriissi l'ultima mia [...] Questa *per* dirvi che lla seta vostra l'atendo d'ora in ora di Bursia che doveva partire di Bursia alle XXI° di *questo* sechondo gli avisi, ed è penata tanto a venire *perché* e'l g[i]udeo à 'uto un pocho di gharbuglio. Pare n'è libero, e chome è detto d'ora in ora può chomparire. E subito chome ci sarà si metterà in chamino e manderà 'viso e chonto e nota de' resto che mi mancherà *per* voi vi si traranno in su detta vostra seta, la quale seta chostò di primo chosto asp. 61½ e l'utile del g[i]udeo sono asp. 7½ *per* lib.; in *tutto* asp. 69 ch'è bonissimo merchato. Chome ci sarà faràssene leghaggio e gitteràssene e'l chonto e *tutto* vi si manderà.”

71. *Ibid.*, letter to Neri Venturi, f° 68r°, June 1501: “Addi XVIII° detto finimo *pichi* 33 ½ di panni detti cio'è *pichi* 16 chapo di *picchio* e p. 17 ½ di panno rosetto pure bastardi a Bigliamino Allamano ebreo drappieri in Chostantinopoli *per* asp. 1302. Addi 25 detto finimo panni IIII° sopra a Iusuffio di Bacciacci, ebreo drappieri in Chostantinopoli *per* asp. 1587 *pezza*, tenpi ordinari, sensale Aionne Lungo. E addi detto finimo a detto Iusuffio panni III bastardi *per* asp. 1400 *pezza*, tenppo ordinari, e più p. 19 ½ di panno rosetto di detti chonti. Di Bursia abbiamo e finito di poi panno XI° sopra a Isache Tapiero, ebreo drappieri di lì *per* asp. 1595 *pezza*.”

broadcloths to get cash, or at least to obtain silk.⁷² In other words, the broadcloths were their means of procuring silk by barter, by cash payment, or by payment on credit – the three types of payment recorded in the commercial documentation related to Bursa. To buy the silk on several months' credit, indeed, gave Florentine agents the time to sell their broadcloths. In June 1501, Maringhi informed ser Niccolò Michelozzi that his agent in Bursa just acquired a certain quantity of silk, and he had four or five months to pay for it in Venetian ducats.⁷³ The sale of the broadcloths and the purchase of the silk were therefore closely linked. Often the same drapers were both clients and suppliers.

The sources provide no information about where the negotiations took place – perhaps in the *Han* or in the drapers' workshops. The language in which the negotiations were conducted is also unknown. According to Pierre Belon, who journeyed in the Levant between 1546 and 1549, three languages were used in Bursa: Spanish among the Jews, Greek, and, most commonly, Turkish.⁷⁴ Although Giovanni Maringhi underlined that some from his employees knew Turkish, Italian traders regularly relied on the services of interpreters.⁷⁵

A very profitable commodity

From Bursa to Florence: a six-month trip

Once purchased, the silk was packaged in tangled skeins (*scagne*) that were grouped into burdens (*fardello*) that weighed an average of 250 pounds (around 85 kg). A burden included between twenty and thirty tangled skeins.

I am reminding now the intentry of eight burdens of silk for the company of Girolamo Guanti and for Neretto Neretti [...]

72. ASFI, Manoscritti, 94, f°55r°, October 31st 1512: “Avendo a mandare mandate tutti panni [...] mandandoli in questo modo se nel'arà subito in su ritirare in danari o in tanta seta al mancho.”

73. HBS MS547, letter to Niccolò Michelozzi, f°77v°, June 1501: Addì 23 di questo Giovanni Ghazzetti à chonperato in Bursa soma di setta istravai insieme chon altre e dicie essere la più bella setta che mai abbi chonperato, poi che gli è in Bursa per asp. 65 libra per il tempo di III^o mesi pagati in 5 a dare tutto ducati .”

74. This underlines the extent of Sephardic immigration to the Ottoman Empire after their expulsion from Spain in 1492. See Belon, *Voyage au Levant*, livre III, chap. 50, p. 523.

75. On interpreters, see Rothman, *Brokering Empire*.

Of number 1, 225 pounds of Florence, 24 skeins
 And of number 2, 226 of the above, 29 skeins
 And of number 3, 219 of the above, 28 skeins
 And of number 4, 221 of the above, 28 skeins
 And of number 5, 229 of the above, 25 skeins
 And of number 6, 223 of the above, 34 skeins
 And of number 7, 230 of the above, 27 skeins
 And of number 8, 226 of the above, 20 skeins
 In number 8 there are 30 *pichi* of *paonazzo* taffeta, 40 *picchi* of *verгато*,
 eight belts, three *becche* for 1/6 *picco* of green velvet
 And of number 9, 231 of the above, 27 skeins
 And of number 10, 226 of the above, 26 skeins
 They left Bursa to Pera by the name of God and of good completion this
 day, March 15th 1484.⁷⁶

The burdens were protected by several layers of canvas (*camicie*) and wrapped with ropes.⁷⁷ Once purchased and packed in Bursa, the silk was escorted to Pera. This first leg of a long trip could be covered by sea. On January 27th, 1485, Bartolomeo Guanti sent two bundles of commodities from Bursa to Pera on the boat of a Ragusan sailor.⁷⁸ The port used was certainly Mudanya's, located on the coast of the Sea of Marmara, around thirty kilometres from Bursa. The passage across the sea did not last more than two or three days. By land, the same trip took around eight days.⁷⁹ Pierre Belon's observations during his journey confirm information found in Florentine sources.

We can go from Bursa to Constantinople by sea or by land. The land road is five to six days long, but by water it takes only two or three days. And from

76. ASFI, Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal governo francese, 79, 208, f°23: "Ricordo apresso leghagio di fardelli hotto di seta di chonto di Girolamo Ghuanti e chomp. e di Nerotto Neretti [...]: Di n°1 lib. 225 firenze schagne 24; e di n°2 lib. 226 di detto schagne 29; e di n°3 lib. 219 di detto schagne 28; e di n°4 lib. 221 di detto schagne 28; e di n°5 lib. 229 di detto schagne 25; e di n°6 lib. 223 di detto schagne 34; e di n°7 lib. 230 di detto schagne 27; e di n°8 lib. 226 di detto schagne 20; nel n°8 v'è picchi 30 di tafetta paghonazo, picchi 40 di *verghato*, otto cinti, tre becche *per* piccho 1/6 di velluto verde; e di n°9 lib. 231 firenze schagne 27; e di n°10 lib. 226 di detto schagne 26. Partino di Burxa *per* Pera chol nome di Ddio e di buono salvamento *questo* di XV di marzo 1484."

77. Ibid., f°45 left. The sources do not reveal if the product was packaged in this way at the moment of the purchase or if Florentine merchants repackaged the silk for the transport.

78. Ibid., f°22 left: "Una mandata a Lionardo Salvucci in Pera *questo* di XXVII di giennaio di balle due [...] *per* charichare in sulla nave di Biagio o altro navelio *per* chon-sennare in Pera [...] Le dette balle 2 sono charichate sulla nave di Biagio da Raugia."

79. HBS MS547, letter to Niccolò Michelozzi, f°78r°, July 1501: "La quale setta i[n]tendo qui al più lungho in tra otto giornni che subito chome ariverà si spaccierà."

the city of Bursa to the Propontide Sea there is only half a day's journey. We will pass in a village located on the shore of the gulf or siné of La Montanée [Montaneia/Mudanya] [...] The Great Lord usually holds there two fustas, sailed by Janissary slaves, who never fail to leave on Wednesdays, if the storm does not delay them. One leaving from Montanée, the other from Constantinople, and lead those who want to come and go from Bursa to Constantinople.⁸⁰

A Florentine merchant always escorted the precious commodity, often traveling via Ragusa in a caravan, then to Ancona by sea, before arriving in Florence.⁸¹ The quotation below references a shipment from Bursa to Florence via Ragusa of four burdens of silk in January 1486.

Day January 13, 1486.

I sent this day, to Florence through Ragusa to Lorenzo Salvucci and the company of Girolamo Guanti of Florence and for their account: four burdens of *stravai* silk, indicated with the forward sign with numbers 1-2-3-4, and packaging fabrics in wax cloth and ropes and with a black canvas, they are indicated with numbers 9-10-11-12, inside 902 $\frac{3}{4}$ pounds of Bursa; and in number 1, 34 skeins, 247 pounds of Florence; number 2, 36 skeins, 249 pounds; number 3, 32, 249 and in number 4, 30, 250 pounds; the foresaid I sent from Bursa to the foresaid Lorenzo with a five thousand *akçe* fee, that is to say 5 000. May God lead it to good completion!

For 58 *akçe* and half a pound from Bursa, and for ropes, wax canvas and packaging and customs [...] 44 *akçe* a burden, which amounts between cost and fees to 53 882 *akçe* with storage.

And more the *** two horses for the young boy to ride it costs him 950 *akçe*.⁸²

80. Belon, *Voyage au Levant*, chap. 50, p. 523.

81. HBS MS547, letter to Niccolò Michelozzi, f°81v°, July 1501: "Ieri partì di qui la setta per Andrinopoli, la quale abbiamo achomandata a Nichola Gharzotti e Radi Bratti raugiei, che sono qualli che chonducho e' panni da Raugia in qua, e gli abbiamo achomandati sopra ad loro e a lloro spese che li chonduchino d'Andrinopoli insino a Raugia, e diamo loro d'ogni soma asp. 500 insino chondotte diretto in doana di Raugia, e li chomerchi di Raugia e di Chastelnuovo. Ordiniamo a Iacopo di Giuliano li paghi lui, e se ne vagli qui danno e da nostri di chostì chome bene gli viene, simile de' noli di Raugia in Anchona. E ordiniamo al predetto Iacopo che subito di li la spacci per Anchona quando bene dovessi spendere el nolo doppio e l'adrizzi a Lippo in Anchona al quale Lippo ordiniamo che subito la mandi chostì in Firenze insieme cholle lettere."

82. ASFI, Corporazioni religiose soppresse dal governo francese, 79, 208, f°101: "A dì XIII di giennaio 1485 [=1486]. Mandai questo [di] a Firenze per via di Raugia per Lorenzo Salvucci e Girolamo Ghuanti e chomp. di Firenze e per loro chomto: III° quattro fardelli di seta stravai segnata dello avanti segno di *segno* di n°1-2-3-4 e d'involture in panno incierato e 'nchavanate ed è nero in sulla chamicia, sono segnate di n°9-10-11-12, entrovì lib. 902 $\frac{3}{4}$ di Bursa a pagamento, e nel n°1 schagne 34 lib. 247 firenzi, n°2 schagne 36 lib. 249, n°3 32 249 e 'l n°4 30 lib. 250; la quale mandai spacc[i]ata di Bursa e al detto Lorenzo ditti per le spese asp. cinque mila c[i]oè 5 000. Iddio per tutto la chomducha a buom salvamento! Per asp. LVIII° e mezzo libra spacc[i]ata di Bursa e

The silk could also go through Lecce following a caravan route up to the Albanian coast (Valona/Avlona, now Vlorë), a crossing of the channel of Otranto to San Cataldo/Lecce, and a convoy from the Apulia to Florence. It was a very long overland route which was nevertheless the most used at the time. Valona, under Ottoman rule, was then the capital of a sanjak, and the only important port owned by the Ottomans on the Adriatic, until the fall of Durazzo/Durrës in 1501.⁸³ On this route the Florentines had obtained guarantees from the sultans and the Sanjak-bey of Valona, and in December 1405 Bernardo Rucellai was elected as *emino* (consul) of Valona.⁸⁴ Some documents – one of Bartolomeo Tebalducci's letters from November 1512, for example – also refer to a direct sea connection from Constantinople to Livorno. Tebalducci mentions such a trip undertaken on a Biscayan boat.⁸⁵ In the 15th century, boats and sailors of Atlantic origin were increasingly important in the Mediterranean Sea. They rarely traded in their own names and mostly acted as maritime carriers for Italian and Catalan merchants.⁸⁶

After a trip that combined sea and land itineraries and could last six months, the silk finally arrived in Florence. Following the payment of a tax (*gabella*), the cargo was placed in the offices of the *arte della seta* (the guild of the silk weavers) where it was weighed before being brought to the workshop (*bottega*).

As far as you have seen, until this day I did send to our agents 35 burdens of silk, between *leggi* and *stravai*, which are worth a world of money, and truly dear ser Niccolò, I believe that we are going to do great.⁸⁷

*per chorde, chamicie incierato e lleghatura e passo e chavar*orngi asp. XLIII^o fardello, che monta in tutto tra chosto e spese asp. 53 882 choll'ostallaggio. E più li dette *** chavagli due per suo chavalchare del gharzone li chostono asp. 950.*"

83. These two ports then became Ottoman support points for attacking Venetian ships. See Fine Jr., "The Late Medieval Balkans" (chapter 10); Ducellier, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie du Moyen Âge*; Stoianovich, "A Route Type"; Vatin, "Itinéraires"; Veinstein, "Avlonya (Vlorë)."

84. See Masi, *Statuti delle colonie*, p. 154; Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni*, p. 242, p. 253-254, p. 342-343; Stefani, *I Diarii di Marino Sanudo V*, p. 615.

85. ASFI, Manoscritti, 94, f^o60r^o, November 23rd 1512: "in fra III^o giorni partte di qui la nave buschaina per Livornno charicha di choranta [sic] o 40 tavole di ciambelotti e 25 in 30 fardelli di seta."

86. See Heers, "Le commerce des Basques".

87. HBS MS547, letter to Niccolò Michelozzi, f^o84r^o, August 1501: "E chome per isperienti arete visto, insino a questo dì io ò mandato a nostri chomettenti 25 fardelli di setta tra leggi e stravai che vale uno mondo di danari, e veramente charo ser Niccolò, credo ci faremo apposti."

During its journey, the price of the silk had increased significantly. In Bursa, the Florentines bought silk for between 59 and 70 *akçe* per pound, depending on the offer, the competition, and the product's quality. The gold-ducat of Venice was the reference currency, worth approximately 52 or 53 *akçe*.⁸⁸ Bartolomeo Tebalducci's letters mention another gold currency, the ashrafi mamluk dinar, which had a value between 40 to 43 *akçe*.⁸⁹ It had less value than the Venetian ducat, but it was strong in the Ottoman Empire, on the eve of Selim Ist's conquest of the Mamluk lands. Its presence testifies to the liveliness of the business connections between the Ottomans and the Mamluks.⁹⁰

A silk burden was thus bought in Bursa for around 15,000 *akçe* or 290 ducats. In January, 1493, Giovanni Salviati completed two silk purchases, one of 23 burdens (approximately 5,750 pounds or almost 2 tons) and the other of two burdens (500 pounds or 160 kilos); he spent 58 *akçe* per pound for the first one and 61 per pound for the second.⁹¹ According to calculations made by Hidetoshi Hoshino from the account book that Bartolomeo Guanti kept in Bursa between 1484 and 1488, the latter bought more than 4,795 silk pounds (approximately 1 628 kg) for more than 6,022 florins (*fiorini larghi*) or about 290,000 *akçe*.⁹² On average, the price of a silk pound was around 60 *akçe*. While the price of woollen broadcloths seems to have been stable, the price of the silk pound only increased. Guanti paid around 60 *akçe* per silk pound from 1485 to 1490, but by the turn of the century Giovanni Maringhi was paying around 70 *akçe* per pound and Bartolomeo Tebalducci paid as high as 87 *akçe* per silk pound of *sari* silk (not the most expensive) in 1512.⁹³

Merchants also bore the costs of transporting the commodity and various additional expenses, estimated at 19% of the purchasing costs in the case of Bartolomeo Guanti. Nevertheless, they made significant profits. Maringhi claimed a profit of 70 to 80 ducats for every burden of silk he

88. See for example Salviati, I, 398, f°9v°, July 7th 1492: "Fa debitore Alfieri e creditore chassa di d. 351 d'oro [...] vagliono asp. 52 per ducato." In June 1512, from Tebalducci's letters, it was worth 53 *akçe*.

89. On June 24th 1512, he wrote that he sold twelve broadcloths at 37.5 ashrafi mamluk dinar a piece in Bursa. This currency was worth 40 to 41 *akçe*. In January 1513, it was worth 43 *akçe*. See ASFI, Manoscritti, 94, f°63r°, 79r°, 81r°.

90. See İnalçık, "Bursa."

91. Salviati, I, 398, f°25r°-v°.

92. See Hoshino, "Il commercio fiorentino."

93. In June 1512, a pound of silk was worth 85 *akçe*, 78 *akçe* in October 1512, March 1513, and May 1513. See ASFI, Manoscritti, 94, f°55r°, 57r°, 81r°, 82r°.

sold to merchants or craftsmen (*lanaioli*, *setaioli*) in Florence. This corresponded to a profit margin of 20%.⁹⁴ In Florence, the silk could be directly sold to the textile workshops, but also to the trade companies, which then sold it to the workshops. In this way Alamanno and Iacopo Salviati, who headed the Salviati trading company of Florence, sold two burdens of *stravai* silk of 247 and 246 pounds to Iacopo Salviati's workshop. They received the merchandize on July 27th, 1490 by a convoy coming from Lecce. They bought it for 727.10.0 florins (*fiorini larghi*) and resold it for 861.11.3 (*fiorini larghi*). They thus realized a 15.5% profit of 134.1.3 florins (*fiorini larghi*).⁹⁵

The theft of a silk burden and the involvement of the sultan

Thus, the Persian silk market was necessary for the Florentine textile industry and was also very lucrative. Silk was a precious commodity that could bring both considerable profits and significant losses. The 1501 theft of a silk burden reveals the importance of this trade for relations between Florentine merchants and the Ottoman sultan.

In August 1501, two Florentine traders escorting silk from Pera to Florence (Bernardo Risaliti and Francesco Ciocci) marked a stop at Novi Pazar (Serbia) on the road leading to Ragusa (*luogho v'è 'l circha a mezza via tra Andrinopoli e Raugia*).⁹⁶ This was a prosperous area frequented by numerous traders, from Ragusa in particular.⁹⁷ During the night, someone stole a silk burden (silk of Lahidjan) bought in Bursa by the Florentine traders. An order of the Sublime Porte, confirmed by its calligraphic monogram or *Tuğra* (*uno chomandamento dalla Portta cholla 'ttesta del*

94. HBS MS547, letter to Niccolò Michelozzi, f°87r°, August 1501: "Che è ferma sperenza [sic] della setta mandata s'abbi per ghuadagniare 70 o 80 duchati per ffardello s'ensi vero li avisi sono di chostà ne' preggi si trovava la setta."

95. Salviati, I, registers 363, 400, 401.

96. Caravans consisting of mules or horses followed this itinerary between Constantinople and Ragusa: Andrinople (Edirne) – Plovdiv (Bulgaria) – Skopje (Macedonia) – Novi Pazar (Serbia) – Sarajevo (Bosnia). See Pinelli, "Florentine Merchants."

97. Some 16th-century travel narratives give some insights about Novi Pazar. On his trip to Constantinople in 1534, Benedetto Ramberti made a stop at Novi Pazar "cioè nuovo mercato [...] questo è bazar assai celebre, et grande pieno di mercatantie et di botegehe così de Turchi, come de Christiani. Vi stano mercatanti Rhagusei et altri. appresso vi passa un'acqua molto bella et chiara: laquale non molto poi entra in la Morava." Likewise, on the road from Venice to Constantinople in 1573, Philippe du Fresne-Canaye visited Novi Pazar "ville grande et commerçante, placée entre de hautes montagnes, mais dans un endroit de plaine assez large, où passe une eau belle et claire qui entre ensuite dans la Morava." See Ramberti, *Libri*, f°6v°; Canaye, *Le Voyage au Levant*, p. 31.

Sultano sopra), was sent to Novi Pazar to help resolve the problem by locating the stolen silk and/or the thieves (*sopra a detto luogho che se riteni el ffordello di seta leggi e li ladri*). Giovanni Maringhi hoped to find at least a part of the stolen silk burden. He sent Tomasino, his young apprentice (*l'uomo ch'io v'ò mandato è Tomasino, è allievo nostro di diqua, huomo tutto nostro*) to Novi Pazar, accompanied by a slave of the sultan Bayezid II. He was ready to spend 25 to 30 ducats to find the silk and had promised a good tip to both men (*s'è promesso loro buon beveragio*).⁹⁸

In his successive letters, Maringhi regularly mentioned that he had received no important news about the stolen silk burden until March 1502 when he sent a letter to ser Niccolò Michelozzi.⁹⁹ In this letter, he explained that the slave of the sultan who had previously gone to Novi Pazar, had to leave Constantinople three or four days later to go there again. He had with him a letter from the sultan that ordered the men of the village to pay the Florentines 15,000 *akçe*. Some people of Novi Pazar had already been identified as owing this amount in a verdict pronounced some time previously. The sultan also commanded the local authorities (*a dua chadi e uno sobasci luoghi tenenti*) to punish those men. The Florentine merchants obtained this letter through the intermediation of a "friend" (*a otenere questa lettera v'abbiamo avuto hamicho*). It cost them ten and a half Venetian ducats. Tomasino was again sent to Novi Pazar with the Sultan's slave. If the slave managed to recover the silk, he would receive 1,500 *akçe*, but absolutely nothing if he failed to recover it. Maringhi also expressed gratitude for the services of their interpreter (*il nostro drago-mano*), Battista, paying him 8 to 10 ducats. Maringhi remained hopeful of either recovering the burden or the amount of 15,000 *akçe* because of the sultan's interest in resolving the conflict. Maringhi indeed asserted that the sultan's benevolence extended beyond these events and concerned in a general way the Florentines and their activities (*il Sultano ci dimostrò in questo e in ogni nostri affari di volerli bene e amare tutta nostra nazione chordialmente*). Ultimately, the Florentines managed to recover approximately two thirds of their investment. This episode illustrates the importance of this market for the Florentines and the involvement of the Ottoman authorities.

98. HBS MS547, letter to Niccolò Michelozzi, f°87r°, August 1501.

99. Ibid., letter to Niccolò Michelozzi, f°125r°, March 1502.

Italian merchants had a deep impact on Bursa and the Silk market. They contributed to both its enrichment and to its fall. The city of Bursa took advantage of very significant customs duties, estimated at 120,000 ducats in 1487, at 100,000 in 1508 and at 130,000 in 1512 just before Selim Ist's embargo.¹⁰⁰ Duties then collapsed in 1521, falling to 40,000, as a result of the increased price of raw silk because of very high European demand, and because of the competition created by the increased importation of silk fabrics.¹⁰¹ Among the Italians, the Genoese and the Venetians had established themselves in these places over several centuries, trading in Tabriz from the very beginning of the 14th century.¹⁰² The Florentines arrived later, around the first third part of the 15th century, but they managed to impose themselves thanks to their textile production and the Venetian-Ottoman wars. On the Ottoman markets, competition between Italian merchants for the purchase of raw materials and the sale of finished products was very strong.¹⁰³ In Bursa, Florentines competed with the Genoese and local merchants and craftsmen.

Selim Ist, the blockade and the end of the direct importations of silk

The politics of sultan Selim Ist disrupted Bursa's – and consequently Florence's – direct supply of Persian silk. Battling against the Safavids, the Ottoman sultan declared a commercial blockade, closing the Ottoman borders to any traffic from Persia.¹⁰⁴ Selim seized the silk stocks of Persian merchants in Bursa and deported the merchants to Constantinople or to Rumelia in 1513. He forbade the import and the sale of Persian silk, on pain of fines or of seizure of property. Persian traders tried to bypass this blockade by diverting their trade through the Mamluk territories, but after 1515, the Ottomans' managed to assert strict control, before gradually subjugating the Mamluk sultanate. The blockade prevented Persian traders and Muslim Ottoman subjects from selling Persian commodities. The only ones to be partially exempted from this blockade were the Armenians and

100. See Çizakça, "A Short History."

101. See İnalcık, "The Ottoman Economic Mind."

102. See Jacoby, "Western Commercial;" Petech, "Les marchands italiens;" Prazniak, "Tabriz."

103. See Braude, "International Competition;" Çizakça, *Sixteenth-Seventeenth Century Inflation*.

104. About the blockade of Selim Ist see Bacqué-Grammont, *Les Ottomans*; Floor, *The Economy*. The Florentine sources consulted do not include any testimony from that period.

the Jews, because they were perceived to be less receptive to Safavid religious propaganda. The measures taken by Selim Ist were very unpopular and had disastrous effects; his son, Soliman, abolished them when he came to power in 1520. He freed and indemnified Persian traders, while continuing to strengthen State control over the sale and the distribution of silk. In Bursa, the shortage of raw material had increased prices spectacularly, leading to traders' ruin, the closure of workshops, and the loss of a very important tax income. Numerous Persian traders abandoned the place for the benefit of new intermediaries, mainly Armenian traders. Concurrently, sericulture and the weaving of cotton velvets developed.¹⁰⁵ Caravans and workshops returned gradually to their normal speed. In the observations he made during his 1546-1549 journey in the East, Pierre Belon wrote that the silk was always at the heart of Bursa's wealth.

The wealth of Bursa comes from silk, for not a year goes by without a thousand camels bringing silk from Syria and other countries of the Levant being unloaded there; and the silks there are prepared, spun, woven, and put into various works and various dyes, in various ways, because the Turks wear their velvet clothes in various colors, as also are interwoven with gold and silver, and properly shaped.¹⁰⁶

Selim Ist's politics had substantial consequences for Florentine merchants. According to Patrick Chorley's calculations, the Ottoman exports of numerous Florentine companies fell from 42% to 13% between 1518 and 1544.¹⁰⁷ Silk supplies also declined in an important way during the 16th century, mainly because of the closure of Bursa's market. However, changes also occurred in the raw silk market, which moved towards the Italian peninsula and closer to the manufacturing workshops. Florentine silk manufacturers imported more and more silk from Calabria. Besides, sericulture had developed in Tuscany and in the neighbouring regions (Marche, Abruzzo). The registers of the silk manufacturer Agnolo Del Caccia, preserved in the archives of the Hospital of the Innocents of Florence, clearly illustrate this evolution. Between 1479 and 1483, he mainly purchased silks coming from around the Caspian Sea (42%). Between 1498 and 1508, he began to mainly purchase Calabrian silk (56%), even if numerous lots of Persian silk (14%) still appeared in his registers. His purchases from 1508 until 1512 included almost no Persian silk – no more than 2% of his purchases. Persian silk disappears completely from

105. See Faroghi, *Travel and Artisans*.

106. See Belon, *Voyage au Levant*, chap. 43, p. 516.

107. See Chorley, "The Volume of Cloth Production", "Rascie."

his register during the reign of Selim Ist and does not reappear until 1527. He bought very significant proportions of Calabrian silk and also procured silks from Marche and Tuscany.¹⁰⁸ Thus, the reopening of the silk trade after the Safavido-Ottoman conflict did not mark a return to the earlier dynamic. In fact, in 1569, the list of the weights and tare weight used by the *Arte di Por Santa Maria* mentions no Persian silks.¹⁰⁹

Nevertheless, some silk and gold thread workshops in Florence still used Persian silk. Between March 1514 and October 1522, the *battilori* Giuliano and Pier Francesco da Gagliano used more than 35% Persian silk (*stravai e sari mescolate*) to manufacture their golden threads. They imported more than 848 pounds (almost 288 kilos) of Persian silk out of a total 2,383 pounds (809 kilos).¹¹⁰ However, they no longer purchased this silk on the Bursa market. The Florentine merchants were unable to remain active in this market. They withdrew from it and bought most of their Persian silk on the European markets in Venice, where the Venetians traders resold portions of their imports of Persian silk. They also resorted increasingly to intermediaries from Ragusa and Ancona who shipped their cargo to Ottoman markets and sold them Persian silk. The register of insurances held by Raggio di Nofero Raggi from 1523 till 1526 highlights the key roles these intermediaries played in transporting products toward the Ottoman East.¹¹¹ Numerous ships navigated the passage between Ancona and Pera loaded with Florentine broadcloths; others went via Ancona and Ragusa following the overland route. If Nofero Raggi ensured cargoes leaving from Livorno towards the Ottoman Empire or returning, it was not anymore about silk. The political situation and resulting fallback solutions ended the direct purchase of silk on the Bursa market.

Conclusion

Over eighty years, Florentine merchants managed to provide the Florentine textile industry with Persian silks, buying them directly on the Bursa market. To do so, they imported incredible quantities of textile

108. Archivio dell'Ospedale degli Innocenti di Firenze, registers 12361, 12381, 12384 and 12385.

109. See Morelli, *La Seta fiorentina*. The author refers to the competition between different silk production centers in the Italian peninsula. She also underlines the absence of Persian silks from the second half of the 16th century.

110. Salviati, seria IV, 51.

111. Salviati I, 70. This register contains the memories of the insurance policies he released.

products to the Ottoman markets, which they used as a currency to buy silks. Their trade thus consisted in exchanging Florentine products, mainly woollen broadcloths, for different modalities. They could sell them directly for cash, barter them for silk, or acquire silk on several months' credit to give themselves time to sell their broadcloths.

As Florentine merchants made no direct contact with Persian silk carriers, they depended on intermediaries. Their main contacts, who bought their products and supplied silk, were the Turkish and Jewish craftsmen of Bursa. Through their connections, networks and skills, the Jews progressively became key to Florentine trading in the Ottoman Empire. The conflicts between the Venetians and the Ottoman Empire gradually allowed the Jews to replace the Venetians as intermediaries between East and West. Indeed, once these wars ended, the Venetians never restored their position in trade with Constantinople and the Balkans.¹¹² Their success even worried Venetian authorities, who complained repeatedly to the Ottoman powers, in particular during the 1550s and 1560s, denouncing the seizure of certain supplies by the Jewish merchants, in particular wool and products stemming from the textile industry.¹¹³ The situation in Bursa also highlights the role of local communities of merchants in the international economy.

During that time, Florence was able to compete with Genoa and Venice on Ottoman markets. Bayezid II made the Ottoman markets wide open to Florence and encouraged imports, which was also a way for him to fight against Venice. During the long wars that marked the end of Mehmed II's reign and the beginning of the reign of Bayezid II, mostly from 1463 to 1479 and then from 1499 to 1503, the sultans significantly favored Florentine traders.¹¹⁴ Venice, the sultans' principal maritime rival, was their main trading partner in the Mediterranean area. Promoting Florence thus served as a means of overcoming this dependence. At the height of the tensions between Venice and the Ottomans, the Ottomans expelled many Venetians from government houses in Pera and installed Florentines instead.¹¹⁵ Florence thus received particular favors that significantly augmented its trade in Ottoman commercial areas. The wars Selim Ist carried out against his Safavid neighbour cut off Florentine merchants' direct

112. See Arbel, *Trading Nations*, in particular chapter one.

113. Simon, "Contribution."

114. Gallotta, "Venise et l'Empire ottoman."

115. Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire*.

supply of Persian silks. The Florentine traders, who were closely dependent on the sultans' politics, had clearly a fragile position in Ottoman markets.

The trade of Persian silks highlights a long-distance network, from the coasts of the Caspian Sea until Florence. Persian and Azeri carriers escorted the silks to Bursa where they came under the control of Bursa's Jewish and Turkish craftsmen who sold them to the Florentine merchants, who exported them to Florence. In this process, every actor in the network performed his own task and the connection between these different actors, on the commercial platform, allowed Florence's textile industry to use the Persian silks.

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Ingrid Houssaye Michienzi, *The Silk Market in Bursa around 1500 as it appears in the Florentine Business Archives*

Around 1500, Bursa was a crucial center of silk production and trade. Located in North-West Anatolia, it served as the point of arrival for caravans conducting precious silks from the coasts of the Caspian Sea. Florentine agents dispatched in the Ottoman Empire by Florentine companies bought a portion of the cargo carried by those caravans. Examination of these companies' accounts books and correspondence reveals the vitality of this business and provides new insight about the mechanisms of the silk trade in Bursa. These long-neglected commercial sources demonstrate that Florentines depended on Ottoman intermediaries, particularly Jewish merchants and artisans, to procure silk and participate in the caravan trade.

Ingrid Houssaye Michienzi, *Le marché de la soie à Bursa vers 1500 d'après les archives commerciales florentines*

Vers 1500, Bursa était un centre crucial pour la production de soieries et le commerce de la soie. Cette ville située au nord-ouest de l'Anatolie était le point d'arrivée des caravanes convoyant les précieuses soies depuis le pourtour de la mer Caspienne. Les agents florentins présents dans l'Empire ottoman achetaient une importante quantité de ces soies grèges. L'examen de leurs livres de comptes et de leurs correspondances révèle la vitalité de ce commerce et éclairent d'un jour nouveau les mécanismes du marché de la soie de Bursa. Ces sources commerciales, longtemps négligées par l'historiographie, démontrent à quel point les agents florentins dépendaient d'intermédiaires ottomans, particulièrement de marchands et artisans juifs, pour se procurer la soie et participer au trafic caravanier.

NURIA DE CASTILLA

MAGHREBI BINDINGS IN OTTOMAN DRESS ABOUT CHANGES OF TASTES AND TECHNIQUES IN SAADIAN MOROCCO

The history of Islamic bindings is still in its fledgling stages. A rough chronology of its development and a loose geographical attribution of the various styles provide a sketchy outline for those who are studying this material, although in some cases more precise data have been gathered.¹ The way in which the ornamentation was implemented on leather bindings is the basis for the distinction between an earlier period, when blind tooling with small tools was used, and a more recent phase characterized by the use of plates, the first examples of which date back to the end of the fifteenth century. However, the many instances of manuscripts from an early date protected by a binding decorated with a plate show that one has to examine carefully whether a binding is contemporary with the manuscript it is associated with, since many Islamic bindings were replaced when they started to decay.² This is why Western collections may sometimes

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1. The main studies about Islamic bindings are Bosch, Carswell, Petherbridge, *Islamic Bindings*; Haldane, *Islamic Bookbindings*; Raby, Tanındı, *Turkish Bookbinding* and Weisweiler, *Der islamische Bucheinband*.

2. Déroche *et al.*, *Islamic Codicology*, p. 253.

provide important clues, when they keep Islamic manuscripts completed shortly before entering these collections and still having their original binding. We can in this case surmise that the original bindings were prepared during this short time span for the manuscripts they are still covering.

The aim of this article is to take advantage of such a situation in order to examine the development of bookbinding in Morocco during the second half of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, based on the bindings of the sultan's collection kept in the Royal Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial library (Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, RBME). Local workshops were still using blind tooling with small tools, at least at the beginning of the second half of the sixteenth century, as shown by RBME 248 in the El Escorial collection.³ The manuscript is written in a nice Maghrebi hand and has been completed on 17 *ṣafar* 969/27 October 1561. Its binding is clearly Maghrebi as far as the technique and decoration are concerned. It has been prepared with small tools, stamped into the leather. Within a thick frame with three decorative bands, a circular ornament stands in the centre of the field. Its decoration relies on a braided composition enhanced by nine gilded rosettes forming a square. The inner corners of the field are decorated by a braided motif similar to the central one. They also contain rosettes, which are the only 'coloured' component of the boards' decoration. The latter exhibits irregularities (for instance lines which are not exactly parallel, superposition of the tools during the stamping process, etc.) resulting from the technique used. Various elements in the manuscript suggest that its binding is the original one, made in October 1561 or slightly later. Next to this fine example of traditional binding, I found other Maghrebi copies completed towards the same date and covered by bindings decorated with plates almost identical with those used by binders working in the Ottoman Empire in around the same period. Of course, it may be that the manuscripts were brought from Morocco to the East and bound there. But this hardly seems to be the case since the items I have collected for this study are part of the library of the Moroccan sultan Mulay Zaydān kept today in the San Lorenzo de El Escorial monastery, close to Madrid, which means that they were in Marrakech in 1612.⁴

3. Déroche, "Des miscellanées princières d'époque saadienne", p. 163-174.

4. Castries, *Les Sources inédites* II, p. 106; Lévi-Provençal, *Les Manuscrits arabes de l'Escorial* III, p. viii-ix; Justel, *La Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, ch. II.2; Herzenshon, "Traveling Libraries."

Mulay Zaydān's flamboyant father, Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, established this library during the second half of the sixteenth century, although there may have been a first Saadian collection before that. It was taken over by Spain at the very beginning of the seventeenth century. In May 1612, Mulay Zaydān was facing a rebellion in the central region of his kingdom. The situation became so tense that he had to flee from Marrakech to the port of Safi on the Atlantic coast, whence he planned to sail to Agadir and reach the Sūs area in Southern Morocco where he could gather support against his enemies. In Safi he chartered a ship, the Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde, captained by Jean Philippe de Castelane from Marseille.⁵ He loaded all his belongings on board, including the library he had inherited from his father. Philippe de Castelane set sail for Agadir, which he reached safely. He then asked for the 3,000 ducats that had been agreed upon as a payment for the transport.

After lying off Agadir for some time, Philippe de Castelane became convinced that he would never get paid, and weighed anchor at night. He decided to sail to Marseille where he could sell his cargo. On her journey towards the north, the Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde encountered three Spanish men-of-war that pursued and finally seized her. She was then taken to a Spanish port where the cargo was unloaded and Mulay Zaydān's library became part of King Philip III's, kept in the monastery palace of San Lorenzo de El Escorial. In spite of all his efforts, the Moroccan sultan was never able to recover his books.⁶

This episode had a positive outcome: the library is one of the very few from Islamic lands that has survived almost intact up to the present day. It therefore provides an idea of its state in 1612, and in that sense can be seen as a "time capsule." Most old Islamic libraries were dispersed, and those that have come down to us date from the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. In many cases they are Ottoman. But as these collections usually continued to receive new items and to lose older books until the nineteenth or even twentieth centuries, it is very difficult to determine their holdings at a given moment of the past – unless a dated catalogue provides the necessary information. As far as the bindings are concerned, local craftsmen either repaired or replaced those that were in poor condition. In some cases, the change is obvious because the style and/or the technique do not match the date of the manuscript, but in many instances it is difficult

5. Castries, *Les Sources inédites* II, p. 263, n. 1.

6. Justel, *La Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, p. 191-194.

to determine if only because some tools, such as plates, were used over long periods of time. A close look at the manuscript is then required, in order to detect changes to its initial state. The books of the Saadian sultans' library remained almost untouched, in spite of the losses in the fire that partly destroyed the El Escorial monastery in June 1671.⁷ In its present state the collection contains about 2,000 manuscripts. Some were restored in Spain, but their bindings can easily be identified as they were prepared according to Western techniques and bear a decoration indicating their belonging to the El Escorial collection – usually Saint Laurence's gridiron.

The manuscripts began to be investigated scientifically during the eighteenth century. In 1760, Michel Casiri published in Madrid the first volume of the Arabic manuscript's catalogue of the library, followed by the second in 1770.⁸ At the time, it was one of the largest collections of Arabic manuscripts in Europe, and provided a wealth of information about Islamic culture – not only in its Moroccan version. The texts were quite understandably the centre of the attention of Western scholars who devoted most of their efforts to them, and still are to this day. Slightly more than a century after Casiri, a French scholar, Hartwig Derenbourg, examined the collection and started to publish a new catalogue (1884-1903).⁹ Although death prevented him from finishing this work, Evariste Lévi-Provençal (1928)¹⁰ and H.P.J. Renaud (1941) pursued his efforts.¹¹ Derenbourg and his followers concentrated on what mattered to them, namely the identification of the texts and the information that would allow them to assess the quality of a copy. Codicology was not a concern at the time, and the history of the manuscripts was only exceptionally taken into account.

7. Ibid., p. 177, 188-190.

8. Casiri, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis*.

9. Derenbourg, *Les Manuscrits arabes de l'Escorial* I and II.

10. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Manuscrits arabes de l'Escorial* III.

11. Renaud, *Les Manuscrits arabes de l'Escorial* II.2 and II.3. Other shorter and partial catalogues have been published: Vajda, "Notes sur le fonds de manuscrits arabes"; García-Arenal, "Algunos manuscritos de fiqh"; as well as the indices by Cano, *Indización de los manuscritos árabes*. See also Justel Calabozo, "Legajos árabes de El Escorial: nuevas reagrupaciones y varias restituciones a los códices de origen"; Id., "Catalogación del fondo complementario de códices árabes de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial"; Id., "Catalogación del fondo complementario de códice-legajos árabes de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial".

Of the 2,000 or so manuscripts kept in El Escorial after the losses inflicted by the 1671 fire, more than a third of the dated copies were completed in the sixteenth century. A total of 127 manuscripts in a survey of 366 dated copies in the collection were transcribed during the tenth/sixteenth century (34.7%), followed by those dated to the ninth/fifteen (21.6%) and the eighth/fourteenth (18.3%) centuries. There is therefore a sharp contrast between volumes that may have been ordered by the Saadians and others that were already available on the market. The Saadian dynasty wrenched power from the Wattasids in 1554, claiming to be sharīf, that is to say, descendants of Muḥammad through Ḥassan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. During the second half of the sixteenth century, Morocco enjoyed favourable economic conditions, primarily owing to its sugar exports to Europe. It was also involved in the diplomatic game of the time: the Saadians had a good relationship with England and the Netherlands, which helped them fend off their powerful Christian neighbour, Spain. They also had a complex relationship with the Ottoman Empire. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Ottomans had succeeded in setting foot in North Africa. Like Spain, they were direct neighbours of Morocco and, as such, viewed with suspicion. They were also perceived as a model, nevertheless, and, in a few cases, an ally of one of the Saadian pretenders to the sultanate.

The various catalogues of the collection describe only roughly the kind of script used in the manuscripts¹² and mention their date – even if these data are not always accurate. However, as stated above, codicological characteristics are not taken into account and there is no information about the bindings. It is therefore impossible to know whether a volume still has an Oriental binding or was rebound in the El Escorial according to Western techniques. For this reason, I started looking at the manuscripts in order to estimate the interest of the collection for the history of Islamic bookbinding in general, and for Moroccan bookbinding in particular. I also intended to match the material evidence with the traditional literature on the subject. We are actually fortunate to have various treatises on this craft produced in the Western Islamic world, that provide some information about the techniques used for the decoration.¹³ In a paper entitled “Reliures marocaines du XIII^e siècle. Notes sur des spécimens d’époque et de tradition almohades,” Prosper Ricard, who pioneered

12. Derenbourg distinguishes between “écriture asiatique” and “écriture magrébine”.

13. Ibn Bādīs, *Umdat al-kuttāb*; al-Ishbīlī, *Kitāb al-taysīr*.

research in this field, commented on the information taken from a treatise by a seventeenth-century Moroccan binder, al-Sufyānī. The binder defined the three kinds of binding decoration in use in Morocco at his time.¹⁴ According to Ricard, the three types are found from this period until the nineteenth century. He sums up al-Sufyānī's treatise in the following way:

- a. The Oriental type, "conçu à la manière de maintes compositions persanes du xvi^e siècle [...] avec un médaillon central ellipsoïde, souvent accompagné, aux angles, d'écoinçons au profil lobé ou festonné : organes couverts d'arabesques florales en léger relief obtenu par l'estampage de coins gravés en creux : le tout enfermé dans un cadre tantôt traité au calame et à l'encre d'or, tantôt gaufré sur feuille d'or au moyen de petits fers en bronze ou en acier."¹⁵
- b. "Un type [...] d'allure hispano-mauresque, avec médaillon carré à décor d'entrelacs polygonal et, dans les compartiments, de petits motifs floraux : éléments en léger relief obtenu, comme dans le type précédent, par le procédé de l'estampage, et souvent rehaussés d'or et de couleurs. Parfois, dans les angles, s'enclavent, également estampés, des écoinçons à décor floral et au profil de stalactites. Un listel, gaufré sur feuille d'or, encadre le tout."¹⁶
- c. "Un type au décor rare, avec ou sans médaillon estampé ou gaufré, caractérisé surtout par une ou deux chainettes courant dans l'encadrement entre des listels nus, sans or: ensemble d'allure archaïque sinon pure de style employé surtout au xviii^e siècle."¹⁷

The "Oriental type" (a) covers the bindings decorated with mandorla-shaped plates commonly found not only on Ottoman bindings from the sixteenth century onwards, but also further East and, as shown by

14. al-Sufyānī, *Art de la reliure et de la dorure*.

15. Ricard, "Reliures marocaines," p. 110. The Oriental type is "similar to the Persian compositions of the sixteenth century, with an ellipsoid central medallion, corner pieces with lobed or festooned shapes; these elements are covered with floral arabesques in light relief resulting from the stamping of plates where the decoration has been incised like an intaglio."

16. Ricard, "Reliures marocaines," p. 110. "Hispano-moorish style, square medallion ornamented with polygonal interlace as well as small floral motives in the compartments; these are in light relief as a result of stamping, as in the previous case; they are often enhanced with gold and colours. Sometimes, corner pieces also stamped exhibit a floral decoration with a stalactite-like shape. The composition is framed by a band in gold."

17. Ricard, "Reliures marocaines," p. 110. "Infrequent decoration, with or without a stamped or gilt medallion, recognizable above all by one or two chain-like lines found in the frame between undecorated bands, without any gilding; this archaic looking composition is found above all in the eighteenth century."

al-Sufyānī's treatise, in Morocco.¹⁸ To these three types defined by al-Sufyānī at a comparatively late date, Ricard added a fourth one that he discovered on thirteenth century bindings during his researches in the Ibn Yūsuf madrasa in Marrakech, which inherited various collections from religious foundations, including that of the old Kutubiya mosque.¹⁹ This fourth type was actually the old technique of tooling with small tools, alluded to at the beginning of this paper. The tool had to be stamped many times on the leather, often in combination with other similar tools, in order to produce an overall figure. In al-Sufyānī's time, this technique was reduced to a secondary role in the process of decoration, for the frames for instance.

As could be expected, both "Oriental" and Ricard's fourth types are found in the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial collection, with examples of both types associated with sixteenth-century copies. Among the "Oriental" type bindings, I noticed a difference between some manuscripts with a binding exhibiting a decoration using Ottoman plates, and others decorated with plates reminiscent of Ottoman models but definitely not produced by Ottoman craftsmen – a conclusion that will be explained later. In both cases, manuscripts written in Oriental or Maghrebi scripts were involved.

As a first step, I decided to focus on the dated copies and I compiled a corpus including many Maghrebi manuscripts, some of them completed as early as the twelfth century, like RBME 415, transcribed in 556/1161.²⁰ The copies completed before the sixteenth century will provide interesting information about the plates that were used, but they are not relevant for the present study which will focus on dating the change from small tools to plates, and then possibly the use of either type of plates. The chronology of these changes has to rely on the dated copies of the second half of the sixteenth century, a point of prime importance since it means that their bindings were produced after the copy was completed and before 1612, when Mulay Zaydān's collection was seized by the Spaniards. I can surmise, on the basis of the script, that these manuscripts were transcribed in Morocco, although the place where the transcription was performed is rarely indicated in the colophons.²¹

18. However, it would be more accurate to say that it is common in North Africa.

19. Ricard, "Reliures marocaines," p. 110-111; Lings, Ṣafadī, *The Qur'an: Catalogue*.

20. Derenbourg, *Les Manuscrits arabes de l'Escorial* I, p. 277.

21. The time span would indeed be very short for these copies, copied in Morocco, to travel to the East and be bound there. This also implies a change in ownership, as it

All the bindings with central plate decoration are of Type II, that is to say, with fore-edge and envelope flaps.²² On the boards, the central plate, usually in the shape of a mandorla, can be the only ornament, but it may be associated with corner pieces and/or small pendants at both extremities of the central mandorla. The tip of the pentagonal flap is decorated with a smaller plate, usually in the shape of a drop. In addition to the stamping, the binders also used various techniques in order to enhance the appearance of the binding. This involved gilding, painting, stamping the plate(s) on a piece of leather or paper of a colour at variance with that of the board, cut to the shape of the tool and glued over the covering. In some cases, the ornaments are sunk into the board as a result of a preparation of the cardboard, into which compartments the shape and size of the plates were cut, and in which they would be stamped once the leather had been spread over the boards.²³ The frame is usually very simple: fillets and/or a row of a S-shaped tool.

The plate technique allowed for the production of many similar bindings as the same plates were used again and again, unlike the small tools technique, which comprised more changes even if the bookbinder could reproduce a composition on various bindings. In the Ottoman Empire, the ornamental compositions engraved on the plates were to some extent stereotyped and can be described according to a typology which has been established by François Déroche.²⁴ In principle, a methodical description of the bindings on the basis of this typology could help identifying workshops and simplify the dating of the bindings. As this typology focuses on the structure of the decoration and not on the decoration itself, it would be necessary to supplement it with a detailed analysis of the various kinds of leaves, flowers, etc.

MAGHREBI SCRIPT, OTTOMAN BINDING

Within the corpus of dated Maghrebi copies of the second half of the sixteenth century bound in Ottoman style, I selected a few examples which were quite close to the products of the Ottoman workshops of the

would have been economically unsound for a Moroccan owner to have his books bound in an Ottoman bindery.

22. Déroche *et al.*, *Islamic Codicology*, p. 289-309.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

24. Déroche, *Les Manuscrits du Coran* I/2, p. 15-26; Déroche *et al.*, *Islamic Codicology*, p. 300-309.



Fig. 1. RBME 579. Upper board and flap.
(© Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial).

time: RBME 579 is dated 976/1568 and is in the current state of the research the earliest example of a dated Maghrebi copy with a binding in Ottoman style which might have been made in Morocco (Fig. 1).²⁵ The bright red leather binding is decorated with a central scalloped mandorla with gilt ground. The symmetric composition belongs to the OSd type of Ottoman plates (“O” indicating that the composition does not include “clouds,” “S” that it is symmetrical and “d” that it is symmetrical according to both vertical and horizontal axes).²⁶ The corner pieces have their classical lobed shape, with a floral composition that was originally gilt,

25. RBME 334, dated 908/1502, is earlier, but has probably been rebound. RBME 579 is dated in its colophon with the year in *rūmī* numerals read incorrectly by Derenbourg as 844/1440 (Déroche, *Les Manuscrits du Coran*, p. 402).

26. Déroche, *Les Manuscrits du Coran*, p. 21; it seems to be a variant of the very successful OSd 1 composition. See also Déroche *et al.*, *Islamic Codicology*, p. 303.



Fig. 2. RBME 202. Complete binding.(© Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial).

and are outlined by a thin gilded fillet, as is the mandorla. All these elements are sunk deeply into the board, suggesting that the cardboard had been prepared to accommodate the plates and provide a three-dimensional impression. The vertical axis of the board is highlighted by a gilt line supporting two small pendants on both sides of the mandorla.²⁷ The frame is also gilt and consists of three fillets, with the space between the two closest to the field filled with thick S shapes suggesting a rope design. The fore-edge flap has been preserved. Its decoration is inspired by the earlier tradition, with small irons used for two bands (at the top and the bottom, Weisweiler 55 type)²⁸ and a central rectangle (Weisweiler 56 type);²⁹ all these elements are gilt and framed by fillets and the rope composition of the boards. The pentagonal flap is decorated in a style similar to that of the boards.

RBME 215 is another important example, at the other end of the chronological range of this group of bindings. It was transcribed in a Maghrebi hand in 1018/1609 and bound in Ottoman style. Obviously, there was no time to have the copy travelling back and forth between Morocco and the Ottoman Empire, between a Moroccan copyist and an Ottoman binder, during the short span of time between the completion of the copy in 1609 and the seizure of the library in 1612. The leather has very unusual red and green stains everywhere. The boards are decorated with a central scalloped mandorla, with two pendants, and the corner pieces have their classical scalloped shape. As in the previous example, all these elements are deeply sunk into the board, using the same technique as in my previous example. The asymmetric composition of the central mandorla combines *tchi* clouds with a bunch of flowers and leaves; it is close to the NA 5 type ("N" stands for the French "*nuages*", clouds; "A" indicates that the composition is asymmetric).³⁰ The decorative elements of the decoration have been painted in black on a gilt ground. A gilt fillet, enhanced by *tigh-s*, surrounds the decoration. The board is framed by a gilt band, with S shapes stamped in a row.

RBME 202 is also a Type II binding on cardboard, with its fore-edge and envelope flaps preserved (Fig. 2). Its boards are decorated with a

27. They are similar to those found on RBME 211 binding (Fig. 5), but here they are gilt.

28. Weisweiler, *Der islamische Bucheinband*, p. 70-71.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

30. Déroche, *Les Manuscrits du Coran*, p. 18-19, fig. 5; Déroche *et al.*, *Islamic Codicology*, p. 301.

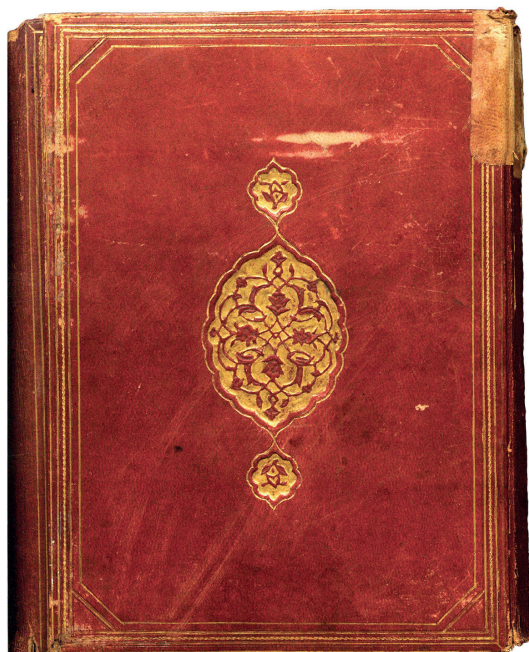


Fig. 3. RBME 229. Upper board.
(© Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial).

central mandorla with pendants and four corner pieces, and these seven components are stamped with plates and the ornaments painted in black over a gilt ground. The cardboard has been prepared with the same technique as that of RBME 579, so that the various decorative elements appear to be sunk into the board. The composition of the central scalloped mandorla does not include Chinese *tchi* clouds; it is symmetrical and has its starting point on the side of the mandorla. It is not found among the types described by Déroche, but could be described as OSv 1, as the composition is symmetrical along its vertical axis. The smaller mandorla stamped in the tip of the flap is of the OAi 4 type.³¹ The board is framed by a gilt band with S shapes stamped in a row. In many instances, the gilding and the black paint are used in conformity with the Ottoman use. It should be noted however that the paint enhancing the vegetal shapes has not always

31. Ibid., p. 22, fig. 4.

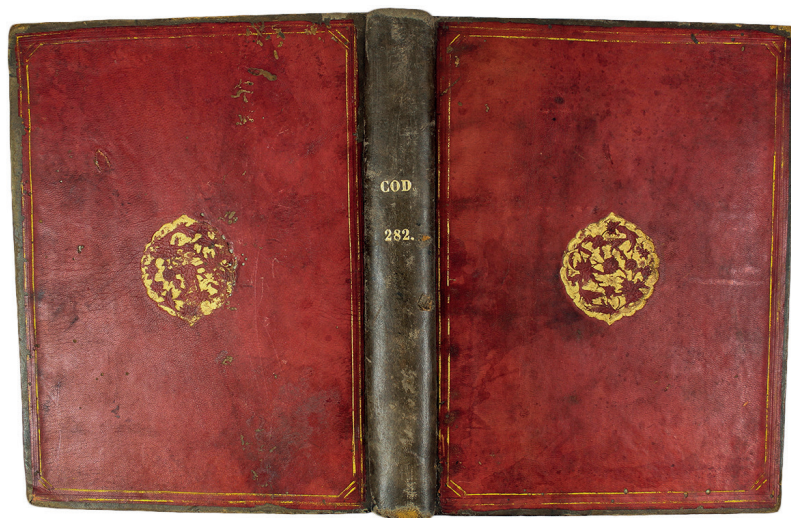


Fig. 4. RBME 282. Complete binding.
(© Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial).

been applied with the same care as would be the case with a binding produced in Istanbul. Concerning the black paint seen on RBME 202, it cannot be ruled out that the preparation used in Morocco included components different from those used by the Ottoman craftsmen, and was not well adapted to this application. A physico-chemical analysis could help to solve this point.

Other bindings are of a simpler kind, but the plates look typically Ottoman. RBME 229, like the next examples, has a simpler decoration in Ottoman style (Fig. 3). The binding is complete and the decoration consists of a scalloped mandorla with two pendants on the boards and a smaller mandorla in the tip of the flap. Their ground has been gilt. The frame is drawn by various gilt fillets and a thin row of S-shaped stamps, also gilt. The corners of the field are occupied by small triangles. The central medallion has a doubly symmetrical *rūmī* composition. It corresponds to the OSd 1 type (the letter “d” indicating that there is a double symmetry).³² It is characterized by the four bifid leaves arranged around four fleurons. This is one of the most common compositions and seems

32. Déroche, *Les Manuscrits du Coran*, p. 21; Déroche et al., *Islamic Codicology*, p. 303.

to have been popular in Morocco as well, as we shall see later. The binding is closer in its general appearance to the Ottoman examples and it might actually have been produced in an Ottoman workshop. Actually, the date of this Maghrebi copy (803/1400) leaves open the possibility that the manuscript was bound in the Ottoman Empire, then brought back to Morocco. The only evidence to support this hypothesis is the title written on the lower edge in a clear Eastern hand.

RBME 282 is another important element for the chronology: the colophon states that the copy was prepared for Aḥmad al-Manṣūr's library, thus between 1578 and 1603 (Fig. 4). An almost rounded plate with scalloped outline was stamped in the centre of the field, framed by a double fillet. The original boards have been preserved by the new Western binding, but the flap is lost. The ground of the floral composition was gilt, but it was applied without much care, sometimes covering the flowers or leaves and leaving some places that are part of the background without gilding. The composition is thus not very clear, and I tentatively suggest comparing it with the OAi 11 type.³³

The plate technique may have become familiar in Morocco as a consequence of the book trade through which many manuscripts produced in the Ottoman Empire reached the Saadian kingdom, some of them with a binding decorated in this way. Many volumes in the El Escorial collection are probably examples of this, but research on this specific point will have to decide which bindings were produced in the eastern part of the Mediterranean. On the other hand, the sixteenth century Maghrebi manuscripts with "Oriental" type bindings which are also part of the Saadian collection can be copies either written in the Maghrib and bound in the Ottoman Empire, or written by a Maghrebi copyist in the Ottoman Empire and bound there, and then, in both cases, brought back to Morocco. Or the manuscripts were written in Morocco and bound there by a binder who had plates imported from the Ottoman Empire, or by an Ottoman craftsman who had been invited to set up a bindery in Morocco.

A closer look at the bindings suggests that they were decorated by craftsmen who were not fully conversant with the Ottoman *savoir-faire*.³⁴

33. Déroche, *Les Manuscrits du Coran*, p. 24 and fig. 11; Déroche *et al.*, *Islamic Codicology*, p. 306.

34. This remark is based on the present findings, although it cannot be excluded that evidence of an Ottoman binder's activity in Morocco might turn up. However, as far as the examples I am examining are concerned, we have to surmise that an Ottoman craftsman would be conversant with the techniques and aesthetics of his homeland.



Fig. 5. RBME 211. Upper board.
(© Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial).

On RBME 579 (Fig. 1), for instance, the thick S of the frame are very different from the thin tooling one finds on Ottoman bindings. The corner pieces are usually treated in the same way as the mandorla, which is not the case here, as the ground of the latter is gilt, unlike the former. The black paint used by the binder on RBME 202 (Fig. 2) looks different from that of contemporary Ottoman bindings and has been applied without the skill one would expect.

MAGHREBI SCRIPT, IMITATION OF OTTOMAN STYLE

A second group of Maghrebi copies dated to the second half of the sixteenth century and bound in Ottoman style stands apart from the first one for stylistic reasons. A first example is the binding of RBME 211, a copy transcribed in 977/1570 in Morocco (Fig. 5). The plate used by the binder retains the mandorla shape with a scalloped outline. The com-

position is based on elements recalling the Ottoman leaves and flowers, arranged symmetrically,³⁵ but the rendition of the various items is simpler: their shape roughly matches the original, but the relief in the detail of the vegetal components is lacking. The vertical axis of the board is indicated by a fillet supporting two pendants similar to those found on the RBME 579 binding (Fig. 1). Interestingly enough, the frame is in a more traditional taste, inspired by models found on bindings produced in the Eastern part of the Islamic world when small irons were in common use. The stamp (type Weisweiler 10) is based on the same pattern as that present on RBME 190 and RBME 1272 bindings (see below).

This binding is decorated with a plate close to the OSd 1 type. It shows how the *rūmī* composition was taken over by Maghrebi craftsmen. The bifid leaf is not as delicate as on the Ottoman example, and in one case has even lost part of the leaf. The fleurons are stylized to such an extent that they sometimes become perfectly unrecognizable. I have yet to find a binding with one of these plates produced in Morocco using the Ottoman technique of gilding and black paint to enhance the decorative composition and play on a greater number of colours. At the most, Moroccan binders combined two kinds of leathers – one of which was cut to the shape of the central mandorla (and, when necessary, to that of the corner pieces). On the other hand, some of the frames are still produced not only with the old technique (small tools), which is normal since the Ottoman binders did the same, but with a pattern close to Weisweiler type 10, rather than the simple S-shaped tool.³⁶

The imitation is even more obvious in the case of RBME 304 (Fig. 6). The binding covered with light brown leather is fully preserved and provides another example of the technique observed on RBME 215, where the cardboard was prepared in order to have sunk compartments for the plates. In addition, pieces of red leather in the shape of the mandorla and the four corner pieces were glued on top of the leather covering the boards. The central scalloped mandorla exhibits a composition reminiscent of the classical Ottoman type OSd 1.³⁷ However, the bifid leaves have lost one element and the leaf itself is hatched; as a whole, the

35. The composition, organized around a central flower, is not found in the typology by Déroche. The same plate has been used for the binding of RBME 112, a copy dated in 531/1136 (Derenbourg, *Les Manuscrits arabes de l'Escorial* I, p. 69).

36. Weisweiler, *Der islamische Bucheinband*, p. 63.

37. Déroche, *Les Manuscrits du Coran*, p. 21; Déroche et al., *Islamic Codicology*, p. 303. The scalloped outline is not so dense as in traditional Ottoman examples.

decoration seems quite crowded. The corner pieces are triangular, with a scalloped side facing the mandorla. The *tchi* cloud shapes are apparent in the composition, although they have been transformed by the coppersmith. A Z-like stamp, probably a crude rendition of the Ottoman S-shaped small stamp, is used for the pendants (in a circular disposition) and for the frame, producing a continuous line of chevrons. On the fore-edge flap, the same stamp has been used again on both sides of a central compartment with an arabesque composition stamped on red leather. The corner pieces are found again on the flap, along with a pendant-like ornament in the tip.

RBME 190 and RBME 1272 are written by a Maghrebi hand and date back respectively to 694/1294 and 533/1139. Their bindings are clearly sixteenth century replacements by the same binder, using the same composition and the same tools. The central ornament is a mandorla, but its outline is not scalloped. The composition involves bifid leaves close to those found on Ottoman plates of the OSd 1 type, but in a local version. It is clear that the coppersmith was not familiar with the shapes he was engraving, and he failed to render the relief that can be observed for instance on the RBME 229 binding (Fig. 3). In both cases, the frame is rather thick, with a band inspired by the same pattern as that of RBME 211 (Fig. 5), but tooled directly by the binder, and a double fillet surrounding the central field. Its corners are marked by a small roundel. The same elements are used again on the flap, with a scalloped drop-like ornament in the tip. The tool used for the frames appears again on the fore-edge flap, in two rows.

The bindings of RBME 132 and RBME 409 are reminiscent of the previous ones, but not identical to them. Both were produced by the same binder, who used the same composition in these two instances. The first binding, RBME 132, is especially important for the chronology of this group: the Maghrebi copyist completed his work in 1003/1595, which means that the plate was in use between the years 1595 and 1612, a precious indication about the transfer of patterns from the Ottoman originals to their Maghrebi imitations. The outline of the central mandorla is not scalloped and the composition is another example based on the OSd 1 type. Its centre is highlighted by a gilt dot stamped later. The ruling indicating the position of the plate has been turned into a component of the decoration; on RBME 409, it is gilt. The frame is especially thick, and wider on the small sides of the board than on the vertical ones. An isolated fillet is close to the edge, while a group of two fillets on each side of a row of

S-shaped stamps defines the central field. The corners are highlighted by the stamping of small roundels (identical with that indicating the centre of the mandorla), except on the outer corners of RBME 132 marked with a small oval gilt stamp. On the upper board, on the horizontal axis and close to the left edge of the binding, a gilded stamp is found. The centre of the fore-edge flap and the tip of the flap are decorated by a small composition with small tools.

*

The evidence reported above provides new information about the changes Moroccan bookbinding underwent in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, leading to the situation described by al-Sufyānī at a slightly later date. The bindings of the first group can only have been produced locally, for some details indicate that the craftsmen were not completely familiar with the Ottoman binding tradition, although they strove to reproduce this model. In addition, it seems improbable that books which were part of the Saadian collection would have been sent unbound to a workshop operating within the Ottoman Empire, then brought back to Morocco with their new binding. In some cases (e.g. RBME 215) the time that elapsed between the completion of the copy and the seizure of the Saadian library was moreover too short to allow for this complicated move. The Moroccan binders were using plates that could either have been imported from the Ottoman Empire or produced locally, with accurate reproduction of the details of an Ottoman model (possibly *via* a drawing on paper). The first hypothesis is strengthened by a similar situation encountered in Venice: a binding of the New Testament, printed in Cologne in 1564.³⁸ From the outside, this binding exhibits many Western features. There is no protective flap typical of Islamic bindings and the back shows seven cords of alternating thickness, characteristic of Venetian bindings.³⁹ The boards are decorated with a central scalloped mandorla, the sides of which almost come into contact with the innermost fillet of the frame. The typically Ottoman design of flowers and leaves (type OAi 10)⁴⁰ stands out in relief on a gilt ground. The plate of the *Novum Testamentum*

38. It was published by Déroche, "A Western Binding."

39. Castilla, "A Binding for Philip II."

40. Déroche, *Les Manuscrits du Coran*, p. 23 and fig.; Déroche *et al.*, *Islamic Codicology*, p. 306, fig. 108.



Fig. 6. RBME 304. Upper board.
(© Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial).

binding was certainly produced in an Ottoman workshop and used in a bindery where tools from European and Ottoman origins were found side by side. It may have been located in Italy, perhaps in Venice, or in Istanbul where Venetians were active at that time. However, the relation between the mandorla and the size of the binding or the gilded pointed line are obviously foreign to the aesthetics of Ottoman bookbinding, and the addition of gild did not give the book a genuine Ottoman appearance. A binder working in Istanbul would probably have been more aware of the local production and techniques. The binding of the *Novum Testamentum* is a product *alla turca* of a Western, possibly Venetian, workshop. Plates may have been exported from the Ottoman Empire and Morocco and Venice were at the receiving end of this trade.

The second group of bindings mirrors a slightly different situation. Technically, the binders who produced them were relying on the same

plate technique as their colleagues who were behind the first group (if they were not the same craftsmen). The difference lies entirely with the aesthetics of the decoration engraved on the plate by a coppersmith. As the production process left no trace and the tools themselves do not seem to have been preserved,⁴¹ we can only offer a hypothesis as to the origin of this second group. As this style of ornament, probably defined as “Oriental” by al-Sufyānī, had an enduring success in Morocco, I can surmise that it was produced by local workshops and not imported. It is clearly not Ottoman. What might be the reason? Various explanations can be proffered. There may have been some reluctance to adopt the Ottoman style wholesale, and coppersmiths were entrusted with the engraving of plates closer to Moroccan taste. Another explanation might be that the success of the plate decoration was so great that the demand for bindings prepared with the new technique could not be met with imported plates only, and that imitations consequently started to be produced locally. A third possible explanation involves the bookbinding economy: the imported plates may have been too expensive, and/or Moroccan coppersmiths who started a local production were unable, for various reasons, to produce plates similar enough to the Ottoman models. The second group of bindings decorated with a mandorla in the centre of the boards reflects this change. The plates are clearly different from the very stable Ottoman repertory, although composition based on the OSd series were apparently very successful.

Can the chronology shed light on this change? On the basis of the evidence collected so far, the earliest instance of the use of an Ottoman plate on a binding prepared by a Moroccan binder, that of RBME 579 (976/1568), predates by only one year the binding of RBME 211 (977/1570), decorated with a plate produced in Morocco (Figs. 1 and 5). If this finding mirrors correctly the sequence of events, the importation of plates preceded the local production, as one might expect. This also means that the importation of bound books from the Ottoman Empire, although important during the sixteenth century, at most made Moroccan book collectors acquainted with this new aesthetics, but was not instrumental in the development of a local production inspired by this model.

41. I did not find any archival material related to this and I have been unable to locate plates that could perhaps provide some information about the place of production, through physical analysis of the metal used for instance.

The preceding remarks apply to plates prepared by local coppersmiths. Moroccan binders themselves also added a local touch to the bindings – either when using imported Ottoman plates or when working with locally produced tools. As noted above, when painting or gilding were added to enhance the compositions, they were not applied with the same care as in the case of a binding produced in Istanbul. The Moroccan binders were apparently not aware of the normal procedures. In one case, a craftsman using an imported plate added a central diamond and four dots on the two axes, although there was no relationship whatsoever between the composition and these gold flakes. In a second example, a kind of gilt quat-refoil surrounded by a few dots was superimposed on a classical bunch of flowers and leaves. In many instances, the gilded fillet underlining the outline of the mandorla was applied without much care, as was at times the black paint covering the twigs, leaves and flowers of the Ottoman compositions, as noted previously. Moroccan binders also had older tools (for instance for the frames), which they sometimes used in addition to the newly introduced plates.

We are not only dealing with the importation of plates and fashions from the Ottoman Empire to Morocco. Techniques were also involved. Correctly handling the plates when decorating the binding probably required some training and the “three-dimensional” boards required special preparation. How did Moroccan binder learn these new techniques? They had a lasting success, as we can gather from the al-Sufyānī’s typology presented by Ricard. His “Oriental type” relies on the use of mandorla-shaped plates, and his “Hispano-moorish style”, with polygonal interlace as well as small floral motives in the compartments in light relief, probably derives from the “three dimensional” board technique. For the finest bindings, the association of gilding with paint enhancing the composition stamped on the leather had some success. The same applies to the combination of a piece of leather cut to the exact dimensions of the mandorla which was glued on the board and then stamped.

CONCLUSION

The El Escorial collection sheds a completely new light on the history of binding in Morocco during the sixteenth century. It shows the decline of the traditional bindings with an ornament made with small tools, replaced by a new style inspired by Ottoman models and a technique that was already well known in the Ottoman Empire. A first group of bindings

is characterized by the use of imported Ottoman plates by local binders (Ottoman binders settled in Morocco seem less probable), who imitated the Ottoman fashion. A second group is Maghrebi. In this case, local imitations of Ottoman plates were produced for the binders who blended them with traditional features. The dates of some of the manuscripts and the history of the collection suggest that the change began after the middle of the sixteenth century. The new style was soon fully integrated into the local taste, and Ricard defined it as one of his three styles. Of course, his definition has to be modified since the reference he made to Persian bindings is not valid. One should also add that in al-Sufyānī's time, the earliest Maghrebi technique relying on the use of small irons seems to have been completely forgotten.

What is more interesting is of course the cultural dimension of the changes that I have been analysing here. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Algiers was integrated into the Ottoman Empire. The Moroccan sultans faced this new neighbour with distrust, and pitted Christian Spain against the Ottomans when it suited them. As *sharīf*-s, they took over the title of *amīr al-mu'minīn* that gave them prestige within the Islamic world, especially in their dealings with the Ottoman Empire. In his correspondence, Aḥmad al-Manṣūr himself intended to remind the Ottoman sultan that, as a member of the *āl al-bayt*, he was above the scion of the House of Osman.⁴² However, the cultural flow was in favour of the adoption by the Moroccans of many Ottoman features. Under Aḥmad al-Manṣūr's reign, many Ottoman fashions found their way into the palace of the Saadian sultan.⁴³ Some Turkish titles were for instance taken up in the army.⁴⁴ Aḥmad al-Manṣūr's stamp, probably related to his '*alāma*,⁴⁵ was sometimes put on books of his collection – a habit foreign to the Western Islamic world at that time but quite common in the Empire.⁴⁶ The engraving of his '*alāma* and its shape is clearly reminiscent of Ottoman sultans' seals. Many manuscripts were bought in Istanbul or in other cities of the Empire for the sultan's library.⁴⁷ In the art of binding, Moroccan

42. Mouline, *Le califat imaginaire*, p. 69-70.

43. As a young prince, Aḥmad fled to Algiers in order to avoid being killed by his uncle. It is not clear whether he made the journey to Istanbul while he was in Ottoman territory. See Mouline, *Le califat imaginaire*, p. 47.

44. Mouline, *Le califat imaginaire*, p. 151.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 231-232.

46. See for instance the numerous manuscripts with Beyazıt's stamp.

47. Research on the book trade between the Ottoman Empire and Morocco is currently underway as part of the SICLE project.

craftsmen took over the models and the techniques that had developed on the shores of the Golden Horn and – with the help of local coppersmiths – turned them into a local feature.⁴⁸

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48. Further research is needed to fully understand how these binding techniques and aesthetics progressively replaced the traditional craft during the Saadian period.

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Nuria de Castilla, *Maghrebi Bindings in Ottoman Dress. About Changes of Tastes and Techniques in Saadian Morocco*

The history of Islamic bindings is hampered by the lack of evidence about the date and place of production of the bindings. As the library of the Saadian sultans of Morocco (now in San Lorenzo de El Escorial monastery) was captured by Spain in 1612, many bindings are still in the condition they were in at that date.

In this article, I discuss the Ottoman influences on sixteenth-seventeenth century Morocco through the analyses of some of the Maghrebi manuscript bindings kept in the El Escorial collection, using either Ottoman plates or local imitations of the latter. In the light of this study, it will be possible to find some clues about the local production during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and to show how the traditional Moroccan binding techniques started to disappear by the end of the sixteenth century and to be replaced by Ottoman techniques throughout the seventeenth century. All this evidence leads to far-reaching conclusions: more than just a matter of techniques, it is indicative of a change in aesthetics and, more broadly, of the cultural and intellectual relationship between Morocco and the Ottoman Empire, which had reached Algiers by that time.

Nuria de Castilla, *Des reliures maghrébines à l'ottomane. À propos des changements de goûts et de techniques dans le Maroc saadien*

L'histoire de la reliure islamique pâtit d'un manque de données sur la date et le lieu de production des reliures. Entrée dans les collections espagnoles en 1612, la bibliothèque des sultans saadiens du Maroc (de nos jours au monastère de San Lorenzo de El Escorial) contient de nombreuses reliures qui sont dans l'état où elles étaient à cette date.

Dans l'article, j'examine les influences ottomanes dans le Maroc des ^{xvi}^e et ^{xvii}^e siècles à travers quelques reliures de manuscrits maghrébins conservés à l'Escorial et pour lesquelles ont été utilisées des plaques soit ottomanes, soit à l'imitation de ces dernières. À la lumière de cette étude, il sera possible de trouver des indices sur la production locale des ^{xv}^e et ^{xvi}^e siècles et de montrer comment les techniques de reliure marocaines traditionnelles commencèrent à disparaître vers la fin du ^{xvi}^e siècle pour être supplantées par les techniques ottomanes au cours du ^{xvii}^e. Toutes ces données débouchent sur des conclusions d'une portée considérable : plus qu'une simple question de techniques, elles montrent un changement d'esthétique et, plus largement, des relations culturelles et intellectuelles entre le Maroc et l'Empire ottoman qui, à cette époque, avait atteint Alger.

FELICITA TRAMONTANA

THE SALE ON CREDIT AS A FORM OF ASSISTANCE TO OTTOMAN PEASANTS: A CASE FROM 17TH-CENTURY PALESTINE

The aim of this article is to contribute to current research on the Ottoman peasantry, focusing on the forms of assistance available to inhabitants of the countryside in the framework of the socio-economic dynamics of Ottoman society. My point of departure is the analysis of a case coming from Palestine in a year of poor harvest. I will focus specifically on the local governor's response to villagers' requests for help.

Since the last decades of the 20th century, many topics related to the Ottoman peasantry have attracted scholarly interest. This recent scholarship has enriched classic research fields, as is the case, for example, with research on agrarian reforms, property rights, and modes of production.¹ Other scholars have tackled the features of peasants' use of the Ottoman courts and addressed religious conversions in the setting of villages.² Despite these efforts, many aspects of life outside the cities are still unknown.³ This is the case, for example, with forms of assistance granted to the peasants.

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1. Mundy, Saumarez Smith, *Governing Property*; Joseph, *Islamic Law on Peasant Usufruct*. On rural Ottoman society see also Kolovos, *Ottoman Rural Societies*.

2. Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society*; Tramontana, *Passages of Faith*.

3. Michel, "Ottomanisme et ruralisme." On the historiography on Ottoman Peasants, see also Faroqhi "Ottoman Peasants and Rural Life."

In addition to being a meaningful aspect of life in the countryside, state interventions to ensure peasants' subsistence have many political implications. They are tightly linked to the large research field that focuses on Ottoman peasant economy, reflecting on the nature of state power, its rule and institutions, and more broadly on the relationship between central government and its subjects and on the very nature of the state.

As is well known, both the relationship between the state and the taxpaying *ra'āyā* as well as the legitimation of the sultan's power were founded on the "idiom of justice." In this formulation, the meaning of "justice" referred strictly to the "circle of equity": the division into four interdependent classes on which society was based. Political justice meant preserving social order and harmony between the classes as well as ensuring their prosperity. As Boğaç Ergene has argued, this formulation had notable implications for the tax-paying *ra'āyā*, in it allowed their protection from abuses and oppression.⁴ This goal was pursued through the adoption of measures that would make the sultan's justice accessible to all his subjects, even the humblest ones:⁵ the establishment of a hierarchy of judges (*qāḍī*), the separation between administrative and juridical practices, and the possibility of sending petitions to the *divan*.

Granting justice, in the sense of prosperity, also mobilized the state to ensure the subsistence of its subjects: it provided the urban population with foodstuffs and raw materials and ensured the perpetuation of peasants' "subsistence production".⁶ As the Ottoman Empire was an agrarian society in which shortages of food were the main cause of social unrest and revolt, keeping the population well fed was a prerequisite of maintaining social order.⁷ It was also a basic principle of the moral economy.⁸ When the state failed to fulfil this mission, food shortages could result in large-scale population movements and unrest. Eventually, granting the subsistence of taxpayers, especially peasants, ensured the production of agrarian surplus, and provided the authorities with a justification for appropriating it.⁹

4. Ergene, "On Ottoman Justice."

5. Ergene, "On Ottoman Justice," especially p. 56-58. İnalcık, "State and Ideology". With regard more specifically to peasants İslamoğlu-İnan, *State and Peasant*.

6. On the link between the distribution of food and the Ottoman state legitimacy see Singer, *Constructing*, p. 131-135.

7. İslamoğlu-İnan, *State and Peasant*, p. xiv.

8. On the moral economy in Islamic society, see Singer, *Charity in Islamic Societies*, chap. II; Aytekin, "Peasant Protest."

9. Ergene, "On Ottoman Justice," especially p. 64.

Many scholarly works have explored various aspects of the Ottoman policy toward supplies: the state's control over grain provisioning; its policy of disaster relief in case of famine; and relief policies towards the poor. In addition to research that focuses on the central state's actions, scholars have more recently turned to the role of individual benefactors and beneficent institutions devoted to charity and poor relief in an Ottoman context. Besides being an expression of individual piety,¹⁰ these have come to be understood as "a basic mechanism of subsistence of the society," "a form of redistribution of wealth."¹¹

In spite of this growing scholarship,¹² the issue of how the inhabitants of the countryside were taken care of by the Ottoman "welfare society"¹³ has not been specifically addressed. Research on the role played by individuals and institutions, such as *awqāf* (religious endowments), has mostly been limited to urban settings. References to actions undertaken by the state to support the inhabitants of villages in cases of famine or other disruptions can occasionally be found, but the topic has never been the subject of specific research. Even patchier is our knowledge of routine forms of assistance, rather than severe subsistence crises. Actions taken to support the neediest members of the rural society and measures to help peasants dealing with daily misfortunes, such as poor harvests and rising prices have been scarcely studied by scholars.

Albeit consistent with the imbalance between our understanding of (and the available evidence about) the urban context and the countryside, this lack of knowledge on the topic is problematic for mainly two reasons. First because, due to the key role played by agriculture in the economy of the Empire, the continuity of agricultural production, and therefore the survival its workforce, was vital; second, because the proximity of producers and revenue-holders and the role played by the inhabitants of the

10. See for example, Ginio, "Living on the Margins."

11. Singer, *Constructing*, p. 167. A similar evolution has characterized research on charity in Early Modern Europe from the 1990s (see for example, Jones, *Some Recent Trends*; de Swaan, *In Care of the State*). This turn was influenced by cultural studies and by research on contemporary welfare state and by the development that the latter has undergone since the last decades of the 20th century, namely the increased participation of private actors. "Introduction," in Katz, Sachsse, *The Mixed Economy*; Horden, Smith, *The Locus of Care*.

12. Over the last twenty years, the topic has increasingly attracted scholarly attention: Pascual, *Pauvreté et richesse*; Ergene, Berker, "Wealth, Poverty;" Ragab, *The Medieval Islamic Hospital*; Bonner, Ener, Singer, *Poverty and Charity*.

13. Singer, *Charity in Islamic Societies*, p. 183.

countryside in the production of agrarian surplus highlight the connection between forms of assistance and mechanism of surplus extraction. Recent historiography has often overlooked this link; it is however of paramount importance for our understanding of the relationship between the state and its subjects.

Starting from these considerations, this article invokes a concrete example to describe what seems to have been a form of routine assistance during poor harvests in the period under consideration. More specifically, it analyses some Islamic court records of sales of wheat on credit. These were granted in 1633 by the local governor of Jerusalem, Muḥammad Pasha, to the representatives of some Palestinian villages, in order to sustain them after a poor harvest.¹⁴ After an overview of rural Palestine in the first three decades of the 17th century, the court's documents will be set in its local historical context, and evaluated in the light of the local governor's policies toward the population of the district and of his own interests as a revenue-holder. Further on, these sales on credit will be put into context within the wider framework of the forms of help available to inhabitants of rural areas and of the relationship between the state and its subjects. In this respect, the article argues that the forms of assistance granted to peasants are inextricably linked with the mechanisms of surplus appropriation. This will lead to a broader reflection on the limits of the assistance available to the inhabitants of the Ottoman countryside.

Palestinian peasants, the agricultural routine, and its disruption

According to 16th-century Ottoman surveys, Palestinian peasants¹⁵ grew wheat, barley, and, in the hills, olives and grapes. They also cultivated fruit and vegetables.¹⁶ The grain-producing land in the region mostly received enough rainfall annually to produce one crop, usually wheat,

14. This article is based on entries taken from volumes 120 and 121 of the Jerusalem court records. The page number of the entries are listed below.

15. For a definition of peasants, see Wolf, *Peasants*, p. 3-4; on the different approaches to defining "peasants," see Kurtz, *Understanding*, p. 93-124. On the modes of land ownership and tenure in the 17th-century district of Jerusalem, see Ze'evi, *An Ottoman Century*, p. 114-139; See also Mundy, Saumarez Smith, *Governing Property*, p. 13-20; Johansen, *The Islamic Law*. More recently, Joseph, *Islamic Law on Peasant Usufruct*.

16. Makovsky, "Sixteenth-century Agricultural Production;" Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*; Hütteroth, Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography*, p. 46-47. On 16th century Ottoman surveys of Palestine see also: Toledano, *The Sanjaq of Jerusalem*; Cohen, Lewis, *Population and Revenues*.

which was rarely missing from the list of taxable products of each village. It was often followed by barley, which was dominant further south, toward the steppes between Gaza and Hebron, as it was more resistant to dry climate and drought.¹⁷ Barley was used for animal fodder and human consumption, especially in times of food shortage. Olive cultivation, on the other hand, was concentrated in the highlands. In some of the villages located in the hills around Jerusalem, the production of olives was greater than that of wheat. This feature is of no surprise, given the importance of olives as an industrial crop: they were the basis of both oil production and soap-making.

In Marxist terms, the central state, its representatives, and other institutions, such as religious endowments (*waqf*, pl. *awqāf*) would seize the peasants' surplus. These authorities used it for their own livelihood and redistributed it to other groups. Generally, the burden of taxation was higher for villages whose incomes were appropriated by *awqāf* and provincial officials than for those that paid taxes to the central state.¹⁸ The income of a village might be assigned to a single revenue holder; as was the case with villages that belonged to a sultanic *waqf*, called *serbest*. More often, however, village revenues were shared between two or more tax recipients. In these cases, the total amount of taxes to be paid was higher.

Revenues were mostly taken in kind. Olives and grapes were taxed either as a percentage or as a fixed amount, depending on the local customary practice. In contrast, revenues on the grain harvest were always levied as a percentage. They thus varied from one year to the other. Fields were rotated in and out of use to allow the soil to recover, but the crops planted could not be changed without an official authorization, because this would alter the amount of taxes levied and therefore possibly cause confusion and a loss of revenues for the state. Since revenues were levied in kind, moreover, Ottoman officials not only collected the taxes but also supervised the entire production routine which followed the cycle of the seasons. Grain – wheat and barley – was planted in late autumn and harvested in spring. Vegetables and fruits were summer crops, and olives and grapes were harvested in late summer. The maturation of the crop was announced before the court by the heads of one of the villages of the

17. On the relationship between the increasing production of barley and Bedouins' raids see Etkes "Legalizing." The agrarian population in Palestine also included semi-settled villagers who overlapped with the Bedouins, see Ze'evi, *An Ottoman Century*, p. 87-114.

18. See Cosgel, "Taxes, Efficiency," p. 18.

nāhiyah,¹⁹ generally one of those closest to Jerusalem. They also brought before the judge a sample of the crop, which was evaluated and priced. The *qāḍī* issued the authorization to start the harvest and charged an official to supervise it. If the village's production was shared between two tax recipients, both supervised the harvesting.²⁰ This was often the case in the district of Jerusalem, as the incomes of many of the villages were assigned in part to a *waqf* and in part to *timār* holders²¹ and local governors. After the division was agreed upon, the peasants delivered the share due to the *waqf* administrator and/or the *sipāhī*. If the revenues were not collected in kind but in cash, however, the peasants would sell their crops, after receiving the revenue collector's permission.²² Everything that accompanied the agricultural routine, as described above, was recorded in the court.

The 1620s and the 1630s were not an easy time for Palestinian villagers, since cruel rulers and climate disruptions were endemic. The first half of the century saw the rise to power of local families in the whole of Palestine. The district of Jerusalem was mostly controlled by the Farrūkh family. Its members held important positions in the districts of both Jerusalem and Nablus and even that of *sanjaq-bey* (governor of the district), which they assumed in alternation with officials sent by Istanbul. The decades under consideration in this article were long remembered for the misrule of Ibn Farrūkh. He was the son of Pasha Ibn Abdullah, the founder of the Farrūkh dynasty;²³ he ruled in alternation with Muḥammad Pasha, who appears in the documents analysed in this article. Ibn Farrūkh was appointed *sanjaq-bey* for the first time in May 1621, but after only ten months he was replaced by Muḥammad Pasha, who had already ruled before. Shortly afterwards, Ibn Farrūkh succeeded in obtaining the office again, which he kept from 1625 to 1627. Afterwards there was the short rule of Ḥassan Pasha, and then Muḥammad Pasha was appointed *sanjaq-bey* again.²⁴

19. Sanjaqs (districts) were divided into subdistricts (*nāhiyah*), smaller administrative units made up of villages, and other places that were liable to taxation. This division probably had solely a fiscal function.

20. Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*, p. 95.

21. Grants of revenues by the Ottoman sultan to officials in compensation for their services. They might be composed of one or more villages whose revenues the officials appropriated.

22. Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*, p. 97.

23. On the rise of local dynasties in Palestine and on the Farrūkh family, see Mannā', *Mispahat Farrūkh*, and Ze'evi, *An Ottoman Century*.

24. Mannā', *Mispahat Farrūkh*, p. 75, 79.

Various sources describe both periods of Ibn Farrūkh's rule as times of terror and exploitation for the whole population of the *sanjaq*. In their sources, the Jewish and Christian communities mention the hardships they went through during his rule,²⁵ but in fact, the entire population suffered mistreatment, abuses and exploitation regardless of its religious affiliation; this happened in both cities and villages. As a result, during his rule, it was not only villagers who abandoned their land to shelter in the neighbouring district: the population of Jerusalem also diminished as its inhabitants tried to flee.

The hardships experienced by the villagers during Ibn Farrūkh's rule are testified to by numerous complaints submitted to the court after the end of his appointment, during the governorship of Muḥammad Pasha. At the end of March 1622, for example, the administrators of three *awqāf* lamented before the *qāḍī* of Jerusalem the ruin of the villages that belonged to the endowments.²⁶ *Waqf* administrators denounced cruelty, attacks on the population, and depredations that forced the inhabitants of the villages to seek refuge in the district of Nablus. According to the documents, some of the inhabitants of the villages were imprisoned and the governor's men burned many houses and oil mills. In the same period, the heads of other villages, too, presented complaints to the court. The inhabitants of the village of Kafr Sūr in the 'Arkūb area, for example, claimed that many of their sheep had been stolen by Ibn Farrūkh's men and sold to local butchers.²⁷ Similar complaints were presented again a few years later, after Ibn Farrūkh's second period in office.²⁸

In addition to abusive rulers, in the decades under consideration here the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem and the whole region suffered from climate disruptions that caused food shortages. Subsistence crises were common in the Ottoman Middle East, usually caused by climate extremes, military operations, or natural disasters. Crop failure could be a consequence of plant diseases or extreme weather conditions, whether heat waves and dry air or cold temperatures. Both stunted the growth of crops; inadequate rainfall, harsh droughts, or floods had the same consequences, exacerbated by the underdevelopment of irrigation technology that characterized early

25. See for example Rozen, *Hurvot Yerushalem*.

26. Jerusalem Court Record (from now on JCR) 105: 112, cited by Mannā', *Mispahat Farrūkh*, p. 75-76.

27. JCR. 105: 124, cited by Mannā', *Mispahat Farrūkh*, p. 76.

28. The heads of the villages of Banī Ze'īd, for example, reported exploitation, hardship, and damage to property, which led to the abandonment of the villages, Mannā', *Mispahat Farrūkh*, p. 81.

modern societies. The consequences of natural factors were often aggravated by men's behaviour. A petition sent to Istanbul in June 1579, for example, reports a complaint by the inhabitants of Safed. They alleged that the town's market inspector tended to clandestinely seize the provisions that arrived in the town and sell them to shopkeepers at a higher price than officially stipulated, thereby causing widespread hunger.²⁹ Throughout the 17th century, even though the worst of the Little Ice Age with its very cold and disruptive winters and summer droughts had already passed, climate fluctuations were not rare. They resulted in poor harvests, rural famine, peasant flight and diseases, with a continuous dwindling of the population between 1600 and 1640.³⁰ In this respect the decade between 1629 and 1639 is not an exception, as is brought out by well-known episodes, such as the flood that occurred in Mecca, the drought in Crete, and the almost total shortage of grain experienced by Istanbul.³¹

In Palestine, as in the whole Middle East, the late 16th and the 17th century were characterized by climate fluctuations that greatly affected agricultural production. During the 16th century, in some years the harvest was so fruitful that grain was exported;³² however, in many other years grain had to be imported from Cyprus, Egypt, or more distant provinces, such as Macedonia and Thrace.³³ Food shortages were caused mainly by drought and locust invasions. Natural disasters also affected the production of oil and soap, which were also among the main exports of the area. In 1597/98 and 1598/99, for example, the lack of rain and a locust invasion destroyed the olive crops and affected the production of oil to the point that, that year, there was not even enough oil for the lamps of al-Aqsa. In 1622/23, the area was affected by a severe drought, and again in the 1630s it suffered from climate disruptions, as testified to by the many requests for help recorded by the Islamic court.³⁴

The entries: a sale of crops on credit

In March 1633, the period when Palestinian peasants harvested the winter crops, the court of Jerusalem recorded a sale of wheat on credit,

29. Heyd, *Ottoman Documents*, p. 82-83.

30. White, *The Climate*, p. 205.

31. White, *The Climate*, p. 200.

32. See Heyd, *Ottoman Documents*, and Singer, *Constructing*, p. 123.

33. Heyd, *Ottoman Documents*, p. 128-135.

34. Mannā', *Mispahat Farrūkh*. See *infra*.

granted by the representative of the governor of Jerusalem, Muḥammad Pasha, to the inhabitants of Bayt Iksā – a village of the Jerusalem district – in the presence of the local *qāḍī* ‘Abd al-Karī and of the heads of the village (*shuyūkh al-qarya*) of Bayt Iksā.³⁵

The *shaykh al-qarya* is a familiar figure, often mentioned in court records involving villagers. The village leader or leaders were probably chosen among the eldest and wealthiest members of the community. They performed many important functions: they collected revenues, accompanied villagers to the law court to defend a common cause and acted as guarantors.³⁶ Consistently, in the entry reported below, they appear before the court and request the governor’s help. This request is explicitly linked to the drought and crop failure that the village was experiencing.

They [the *shuyūkh al qarya*] narrated to our lord, the *shar‘aī ḥākim*, the terrible dearth and the rise in price caused by the lack of food and the lack of crops that grows in the lands of their village and [...] [they narrated] of their complaint on the matter that was submitted to His Excellency, the one who has the reins of government.

وذكروا لمولانا الحاكم الشرعي ما لاقوه
من الجوع المدهش وقاسوه من الغلاء المرعش
لعدم ما يجدونه من القوت الذي يقوم به أودهم
والغلة التي يزرعونها بأرض بلدهم وأنهم---
شكواهم بذلك لحضرة صاحب السعادة مالك
أزمة السيادة مولانا الباشا المؤمي إليه

When looking at the request for help within the trend of agriculture productivity in the district as depicted by the court records for the year, the food shortage denounced by the villagers appears to have been short-lived. In fact, the request for help and the sales on credit were registered at the end of March, which is consistent with the winter crop failure. Nonetheless, in the same period, other villages of the district harvested grain (barley) at a normal amount.³⁷ Second, if we consider the year in its entirety, no further disruption emerges from the court records; in June and May, summer crops were harvested normally,³⁸ and in September, a

35. JCR, 120:386 (13 Ramaḍān, 1042).

36. Rafeq, “Economic Relations,” p. 662. According to Cohen and Lewis, the same role was performed in 16th-century Palestinian villages by the *raʿīs al-fallāḥīn*, Cohen, Lewis, *Population and Revenues*; Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*, p. 32-38. In Jerusalem court records of later centuries, the village headmen are referred to as “mutakallim” (speaker, representative). Ze’evi, *An Ottoman Century*, p. 148.

37. JCR, 121:1.

38. See for example, JCR 121:340, 12th of August (25 Muḥarram); JCR 121:341, 24th of September (9 Rabīʿ al-Awwal).

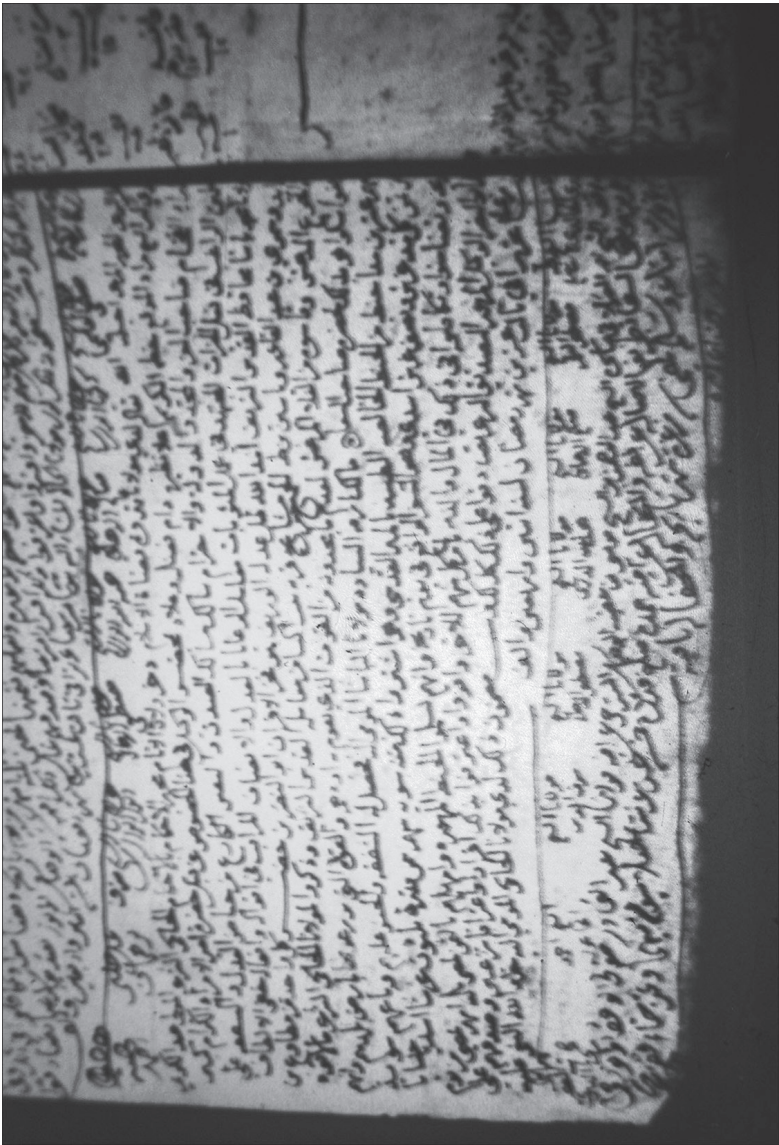


Fig. 1. Jerusalem Court Record (JCR), 120:386 (13 Ramaḍān 1042).

المحرر المرمي الشرعي أجله الله تعالى لدى مولانا قدوة قضية الإسلام ذخروا الأنام محرر الأحكام بالأحكام الحاكم الشرعي المولى عبد الكريم الشيخ مراد الموقع خطه الكريم أعلا نظيره ودام فضله وعلا ويمحضر الوكيل في هذا الخصوص عن قبل حضرة أمير الأمراء الكرام كبير الكبراء الفخام صاحب العز والمجد والدولة والاحترام سالك مسالك الصدق و--- الكارح في حياض العدل والشفعة على المسلمين الراغب في فعل الخيرات المجتهد في عمل المثوبات معاملة الرعايا بالعدل والإنصاف المراقب في أقواله وأفعاله خفي الأظاف مولانا محمد باشا محافظ القدس الشريف أمد الله ظل عدله الوريث وفخر الأقران أبو النضر بن خضر كل واحد في (من) مطاوع بن --- وسمرى بن عبد القادر وباسين بن طه الجميع مشايخ قرية بيت إكسا من معاملة القدس الشريف وذكروا لمولانا الحاكم الشرعي ما لاقيه من الجوع المدهش وقاسوه من الغلاء المرعش لعدم ما يجدونه من القوت الذي يقوم به أودهم والغلة التي يزرعونها بأرض بلدهم وأنهم شكواهم بذلك لحضرة صاحب السعادة مالك أزمة السيادة مولانا الباشا المؤمي إليه فحصل له الشفقة والحنو عليهم وباعهم سوميد سهم (منهم) عشرين مدا حنطة من الحنطة الخالصة الطيبة بالمدا القدسي وهم اشتروا ذلك منه سوية سهم ثمن قدره ثلثون غرشا أسديا حسابا من ثمن كل مد غرش ونصف غرش أسدي وهو ال--- الواقع في يوم تاريخه وأنهم يسلموا الحنطة المهجرة وأمهلهم بالثمن لمضي ثلاثة أشهر تمضي من يوم تاريخه وتضامنوا وتكاملوا في ذلك في المال والذمة بأمر كل منهم للأخر وأقرروا واعتزفوا بذلك إقرارا واعترافا شرعيين وصدقهم على ذلك أبو النضر الوكيل --- التصديق الشرعي وتصادقوا على ذلك كل --- مضمون ذلك لدى مولانا الحاكم المومي إليه خلع الله العمة عليه --- تحريرا في ثالث عشر من شهر رمضان لسنة اثنين وأربعين وألف

request was made to start the harvest. In the previous and in the following two years, the villages of the district made no requests for help.³⁹ This is also consistent with the fact that in the months following the peasants' requests for help, the price of the grain fell, with wheat sold for $\frac{1}{2}$ *ghurush asadī*⁴⁰ per *mudd* and barley for $\frac{1}{4}$ *ghurush asadī* per *mudd*.⁴¹ This is not surprising as most subsistence crises in the Ottoman Empire were not long-lasting, and after a while, prices returned to normal. In 1605, for example, the price of wheat and barley increased to 8 Egyptian coins per *mudd*, but a few months later, the price of wheat had dropped again to $\frac{3}{4}$ *ghurush* per *mudd*. The following years were a period of economic stability, with neither droughts nor other natural catastrophes, as suggested by the lack of fluctuations in the price of wheat over the following ten years.

The entry also records the amount of grain received by the villagers, the price at which it was given and the conditions of the payment.

Therefore, he [the governor] had pity on them and sold them wheat. He gave them twenty *mudd qudsī*⁴² of wheat. And they bought it from him at the price of thirty *ghurush asadī*. One and a half *ghurush asadī* per *mudd*. [...] They have taken the grain and he gave them three months from today to remit payment.

فحصل له الشفقة والحنو عليهم وباعهم سوميد
سهم (منهم) عشرين مدا حنطة من الحنطة
الخالصة الطيبة بالمد القدسي وهم اشتروا ذلك
منه سوية سهم ثمن قدره ثلثون غرشا أسديا حسابا
من ثمن كل مد غرش ونصف غرش أسدي [...] وأنها
يسلموا الحنطة المهمة وأمهلهم بالثمن
لمضي ثلاثة أشهر تمضي من يوم
تاريخه

The document ends with the heads of the village taking on the responsibility for the payment before the judge, and the date of the hearing.

The village of Bayt Iksā was not the only one that sought the governor's help between March and April 1633. On the same day and a few days later, many other villages of the district were sold wheat on credit as well. The villages were Bīr Zeīt, Bait 'Inān,⁴³ Qālūnyā,⁴⁴ al-Mālīḥah,⁴⁵

39. JCR. Vols. 121 and 122.

40. It is the Dutch thaler. In 1632 its exchange rate in *akçes* was 100 (Pamuk, *A Monetary*, table 8.3, p. 144). Foreign coins extensively circulated in the Ottoman Empire (Pamuk, *A Monetary*, p. 150-160). On the use of the Dutch thaler in Jerusalem, see Ze'evi, *Ottoman Century*, p. 143.

41. JCR 122, 197, Mentioned in Mannā', *Mispahat Farrūkh*, p. 85. *Mudd* was equivalent to 1.15 litres. See also Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*, p. xi.

42. On Jerusalem units of measurement, see Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*, p. 99.

43. JCR, 120:374.

44. JCR, 120:386.

45. 13 Ramadan 1042; JCR, 120:375.

Dayr Ghasānah,⁴⁶ Al-Rāmm,⁴⁷ Bayt Rīmā,⁴⁸ and Judayrah. They were all in the al-Quds *nāḥiyah*. Some of them lay to the west or the north of Jerusalem, while others were even further north, above Ramallah.

Villages had varying geographical positions, population figures, and agricultural production. Bayt Iksā was the most populous village, with 79 households, while Qalandia was the smallest, with only 15 households. Accordingly, the income of the villages also greatly varied. For medium-sized villages, it was usually between 1000 and 5000 *akçe*. Bayt Rīmā, Dayr Ghasānah, and Bayt Iksā produced greater revenues, 20,000, 23,500, and 18,000 *akçe* respectively. Part of the revenues of most of these villages went to a *waqf*; this was the case with Qālūnyā, al-Māliḥah, Dayr Ghāsanah, Bayt Iksā, Bayt Rīmā, Judayra, and Bait 'Inān. Bait 'Inān, was one of the few villages in the area that paid taxes as a lump sum (*māl maqtū'*). Other villages were taxed with a rate of 1/3, which was also the most common tax rate in the district of Jerusalem. Only in few cases the tax rate was 1/4 or 2/5.⁴⁹

Like most Palestinian villages, they all produced wheat, barley, and olives. Only al-Māliḥah produced summer crops as well, according to Ottoman tax surveys; vegetables and fruits were cultivated by the villagers of Judayrah and Bayt Iksā. As most of the villages located in the hills, Bīr Zeīt, Bayt Rīmā, and Dayr Ghasānah produced more olives than wheat.⁵⁰

Despite the differences in the number of households and in incomes, the price at which the wheat was sold and the conditions of payment (the three-month' grace) were identical. Moreover, the amount of grain received was almost always the same, which means that it was not decided according to the villages' characteristics and, arguably, needs. Equally puzzling is the fact that, as from the available data, the only village that received a larger amount of grain (30 *mudd*)⁵¹ is al-Māliḥah, of which the only difference with other villages is that it produced summer crops.

According to the court records the sales on credit were a response to the villagers' request for help. But what is the meaning of these loans in the local political context and in the wider framework of the relationships

46. Recorded on the 12 Ramadan 1042; JCR, 120:388.

47. JCR, 120:387.

48. JCR, 120:374.

49. Hütteroth, Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography*, p. 77. On the discriminatory taxation in Syria and Palestine see Cosgel, "Taxes, Efficiency."

50. Hütteroth, Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography*.

51. JCR, 120:375.

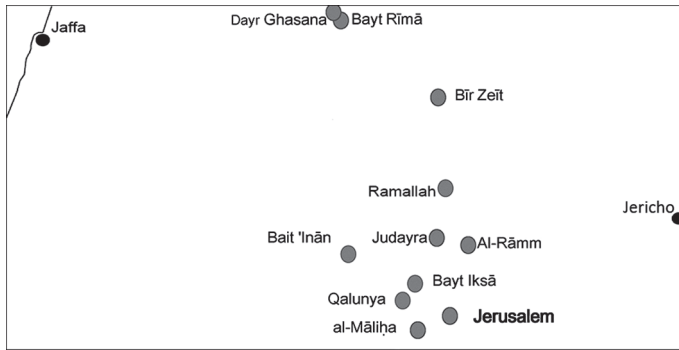


Fig. 2. The Local Context: Muḥammad Pasha and the Sales on Credit.

between the peasants, the state and the other revenue holders? Let us begin by framing the sales within the politics of the local governors of the period under consideration.

Governors and officials regularly came in possession of large amounts of crops as part of the dues and debts paid to them by villagers in the countryside. Therefore, in times of hardship they would often sell grain to the local population. That said, however, the motivations underlying the transactions varied greatly. In the case under consideration here, goals, motivations and political meaning may be reconstructed through the analysis of different elements: the policies of the governor toward his subjects; the scant available data on Muḥammad Pasha and on his economic interest; and the conditions under which the loans were granted. Let us begin with the latter.

According to the records, the wheat was sold to the villages at the price of 1.5 *ghurush asadī* per *mudd*, which was the market price in that period;⁵² payment was deferred for up to three months. But sales of crops were not always granted under these advantageous conditions. A few years earlier, the aforementioned Ibn Farrūkh, who ruled the district in alternation with Muḥammad Pasha, had sold grain to his subjects at a rate far higher than the market price, making a large profit on their misfortune.⁵³ In fact, drought and food shortages were often turned into an opportunity for local governors and high officials to increase their wealth

52. JCR, 120: 296, cited by Mannā', *Mispahat Farrūkh*, p. 85.

53. Mannā', *Mispahat Farrūkh*.

to the detriment of their subjects. Sometimes, for example, they prolonged material hardship, by prohibiting the importation of wheat, until they had sold their own stocks at a large profit.⁵⁴ The credit granted by Muḥammad Pasha was also interest-free, which was not something that could be taken for granted. Indeed, in the Ottoman Empire, it was common to charge interest in commercial transactions, and its amount was also registered in the court records.⁵⁵ Interest was often the beginning of a debt cycle, particularly where transactions in crops were concerned.⁵⁶

Although Muḥammad Pasha undeniably increased his wealth, the favourable conditions of the transaction suggest that sales with deferred payment may have been a form of help granted to villages in time of food shortage. This hypothesis fits with the governor's politics and, more specifically, with his previous efforts to help the impoverished inhabitants of the district. In fact, Muḥammad Pasha had already helped many villages to recover from the ruinous conditions caused by Ibn Farrūkh's men.⁵⁷ Among these villages, the court records also mention some that were granted the credit in 1633, such as Dayr Ghasānah, Bayt Rīmā, and Bīr Zeīt.

Other villages, such as Bayt Iksā, had even already bought wheat on credit from Muḥammad Pasha in 1622/23, when agriculture was affected by a drought. This drought had started in 1621/22, and soon led to food shortages and price increases. As a consequence, between December 1622 and April 1623 many villages reported that they had no seed.⁵⁸ On this occasion, too, farmers and villages approached Muḥammad Pasha requesting his help. The first to do so were the heads of Maharat al-Ayan,⁵⁹ who asked the governor to sell them grain. Similar requests soon followed.⁶⁰

The hypothesis that these sales on credit were used by the governor to help peasants in time of hardship is also consistent with his image as depicted by court records. These represent him as a benefactor, deeply

54. Marcus, *The Middle East*, p. 133.

55. See on the issue Çağatay, "Riba;" Jennings, "Loans;" Gilbar, "The Qadi;" Pamuk, "The Evolution," p. 11. On money lending in the Ottoman Balkans see also Gara, "Moneylanders."

56. Since the latter were generally made above the market price, the interest rate on credits in kind was higher than the one levied on monetary loans. See Aytekin, "Cultivators," p. 299.

57. Mannā', *Mispahat Farrūkh*, p. 78-79.

58. JCR, 105:650-666 in Mannā', *Mispahat Farrūkh*, p. 78-79.

59. JCR, 105:146.

60. JCR, 105:185, 244. Mentioned by Mannā', *Mispahat Farrūkh*.

involved in charitable activity and in the life of Jerusalem, where he continued to live when he retired. The vast range of his financial activities in the city is testified to by many proceedings, contracts of sale, and documents related to his soap factory. As the court records show, he was one of the greatest patrons of charitable architectural projects and revamped the city with major architectural ventures, as numerous inscriptions also testify.⁶¹ The charitable activity of Muḥammad Pasha focused on Sufi institutions, which probably increased the governor's public support, given the importance the Sufi community had acquired in the local society during the 17th century⁶². More specifically, he donated plots of land and gardens as *waqf*: in 1633, he established the (al)-Zāwiya al-Qādiriyya, located in the Ghawanima neighborhood,⁶³ and two other smaller *awqāf*, one benefiting the Maulawiyya order and the other the (al)-Zāwiya al-As'adiyya.⁶⁴ Judging from the sources, Muḥammad Pasha also enjoyed good relations with the religious minorities in the city⁶⁵. The waqf administrators may also have encouraged Muḥammad Pasha's intervention; as they developed a good relationship with the governor.⁶⁶ In fact the already mentioned complaints put forward after the end of Ibn Farroukh's rule strongly suggest that there was an interest on the part of the *awqāf* toward the well-being of the villagers in that period.

These scant data about his life also unfold a more practical reason underlying these sales on credit and more generally his policy toward the villages: his wish to retain the governorship of Jerusalem as long as possible. This hypothesis is strongly suggested by his numerous economic

61. Auld, Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, p. 917-918, 928.

62. Ze'evi, *An Ottoman Century*.

63. Auld, Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem*, p. 917.

64. His daughter married 'Uthmān Sūfī, the founder of the (al)-Zāwiyya al-Naqshbandiyya. Ibid.

65. The only incident involving the Jewish community was linked to its request to expand the community cemetery, which the governor forbade (Mannā', *Mispahat Farrūkh*, p. 67) and the Franciscan friar Verniero di Montepeloso, the author of a chronicle, expressed a positive judgment of his rule as well.

66. The existence of good relations between the governor and the administrators of some of the local religious endowments is also corroborated by an episode narrated in a court entry dating back to 1618-1619. According to the entry, when experiencing difficulties in collecting taxes from the villages, the administrators of a *waqf* turned to Muḥammad Pasha. Although at the time he was not governor, he was asked to collect the revenues from the reluctant villagers. The choice was justified by the fact that they had difficulties collecting them. JCR, 100:282, 1028/1618-19, in Auld, Hillenbrand, *Ottoman Jerusalem II*, p. 917.

interests in the city and by the fact that he carried on living there after the end of his appointment. In this perspective, ensuring a steady agrarian income was necessary to accomplish some obligations whose failure could have threatened his position. Moreover, as one of the main revenue holders, such an investment for a healthy tax-base would make him, on the long term, its primary beneficiary.

With regard to the district of Jerusalem, the relation between the length of the appointment and local officials' behaviour toward peasants has been highlighted by Ze'evi. Peasants' situation, he shows, deteriorated during the second half on the 17th century when the district governors were usually sent from Istanbul and meant to stay only for a short time in Jerusalem.⁶⁷ Because of the short appointment they were interested more in immediate gains through the exploitation of their subjects than in having a healthy tax base.

Finally, the hypothesis that the loans were granted in order to help the peasants is also corroborated by a comparison with other geographical contexts. For example, in the poorest areas of the rural Italian peninsula, special institutions were established to help needy peasants through loans in kind. These "*Monti frumentari*" (or "*granatici*") were first established, mostly by ecclesiastics, during the Middle Ages. However, their popularity was increased during the 17th century. They were funded to prevent peasants from falling into debt and becoming the victims of usury during the frequent subsistence crises. These institutions granted loans consisting of the amount of grain necessary for sowing or for the peasants' consumption; the amount borrowed could be returned with a small interest. The "*Monti frumentari*" fulfilled the double function of a credit and a charity institution, the latter being clearly dominant during subsistence crises and in the poorest areas. Loans were generally granted between January and June and had to be paid back between October and November.⁶⁸

The data gathered from the available sources frame the loans described by the court records within the governor's actions aimed at helping the

67. Ze'evi, *An Ottoman Century*, p. 35-40, 56-57.

68. The rules regulating the activities of these institutions varied greatly from one place to another. In some cases, and especially in Sardinia, these institutions lent not only grain, but also money and agricultural instruments. The interest requested differed, too; in some areas, no interest at all was charged. In most cases, however, it was between 4 and 5%. Bruno, *I Monti Frumentari*; for a bibliography on the subject, see Saporì, *Per la storia*, p. 378-379.

rural population. The analysis, moreover, brings out the connection between Muḥammad Pasha's sales on credit – and more generally his actions in favour of the villages – and his own interest as a tax-holder who appropriated agrarian surplus. In a larger perspective, two questions arise: to what extent actions toward the inhabitants of the countryside were dependent on the role of the peasants as producers of surplus and on their relationship with the revenue-holders? And, more broadly, what does the case of Palestine tell us about the forms of assistance available to the inhabitants of the countryside in case of food shortages?

In order to answer these questions, let us delve into the forms of assistance available to the inhabitants of the Ottoman countryside.

The assistance granted to Ottoman peasants

Research has amply described the state's general policies toward food supplies. Since the Ottoman Empire was largely autarkic, concerns about supplies were related not to acquiring provisions from outside, but rather to the distribution of basic foodstuffs within the empire and to preventing food shortages. Grain supplies were closely controlled; exportation and sales to foreigners were generally banned and in the years when there were abundant harvests, the exportation and sale of crops had to be approved by the Istanbul authorities.⁶⁹ At the level of production, the state tried to enforce its control over the producers by restricting peasants' movement, in order to prevent land from being left uncultivated. Finally, state intervention also aimed at equalizing day-to-day supply problems by enforcing strict control on both the quality and the cost of grain sold in public markets. This was achieved through price controls, market inspections, and releases of large quantities of grain from state-owned stores to relieve price pressure on local markets. In addition to this, the state established a hierarchy of priorities in the distribution of grain.⁷⁰ After frontier fortresses, priority in supply was given to provincial towns and, most importantly, the capital: the palace, the notables, and the *imarets* (soup kitchens). The *imarets* were themselves part of the multi-faced provisioning system, as they

69. Singer, *Constructing*, p. 124; Murphey, "Provisioning," p. 217-261.

70. Murphey, "Provisioning," p. 218-219. On the changes in the Ottoman provisioning mechanism enforced by the state: Ağır, "The Evolution," p. 2. On the evolution of price ceiling policies, Saraçoğlu, "Economic Interventionism."

supported the imperial palace itself and military campaigns, and provided foodstuffs to a large part of the urban population.⁷¹ The state was not only responsible for preventing food shortage, it also provided relief in case of famine: surplus stores were made available to meet extraordinary needs, and prosperous regions were obliged to make temporary loans of grain to areas affected by hardship.⁷²

If we focus on areas outside the cities, relief operations undertaken by the central state are mostly described in the context of specific – and often exceptional – circumstances. In Syria, for example, tax reductions were accorded to frontier villages as an incentive not to abandon the site,⁷³ especially in case of war, Bedouin raids, and so on. Another form of intervention was performed by the *menzil-hanes*. These special state storehouses formed the military supply system along the major roads through the empire and sold grain surpluses to nearby rural residents at low prices.⁷⁴ These examples, nonetheless, shed little light on how the rural population survived crop failures, which were frequent in pre-modern agricultural societies.⁷⁵ Even though these crises would not necessarily lead to famine and starvation, they inevitably caused food shortages and price increases, which in a subsistence economy could jeopardize the survival of the weakest.

In case of poor harvest, peasants mostly had to rely on stored resources. However, since crops cannot be stored for a long time, a good harvest would not prevent food shortages the following year. In some cases, they resorted to eating the seed corn, which threatened the sowing for the following year.⁷⁶ Unlike cities, there were no charitable institutions in rural areas that could prevent peasants and villagers from falling into a cycle of debt. That said, however, scattered evidence suggests that in the 16th and in the first half of the 17th century, Palestinian villagers sometimes requested and obtained help from local actors: local authorities, Ottoman officials, or *timār* holders.⁷⁷ In addition, even though the inhabitants of the villages whose surplus was appropriated by *awqāf* did not have access to their

71. Singer, “Constructing.”

72. Ayalon, *Natural Disasters*, p. 74.

73. Doves, *The Ottomans*, p. 15, 126.

74. Murphey, “Provisioning,” p. 219, 240.

75. In fact, in areas that received just enough rainfall to produce one crop a year, even a small variation in the annual rainfall could result in a failed crop.

76. Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*, p. 115-116.

77. *Ibid.*

services, in times of shortage they were sometimes helped by the manager of the endowments. During the 16th century, for example, such requests were issued by the inhabitants of *waqf* villages, both in the district of Jerusalem and of Gaza. They were addressed to the *qāḍī* and the *waqf* administrators, who finally used the *waqf*'s funds to furnish assistance to the villagers.⁷⁸

Timār-holders, *awqāf* and officials differed in their function and aims, but they shared a common interest, which was also the motivation for the assistance furnished to the villagers: they were all interested in the maintenance of the agricultural production whose surplus they would appropriate. I have already highlighted this point in my discussion of the loans granted by Muḥammad Pasha above. The same perspective also explains the help granted by the *awqāf* to the villages that constituted their tax-base: it was aimed at avoiding further destruction of agrarian production, which would ultimately result in damages to the *waqf* itself. In 1622, the very same concerns may also have led the administrator of some *awqāf* to denounce before the court the damage caused by Ibn Farrūkh and to ask the governor, Muḥammad Pasha, to restore the villages' economies.⁷⁹

Finally – with regard to the involvement of local actors – the records of sales on credit also shed light on the role of the court in dealing with peasants' misfortunes. This is also confirmed by the court's mediation between the *waqf*'s administrators and the villagers in the aforementioned 16th-century case. Moreover, it would be coherent with the role the institution played in protecting villagers against administrative abuses. This hypothesis is also consistent with what emerged in Abraham Marcus's research on Aleppo. According to Marcus, the poor of the city often appealed to the *maḥkama* (court) for help and were awarded a sum of money or provisions.⁸⁰

How should the help furnished by Muḥammad Pasha and by the other local actors be understood when seen in the framework of the state's policy toward supplies and within the functioning of Ottoman society?

78. JCR, 31:227, p. 49; JCR, 44:596, p. 94, in Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*, p. 116, 1562-3 (Gaza) and 1556 (Qālūnyā). See also Singer, *Constructing*, p. 124. The case of the loans granted by cash *awqāf* is different. These were *awqāf* whose *corpus* consisted in cash. Lending at interest would augment capital. They provided credit and other financial services. On the topic see, for example, Çizakça, "Ottoman Cash Waqfs."

79. See above.

80. Marcus, *The Middle East*, p. 213-214. On the importance of the complex relation of dependency between the court and its users see Ergene, "Legal History."

In her work on *imaret* (soup kitchens), Amy Singer has argued that the distinction between private individuals and the state and the meaning of “individual” do not apply to the sultan, the members of his family, or even the ruling elite, because for the sultan there was no real private realm and his role as head of government was never set aside.⁸¹ In the same way, the personal nature of delegated authority characteristic of the Ottoman system meant that the acts of local governors and other authorities had a public character, with no clear distinction between their private property and public funds.

These considerations suggest that since Muḥammad Pasha was a governor appointed by Istanbul and a representative of the Sultan, sales on credit may also be considered among the interventions undertaken by the state. More specifically, they may be regarded as state actions aimed at maintaining the subsistence of the rural population and therefore the agricultural production. That is the outcome, however, of the convergence of interests between the governor and the state, in this specific circumstance. The hardships experienced by the villages under the rule of Ibn Farrūkh, on the contrary, reflect the lack of consistency between his goals – exploiting the villagers as much as he could – and those of the central state.

Similar considerations also apply when we look more broadly at the relationship between local actors and the state. In the 16th and the early 17th century, the distributional logic of the justice principle – which implied the distribution of agrarian surpluses in the form of revenues among the groups that were part of the ruling block⁸² – lead to a convergence of interests between the state and the other tax-holders. As a consequence, *awqāf* and all the other revenue holders were as interested as the state was in perpetuating the peasants’ subsistence and thereby the continuity of agricultural production. This explains why they occasionally implemented a state policy aimed at maintaining the legitimacy of state rule through a wide range of interventions undertaken in favor of the peasants when the

81. Singer, *Constructing*, p. 166. Indeed, such an approach is also more consistent with the patrimonial traits of the Ottoman Empire, as in a kingdom that is an extension of the ruler’s household, the modern distinction between private and public does not apply, Arjomand, “Philanthropy,” p. 117. For an analysis of the Ottoman Empire as a patrimonial state, see Mardin, “Power.” On the characterization of the Ottoman Empire as a bureaucratic empire, see Eisenstadt, *Political Systems*. See also İnalçık, “Comments.”

82. İslamoğlu-İnan, *State and Peasant*, p. xiv, 7.

latter's subsistence, and therefore agricultural production, was threatened. Besides actions against food shortages, a mention should be made of the measures carried out by Istanbul to help villages situated near the frontiers,⁸³ and against peasants' indebtedness.⁸⁴

In this perspective, the above-mentioned case suggests that *awqāf* might also have contributed to the state policy toward peasants by functioning as a dispenser of emergency supplies to the inhabitants of villages whose revenues went to the *waqf*.⁸⁵

The link between the interventions of local actors and the mechanisms of surplus extraction – which in the case of the rural areas is particularly striking due to the geographical proximity between taxpayers and revenue holders – also constitutes the main problem of the system. In fact, changes in the mechanisms of surplus appropriation also altered the help given to peasants. This is the case, for example, with the practice, widespread in 17th-century Palestine, of renting out villages that belonged to *waqf* or *timār*. In time of economic hardship, *waqf* could lease their possessions under certain conditions. Shops, houses and, in the countryside, villages and farms were leased and the rent was used to acquire non-agricultural products.⁸⁶ If *waqf* villages were rented out for few years, tax farmers were probably interested in exploiting the villages as much as possible during the short time of the lease rather than ensuring the continuity of agrarian production in the long run. This may also explain why, in the cases under consideration in this article, *waqf* villages, instead of seeking the help of the endowment, turned to the governor. This is the case with Qālūnyā. The village that received the loan from Muḥammad Pasha in 1633 had been helped in the previous century, specifically in the 1560s, by the *waqf* to which it belonged.⁸⁷

83. Dowes, *The Ottomans*, p. 126.

84. Aytekin, "Cultivators."

85. As scholars have observed, the establishment of a *waqf* was not always related to pious purposes, and the charitable function of these institutions was relatively limited (Doumani, "Endowing Family," p. 11; Marcus, *The Middle East*, p. 216; Peri, "The Waqf," p. 460-472). However, this did not prevent the Sultan from using them as an instrument of public policy to feed the urban population. On this topic, see Arjomand, "Philanthropy," p. 117; Singer, *Constructing*.

86. Ze'evi, *An Ottoman Century*, p. 118-120.

87. Singer, *Palestinian Peasants*, p. 116.

Conclusions

This article has argued that during the 1620s and the 1630s the governor of Jerusalem Muḥammad Pasha used sales on credit as a means to relieve peasants' hardships in times of bad harvest. This is suggested by the characteristics of the sales and by the features of Muḥammad Pasha's policies toward the inhabitants of the villages of the district. This hypothesis is also consistent with similar uses of credit observed in other Mediterranean contexts.

When seen through an interpretative paradigm derived from the theory of surplus appropriation, credit – as any other form of help – was also a means to grant the production of the surplus that the governor had the right to appropriate. The same mechanisms also explain the interventions of other revenue-holders in support of the peasants' subsistence.

More broadly, what does the evidence coming from Palestine suggest with regard to the assistance available to Ottoman subjects in the countryside?

Amy Singer has argued that the Ottoman Empire can be characterized as a “welfare society made up of welfare networks” whose interventions were consistent with the moral economy on which Ottoman society was based.⁸⁸ According to this definition, networks formed by families, neighbourhoods, guilds, religious communities, sūfī schools, etc. were the main “welfare providers” for their members. In the countryside, too, individuals found help firstly within the family, the religious and the village community, with the state and other actors playing a residual role. However, for inhabitants of the countryside, there were no soup kitchens or those other charitable institutions that have been described for the cities. A plurality of actors, among them the *awqāf*, would occasionally take action to maintain peasants' and villagers' subsistence.

The evidence coming from Palestine also urges us to reflect on the influence of the mechanism of surplus extractions on the state's intervention toward the inhabitants of the countryside. The strong connection between the two defines the limitations of the assistance available to peasants. In fact, this was greatly affected by changes in agrarian relationships, such as those that occurred during the 17th century. Further inadequacies of the state policy of assistance toward peasants were more

88. On the moral economy in Islamic society, see Singer, *Charity in Islamic Societies*, chap. II.

generally linked to the characteristics of the state's actions: fragmentation, and dependence on the goals of the delegated authority. In fact, in the case study presented in this article, the interventions in favour of the villages are the result of a coincidence of interests between the peasants, the central state and the local governor – which is not always necessarily the case.

To sum up, dependency on the interests of the delegated authorities and on the mechanism of surplus appropriation affected the assistance available to villagers, and more generally to Ottoman subjects. Therefore, to survive subsistence crises they often contracted debts – either individually or collectively – with tax farmers, money lenders, and officials. Chronic indebtedness plagued the Ottoman countryside and the rural areas of the whole Mediterranean, with serious consequences, including dispossession. In agricultural economies, of which margins of surplus were negligible, even one failed harvest could start a cycle of indebtedness. Moreover, in cases like those considered here, in which taxes were levied on the village in its entirety, one household being unable to provide its share might affect the capacity of the whole village to pay the taxes imposed on it.⁸⁹ This process is well attested in 17th-century Palestine, where heavy taxation and abusive officers forced peasants to sell off their plots of land, consistently with the contemporary changes in land tenure system.⁹⁰ As the abundance of contracts of sale suggests, throughout the 17th century this practice spread, leading to a concentration of land in the hands of the local notables, to the detriment of small landowners and village communities. As a result of this process, the share of land owned by villagers declined, peasants lost what little control they had over the plots they cultivated, and the loss of land and autonomy jeopardized the very survival of the small landowners, turning them into hired hands.⁹¹

89. On the topic of rural indebtedness, see Faroqhi, "Indebtedness;" more recently, Aytekin, "Cultivators," see footnote 1.

90. Ze'evi, *An Ottoman Century*, p. 115-140.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 132-135, 137.

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Felicita Tramontana, *The Sale on Credit as a Form of Assistance to Ottoman Peasants: A Case from 17th-Century Palestine*

This article analyses the forms of assistance available to the Ottoman peasantry, taking as a starting point a number of instances in which the governor of Jerusalem sold wheat to peasants on credit. The first part of the article sets the court documents recording the sales in the local context and evaluates them in the light of the local governor's policies toward the population of the district and of his own interests as revenue-holder. The article then contextualizes the sales on credit in the wider framework of the forms of help available to inhabitants of rural areas and of the relationship between the state and its subjects, arguing that the forms of assistance granted to the peasants are inextricably linked with the mechanisms of surplus appropriation. This analysis leads to a broader reflection on the limits of the state's interventions towards the inhabitants of the Ottoman countryside.

Felicita Tramontana, *Les ventes à crédit de grain, forme d'assistance aux paysans ottomans: un cas en Palestine au XVII^e siècle*

Le présent article analyse les formes d'assistance disponibles pour la paysannerie ottomane, en prenant pour point de départ des cas dans lesquels le gouverneur

de Jérusalem accorda des ventes à crédit de grain aux paysans. La première partie de l'article replace les documents juridiques qui enregistrent ces ventes dans leur contexte local, en les évaluant à la lumière d'une part des politiques du gouverneur local à l'égard de la population du district, et d'autre part de ses intérêts en qualité de bénéficiaire des recettes. L'article traite ensuite des ventes à crédit dans le contexte plus large des formes d'aide disponibles pour les habitants des zones rurales et du rapport entre l'État et ses sujets, en avançant la thèse que les formes d'assistance accordées aux paysans sont inextricablement liées aux mécanismes d'appropriation de l'excédent. L'analyse développe une réflexion plus large sur les limites des interventions de l'État auprès des habitants de la campagne ottomane.

SELİM GÜNGÖRÜRLER

FRATERNITY, PERPETUAL PEACE, AND ALLIANCE IN OTTOMAN-SAFAVID RELATIONS, 1688-1698: A DIPLOMATIC REVOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The year 1639 constitutes a dividing point in the periodization of Ottoman-Safavid relations. The first period, if one excepts the House of Safi's pre-monarchy phase, goes from the launch of the Safavids' movement for sovereignty in 1500 to the peace of Zuhab in 1639, 140 years marked by conflict and the Ottoman conquest of Kurdistan and Iraq at the expense of Iran.¹ The period from 1639 to the collapse of Safavid rule in 1722, on the other hand, has been often addressed as eventless. This is the result of a war-oriented reading and a familiarity with the literature on this confrontational period. Scholarship has mostly suggested that once hostilities ceased, bilateral relations were marked by both parties' unwillingness to interact and contentment with the preservation of a peace solely based on non-aggression and observance of an imprecisely drawn border.² However, during these decades of peaceful neighborhood, the Ottoman

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1. The literature on Ottoman-Safavid relations until 1639 is rich. For an introduction at monograph level, see Sohrweide, "Der Sieg der Safawiden in Persien;" Bacqué-Grammont, *Les Ottomans, les Safavides et leurs voisins*; Allouche, *Ottoman-Safavid Conflict*; Bilge, *Yavuz Selim ve Şah İsmail*; Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik gegen die Safawiden*; Posch, *Osmanisch-safavidische Beziehungen (1545-1550)*; Diyanet, *Amasya Musalahası*; Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İran Münasebetleri*; Küpeli, *Osmanlı-Safevi Münasebetleri*.

2. See, for example, Tucker, "Ottoman-Iranian Diplomacy through the Safavid Era," p. 86-87.

State and Safavid Iran engaged each other almost constantly via an active peacetime diplomacy. Through dozens of missions, they exchanged hundreds of correspondence, conducted negotiations, regulated an international hierarchy, struck deals, confronted each other, and went through crises. The content of this diplomacy was not only ceremonial, it also contained substantial stakes. Simultaneously, both states repeatedly tried to gain the upper hand along the common frontier by provoking insubordination, making tours de force with full-fledged armies, crushing rebellions, extending direct rule, disputing the demarcation, demanding compensation for violations, conducting espionage activities, etc.³

After the peace of Zuhab, it took the parties almost four years of intensive diplomacy to resolve the disruptions preventing the treaty from coming definitively into force. However, in the 1640s, due to unsolved border disputes and Venetian attempts to draw Iran into the Cretan War as an ally, a Sultanic Army (*Ordu-yı Hümayun*) was fielded at the Iranian borderzone across Erivan, testing the soundness of this pacification. Nevertheless, peace survived not only these fragile moments but also the showdowns and reciprocal mobilizations between the Houses of Osman and Safi along the border to the east of Mesopotamia. It was such chronic developments and occasional diplomatic contacts addressing them that occupied the agenda of bilateral contacts over the course of the 1650s, 60s, and 70s. As had been the case since the later 1510s, all platforms on which Ottoman-Safavid relations were taking place continued to be marked by Ottoman superiority in hierarchy and in the balance of power.⁴

The present study explores the golden age in the history of Ottoman-Safavid relations (1688-1698) that was conjuncturally occasioned by the sequence of events that occurred in the wake of the formation of the anti-Ottoman Holy League (Germany,⁵ Poland-Lithuania, and Venice – eventually also joined by Russia).

3. See below.

4. See my "Ottoman Empire and Safavid Iran," p. 24-236.

5. Using *Germany* for the Habsburg monarchy/state is anachronic in most instances, and the term *Habsburgs* corresponds well to *Ottomans*. Within the Holy Roman emperor's forces, there were moreover Hungarian, Czech, Serbian, Croatian, Italian, etc. elements. Accordingly, whenever the referent in this text is the monarchic state comprised of the crowns the Habsburgs held in personal union, the term *Habsburgs* is employed. However, this naming sometimes falls short of describing the referent. As a rule, the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation was not a state but a system in which, during the early modern period, sovereign states of various hierarchical positions operated. However, several of the Ottoman wars, due to their targeted geography, triggered the single clause of the "constitution" that could still bring about a relatively concerted action by most of these

In debt of gratitude owing to the shah's categorical rejections to join the Holy League and capture Mesopotamia, the Sublime Porte elevated the shah's international grade from royal to junior-imperial (while the padishah remained supreme). It also declared, responding to earlier remarks from the Safavid government, the peace to be permanent. Although indirect initiatives to form an Ottoman-Safavid military coalition against Russia remained abortive, the exchange of missions and correspondence between Adrianople-Baghdad and Isfahan furthered the emerging rapprochement. In the meantime, major rebellions broke out in Şehrîzor and Basra, quickly spreading to Erdelân and Huveyze across the border. Because of the redeployment of peacetime military units from stations at the Iranian frontier to the theaters of war in Hungary, the northern Black Sea region, and Greece, an authority deficit struck the provinces along the borderline. Despite Ottoman liability, the damage Iran received therefrom did not disrupt both states's determined promotion of the convergence. In these eleven years, four ambassadors, one envoy, and one emissary as well as tens of missives were exchanged. The fact that the Iranians patiently respected the rebel-ridden borders of their western neighbor and at the same time conformed with the principle of Ottoman superiority in a continuous and unquestioned manner contributed to the building of mutual trust. The padishah's entrustment of the borders of his easternmost domains to the shah and the Safavids' moral support in the Ottomans' struggle against the Holy League soon resulted in the parties' proclamation of their *fraternity*, *perpetual peace*, and ultimately *alliance*. This unexampled concord between the Houses of Osman and Safi was crowned with the shah giving back to the padishah the entire province of Basra, which the Iranians had captured from rebels.

The Legation of Dal Ahmed Agha against the Holy League: the Sublime Porte elevates the Safavids' Rank and declares Fraternity, 1688-90

Following the disorderly retreat before the gates of Vienna in 1683, the Ottomans found themselves fighting full-fledged wars against the

otherwise separate German states: "the defense of the realm." This was the case in the Great Turkish War, in which not only the realms of the Habsburgs' composite monarchy were involved, but also the sovereign principalities of Bavaria, Saxony, Brandenburg, Baden, Hanover, etc. that sent commanders and sizable troops to the German imperial armies. The use of *Germany* in this text is not a translation of the Ottomans' *Nemçe*, but used for the sake of exactness whenever required by the occasion. The Hungarian element does not necessarily undermine this usage either, as Hungary, though not in equal shares, was present on both sides of the conflict in terms of geography, politics, dynasties, and manpower.

German Empire in Hungary; Poland-Lithuania in Podolia, the Ukraine, and Moldavia; and Venice in Dalmatia, southern Greece, and the Adriatic – soon to be joined by Russia on the Ukrainian-Crimean front. Early reports of the rout reached Iran exaggerating the already disastrous result, and caused the Iranians to rejoice and send out agents to incite rebellions with a plan to capture Mesopotamia.⁶ Despite this initial reaction, eventually, the shah, with reference to the “permanent peace” with the House of Osman, categorically declined in 1686 the repeated invitations by the German Emperor, the Polish king, and the Pope to join the anti-Ottoman coalition. The Russian tsar’s similar proposals were also rejected. The shah even turned down an offer of allegiance from an Ottoman vassal in Mesopotamia. The Sublime Porte reportedly secured the Safavids’ neutrality by means of gifts, bribes, and promises given during concealed negotiations in 1684-85. This deal was also facilitated by the Safavids’ adherence to their fundamental policy of avoiding hostilities with the Ottomans, even when the latter were too paralyzed to mobilize in the east. As proven by experience, momentary westward advances eventually cost Iran dearly. In the meantime, as of the end of 1686, the Ottomans had lost most of Hungary to the Habsburgs, and the Peloponnese to Venice. The reaction arising from these traumatic losses led to a coup that dethroned Mehmed IV and enthroned Süleyman (II) in 1687. In this most turbulent phase of the Great Turkish War that would last until 1690, the padishah’s court tried to make sure that the unruly frontier elements between Kars and Erivan commit no violation of the Iranian border. At the fortress of Baghdad, ruined towers were rebuilt and damaged walls were renovated in 1687-88.⁷

In 1688, Sultan Süleyman Khan II sent an envoy to Shah Süleyman in declaration of his accession and reconfirmation of the current treaty. However, Osman Agha, the superintendent of the Council *çavuşs*,⁸ who

6. Matthee, *Persia in Crisis*, p. 133-134.

7. See Eszer, “Sebastianus Knab;” Kaempfer, *Am Hofe der persischen Großkönigs*, p. 2, p. 57-58, p. 69-70, p. 208-212, p. 214; Meier-Lemgo, “Die Briefe Engelbert Kaempfers,” p. 279; “Ludvig Fabritius’s Kurtze Relation,” p. 99-100; Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* IV, 202; Mehdevî, *Revâbüt-ı Hâricî-yi İran*, p. 77; Ricaut, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 177; Barker, *Vienna’s Second Turkish Siege*, p. 160; Matthee, “Iran’s Ottoman Diplomacy;” Matthee, *Persia in Crisis*, p. 133-134, Güngörürler, “Ottoman Empire and Safavid Iran,” p. 239-249; Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), *Mühimme Defteri* 98, entry 37; Nazmizâde, *Gülşen-i Hulefâ*, p. 307-308; Matthee, “Administrative Stability and Change in the Late-17th-Century Iran.”

8. *Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn çavuşlar emîni*.

was chosen for this mission, died en route while in Baghdad. Governor-general Qoca Öküz Ömer Pasha immediately informed the padishah's court. In order not to prolong the delay, it was deemed more suitable after deliberations that the governor-gen. entrust the mission to an eligible man of his rather than the center dispatching a new envoy. After receiving the decree with these instructions in 1689, Ömer Pasha commissioned Dal Ahmed Agha to take over the legation. Probably in 1690, the substitute-envoy arrived in Isfahan, where he was received by the shah.⁹

In the prologue of his epistle¹⁰ dated 27 September 1688 to "Shah Süleyman his Sublime Majesty, of Keyqubâd-grandeur, potentate of the orient, the chief-positing on the seat of world-keeping, resort of fraternity, world-possessor,¹¹" the padishah asserted: "the Possessor of the Regnum made [Us] accede to the throne of the caliphate of world-keeping. It is necessary that [Our] vanquishing caliphate reach Your Kingly ears.¹²" Afterwards, he referred to the "ancient union¹³" between the Houses of Osman and Safi. With reference to the ongoing war against the Holy League, he declared, via the "august epistle of friendship and union,¹⁴" his departure from Constantinople to lead the campaign. Then, the padishah turned his focus to the long frontier shared with Iran: "Our domains that are adjacent Your domains shall be God's entrustment to Your fraternal person!¹⁵" Süleyman II wished in farewell: "[Your] khaqanly grandeur shall forever shine!¹⁶"

Like his predecessors, envoy Dal Ahmed Agha was hosted lavishly during his stay at the shahly court. Upon the completion of diplomatic business, the shah appointed Kelb-Ali (Xan-Beyg) Ziyâdoğlu-Qacar as his responsive ambassador.¹⁷ Rejecting repeated alliance offers from the German Empire, Poland-Lithuania, Russia, and the Papacy had paid off for the Safavids. This epistle confirmed the commencement of the new path in Ottoman-Safavid relations, though it had already been heralded by

9. Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, p. 1406.

10. BOA, *Nâme-i Hümayun Defteri* 5, ent. 29; *Mecmua-i Mekâtîb*, f. 2b.

11. "Âli-hazret [...] Keyqubâd-şevket [...] şehriyâr-ı hâver-zemîn [...] mutasaddır-ı mesned-i cihân-bânî [...] uhuvvet-meab [...] cihân-dâr [...] Süleyman Şah."

12. "Mâlikü'l-mülk [...] zât...ımız [...] serîr-ârây-ı hilâfet-i cihânbanî [...] qıldı... Hilâfet-i qâhire[miz] [...] reside-i mesâmi'-i [...] keyânîleri olmaq gerektir."

13. "İttihâd-ı qadîm."

14. "Dûstî ve ittihâd için nâme-i hümayun."

15. "Memâlik...leriyle [...] ittisâl olan memleketlerimiz zât-ı uhuvvet-simâtlarına Allah emâneti olsun!"

16. "Hemîşe [...] şevket-i hâqânî [...] dirahşân bâd."

17. Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, p. 1406.

Shah Süleyman's rejections in 1686. Even the very formation of the 1688-1690 legation was exceptional: according to the diplomatic convention, a dethronement-caused change of the Ottoman ruler occasioned the sending of not an envoy (of *agha-* or *efendi-grade*) but an agent (of *çavuş-grade* or lower), unless the envoy was dispatched as not an initiatory mission but one in response to the incoming congratulatory diplomat.¹⁸ Yet, the necessity perceived by the Sublime Porte to boost the emerging rapprochement with the Safavids gave way to this remarkable exception.

Safavid rulers had never been designated officially so close in rank to Ottoman rulers. The shahs had normally been addressed as royal sovereigns¹⁹ of Iran, but being addressed as *potentate of the Orient*²⁰ renders the shah superior to any other monarch of below-supreme dignity, indicating a clear elevation in rank. In the same vein, denoting the shah as *world-possessor* was meant to register his elevation to [junior] imperial grade.²¹ Yet, the terminology identifying supreme-imperial²² dignity remained reserved to the padishah, in order to highlight the still-existing inequality. In short, promoted one step upwards from royal to imperial grade, the shah became situated more closely to the Ottoman supreme monarch, while the latter remained paramount.²³

18. For the identification of the ranks of diplomats in Ottoman-Safavid diplomacy, see my "Fundamentals of Ottoman-Safavid Peacetime Relations," and my upcoming work "On Titulature, Hierarchy, Delegation, Protocol, and Status Quos in the Diplomacy of the Pre-Modern Middle East" for a more thorough treatment of the technicalities.

19. Some identifiers of royal rank in the early modern oriental context: [*âli/vâlâ-*] *hazret, sultan, qaan, hümayun*, dignity measured with names of ancient Iranian kings and celestial objects. Some identifiers of lesser-royal rank: [*âli/vâlâ-*] *cenâb, saltanat, şah, ilhân, selâtîn, havâqîn* (the last two only when in plural form as a group name). Some identifiers of regal (below royal and above princely) rank: [*âli/vâlâ-*] *cenâb, fermân/hükm - rân/fermâ, devlet, hân, melik/mülk/mülûk, pâdişah, şehriyâr*. The titles provided here and elsewhere were employed cumulatively in an upward manner, i.e. the titles of a lower rank were liberally used for an upper rank as well, but not vice versa.

20. See above.

21. Some identifiers of [junior] imperial rank in the early modern oriental context are: [*a'lâ-*] *hazret, cihân-bân, cihân-dâr, cihân/âlem - penâh, hâqân, qayser, kehfü'l-ümem, hilâfet, sâye-i re'fet-i Yezdân*, plus titles from the lower ranks of sovereigns.

22. Some identifiers of the supreme [i.e. senior imperial] rank in the early modern oriental context are: [*a'lâ-*] *hazret, şehinşâh, sultân-ı a'zam, saltanatü'l-uzmâ, sultânü's-selâtîn, hâqân-ı eḫḫam, hâqânü'l-havâqîn, fermân-fermâ-yı zemîn ü zamân, hidîv-i cihân, tâc-bahş-ı hüsvân, cihân-bahş, pâdişâh-ı rûy-i zemîn / İslâm, sâhib-quran / qadr-quran, kehfü'l-maşriqeyn ve melâzû'l-hâfiqeyn, sâni-yi İskender-i Zü'l-Qarneyn, hilâfet-i kübrâ/uzmâ, zill-ı [zalîl-i] Allah [fî'l-âlemeyn] / sâye-i Yezdân*.

23. In my upcoming article "On Titulature, Hierarchy, Delegation, Protocol, and Status Quos in the Diplomacy of the Pre-Modern Middle East," I show how each rulerly title should be read in different contexts in order to extract the case-specific hierarchical indication.

In addition to this reorganization in the hierarchy of rulers, the uninterrupted peace between Iran and the Ottoman monarchy since 1639 came to become spoken of as the *ancient union*, meaning that there was no anticipation for the breaking of the treaty. This confirmed the statement Shah Süleyman had made in 1686 about the stableness and durability of the peace agreement. Sultan Süleyman Khan II vividly expressed this when he openly stated that he relied on the shah for not attacking the monarchy's eastern provinces from behind when its armies were fighting against the Holy League on an overextended line of fronts. This represents unarguably the highest level of trust – on the part of the Sublime Porte – formally displayed to the House of Safi since this dynasty's rise to power at the beginning of the 16th century. The urgency of external circumstances certainly pushed the Porte to take this unprecedented step. That successive shahs consistently rejected anti-Ottoman alliance offers, which culminated after 1684, played an at least equally decisive role in bringing about this rapprochement by creating a favorable environment and paving the way for the formal perpetuation of the Ottoman-Safavid peace.

Even though both parties preferred to have each other as an intact neighbor, they would rather keep that neighbor under indirect fire. For example, in the epistle sent concurrently to the Uzbek Khan of Bukhara in October 1688, Süleyman II encouraged his addressee to attack Iran. By coincidence, Bukharan troops would march into Khorasan in 1690 and take the fortress of Bâla-Murghâb, and Sübhan-Qulu Khan would write back to the padishah to offer, in vain, an anti-Safavid alliance. Both sides tried to encourage one another to further engage the Safavids. In his epistle addressed to Sübhan-Qulu Khan in August 1691, Ahmed II would subsequently praise the Bukharans' 1690 Khorasan campaign, excuse himself for not having initiated the war against the Safavids, request military coordination, and promise to notify the arrival of Ottoman forces at the intended Iranian front. Sübhan-Qulu Khan would send a return embassy.²⁴ Shah Süleyman's establishing diplomatic contacts with Sübhan-Qulu Khan would soon lead to the cessation of hostilities in Khorasan. The manner in which the Ottomans approached the Uzbeks at this particular time did not differ from that of the Safavids to the Holy League. As long as the Safavids did not cooperate with the padishah's enemies, the Porte did not even give any consideration to the idea of opening an Iranian

24. Burton, "Khanate of Bukhara and Ottoman Turkey," p. 102-103.

front. The Porte's mention to the Uzbeks of a common Iranian offensive in 1688-1691 should only be read as a precaution taken to subdue the by-then very low possibility that Iran join the Holy League as the fifth great power. Otherwise, the post-1684 Ottoman-Safavid convergence was unfolding at full speed.

Shah Süleyman's reply to the epistle he received from Selim I Giray, khan of the Crimea, sheds more light on the extent of the Ottoman-Safavid diplomatic revolution. Selim I Giray communicated to the shah that the Russians had joined the Holy League and opened a new front over the Khanate, while the Crimean troops were actively taking part in the Hungarian, Polish, and Russian fronts. It seems that the khan also requested from the shah a counter coalition and dispatch of support troops. In his reply, Shah Süleyman said that the current war was indeed a golden opportunity for the House of Osman to see who was really foe and who was really friend, that he cherished friendship with the padishah, and that he would not let this friendship see any harm, because the consolidated peace between the Ottomans and the Safavids already necessitated aid and comradeship. With the expectation that Russia would cease hostilities, Shah Süleyman said that he deemed it necessary to declare to the tsar the khan's good faith, and he especially highlighted the incessant letters from Russia containing attractive offers. For this matter, the shah appointed a subject of his to act as intermediary; the emissary was to travel to Kazan and to the Muscovite court, declare there the Crimean khan's long-time candor towards the Safavids, and dissuade the Russians, with advice and promises, from joining the enemies of the "padishah the Shadow of God."²⁵ In case the Russians would not be convinced, replied the shah, the military aid that the Crimea had requested was contingent upon fate: if it were destined to be, it would materialize – otherwise, not.²⁶

This correspondence is from Selim I Giray's second reign (1684-1691) and the period when Muscovite missions were still shuttling between Russia and Isfahan, shortly after Shah Süleyman had issued his definitive rejections in 1686, but before the Hüseyin Xan²⁷-Beyg mission of 1690 to

25. "*Pâdişâh*, [...] *zill-i İlah*," inserted above the text body as an address of reverence.

26. *Mecmua-i Mekâtib*, ff. 3b-4a.

27. Whenever used in its Safavid-devalued capacity rather than in its medieval or early modern regnal capacity, I spell this title as *xan* – as opposed to the spelling of the sovereign title *khan* – in order to facilitate differentiation.

Moscow was launched²⁸ – a mission referred to in the epistle as a prospective initiative. Accordingly, the khan must have received instructions from the Sublime Porte in late 1688 and written to the shah in 1689. Likewise, the shah's reply, with its reference to the prospective mission which would materialize in 1690, must also have been sent in 1689 or in early 1690 at the latest.

The implications of this contact can be better understood when the Crimea is situated within the framework of Ottoman-Safavid diplomacy. As of the 17th century, apart from matters concerning the internal affairs of the realm, the padishah enjoyed full sovereignty in appointing, deposing, and instructing the Genghisid-Giray khans of the Crimea.²⁹ At interstate level, Bahçesaray had retained the right to conduct limited diplomacy.³⁰ As far as the internal hierarchy was concerned, the Crimean khans ranked as regal (below-royal) monarchs,³¹ second only to the padishah. In their correspondence with foreign, non-Ottoman rulers, the khans ranked as royal monarchs.³² When necessary, the Crimean khans could well be employed as agents to indirectly achieve Ottoman diplomatic objectives. This was by virtue of the limited sovereign status the Khanate preserved, which continued to be asserted as an asset on international scale. It is quite unlikely for the Sublime Porte not to have regulated in advance the initiation and content of the abovementioned correspondence between the Genghisid-Girays and the Safavids – particularly in view of

28. The mission was to congratulate Peter [the Great]'s accession to tsardom. Arriving in Moscow on 20 March 1692, it also repeated the Safavid rejection of anti-Ottoman alliance offers. Matthee, "Iran's Ottoman Diplomacy," p. 165.

29. See Papp, "Die Inaugurationen der Krimkhane durch die Hohe Pforte;" İnalcık, "Kırım Hanlığının Osmanlı Tabiliğine Girmesi."

30. See Matuz, *Krimitatarische Urkunden*; Kołodziejczyk, *Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*; Augustynowicz, "Tatarische Gesandtschaften am Kaiserhof."

31. See the inscriptio used in the padishah's epistles and grand vizierial letters for the Crimean khan in the documents compiled in *Münşeat-ı Divân-ı Hümayun*; Feridun Bey, *Münşeatü's-Selâtin*. For the terminology of ranking used here, see footnote 20 above and my upcoming article "On Titulature and Hierarchy."

32. See the royal inscriptio (*free khan/tsar, brother*) and the apparently unopposed royal intitulatio (*ulu padişah, ulu han, hümayun, âlî-hazret, hürşid-tal'at*) employed for the Crimean khans in Crimean-Polish diplomacy, as well as the khan's official address to the king (as *qarındaşım Leh qıraltı*), in the documents published by Kołodziejczyk in his *Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*, p. 583, p. 860-861, p. 863, p. 871-872, p. 885, p. 895, p. 926, p. 948-849, p. 956-958, p. 960, p. 967-970, p. 973, p. 975. A few of these documents also feature the exceptional employment of one or two supreme or imperial titles (*hân-ı azam, hâqân-ı muazzam*) for the khans by the Crimean chancery, which were unilateral, uncomplimented-with claims. See footnotes 19-22.

the overtly pro-Ottoman stance of Selim I Giray. It is very probable that this initiative belonged to the series of steps taken by the Ottomans in order to put the Russians out of action in the wake of the latter's participation in the Holy League.

The proposed Safavid intermediacy with the Russians was Shah Süleyman's alternative offer in substitution for sending troops against Russia. Despite not providing military aid, which would bring Iran into a state of war with Muscovy, it is still remarkable that the shah saw himself in a position to offer mediation between the tsar on one side and the khan, hence ultimately the padishah, on the other without running the risk of antagonizing the latter two. This atmosphere of cordial relations between Constantinople and Isfahan was the direct consequence of the post-1684 convergence. The shah's offer to act as intermediary between Muscovy and the Sublime Porte via the Crimea constituted its next step. Likewise, one can easily interpret this proposal as precursor to the prospective consummation of the shah's elevation in rank and the eventual initiation of the *perpetual peace in alliance* in Ottoman-Safavid relations. Having taken the first step in 1688, both parties were now so-to-say putting out feelers for going further. Accordingly, commissioning the Crimean khan was the safest possible way for the Sublime Porte to test the waters. If successful, the Crimean-Iranian correspondence of 1689 could be regarded as a fully official medium registering the second step of Ottoman-Safavid convergence. In the case of failure, this indirect diplomacy could be passed over, as the Sublime Porte would technically not have played a part in it.

As the Great Turkish War intensified, the transfer of resources from the Iranian frontier to the western and northern fronts to sustain the Ottoman war effort did not remain limited to the financial realm. As of 1689, Baghdad, Basra, Ottoman Georgia, Erzurum, and Kars began to contribute with Janissary companies and mercenaries, in addition to which the governors-general of Erzurum and Kars, together with their household troops, became regular participants in the annual sultanlic campaigns in Hungary.³³

33. For 1689 and 1690: *Mühimme* df. 98, ent. 732; df. 99, ent. 241; df. 99, ent. 470; df. 99, ent. 112, 127. For 1691: *Mühimme* df. 102, ent. 26, 97; df. 101, ent. 320(314); df. 102, ent. 104. For 1692: *Mühimme* df. 104, ent. 516. For 1693: *Mühimme* df. 104, ent. 622; df. 105, ent. 144, 200, 382; df. 105, ent. 306, 382; df. 104, ent. 986, 1108.

These redeployments took place despite the emergence of disturbances at the frontier. In the autumn of 1689, it once again became obvious for the Ottomans that maintaining strong military presence along the Iranian frontier was crucial. In the vicinity of Akhaltsikhe, a contingent sent by the governor-gen. of Erzurum (Dursun Mehmed Pasha) intercepted and put to the sword a group of twenty fugitives from the entourage of mercenary-rebel Gedik Mehmed Pasha. After Gedik Mehmed's mercenary-turned-rebel army had been defeated and many of his troops had been executed, these men attempted to flee to Iran to save their lives. The governor-gen. left alive only the ringleaders and a captain – Zırhlı Bölükbaşı, whom he sent to the padishah's court, which was then encamping en route from Sofia to Adrianople.³⁴ Notwithstanding this incident, which demonstrated that the peacetime-normal size of forces stationed in the provinces neighboring Iran were actually needed there, the next governor-gen. of Erzurum was ordered to participate in the mobilization for the European front. This signified the absence of a vizierial household contingent across the Iranian north-west, and the security deficit that would arise therefrom.

Thus, the scope of the military redeployment had reached the farthest provinces that were neighboring Iran and keeping that frontier in discipline against internal disorder as well as external violations. The continuing drain of soldiery from these easternmost provinces would eventually lead to the outbreak of cross-border movements aimed at overthrowing Ottoman rule. In the meantime, for the Ottoman side, the Great Turkish War had acquired its gravest dimension. In 1689, Serbia was practically lost with the fall of Nish and Vidin. The borders of Rumelia, i.e. the core of Ottoman Europe – and in many respects the primary province of the monarchy, were breached, and its northwestern section occupied. In 1690, the last Ottoman foothold in western Hungary, Nagykanizsa, capitulated. However, a resurgent Ottoman war effort in 1690 managed to recover the entirety of Serbia including the key fortresses of Nish and Belgrade.³⁵ Rumelia remained thus intact in Ottoman hands. The war against the German emperor would continue to be fought not in the heart of the Balkans, but in Hungary.

34. Fındıklılı Mehmed *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, p. 1244, 1273; *Mühimme df.* 99, ent. 117-118.

35. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Târihi* III/1, p. 518-528; Parvey, *Habsburgs and Ottomans*, p. 85-98.

In the late summer/early autumn of 1689, Süleyman Bey [the younger], *bey* of the Baban³⁶ tribe of the Kirmanc Kurds, rose in disobedience and took over the provincial capital Kirkuk after killing the governor of Şehrîzor, Alaybeyioğlu Dilâver Pasha. Encroaching upon Iranian territory, Süleyman also seized the control of the fort of Beytûş and appointed there a *bey*. Murad IV had captured this fort in 1638 but had left it under the control of its Safavid-vassal *bey*, with the condition of an annual tribute to the Ottoman-vassal *bey* of the Baban. Responding to the call by the inhabitants of Kirkuk, governor-gen. of Baghdad Baltacı Hasan Pasha appointed a proxy-governor to Şehrîzor and issued an edict demanding unconditional obedience from Baban Süleyman. The centrally appointed governor, however, was denied entry to his province.³⁷

While Baban Süleyman also expanded his encroachments over Iranian vassals, the Bedouins of the Mesopotamian Marshlands³⁸ allied themselves with the tribe Müntefiq in 1691 and marched onto the city of Basra. When governor-gen. Çiftelerli Osmanpaşazâde Ahmed Pasha went out to hunt down their 2,000 to 3,000-strong force with only a 500-men contingent supported by his household troops, he was killed in action. Mânî' b. Şebîb es-Saadûn, chieftain of the Müntefiq, entered the provincial capital, only to be expelled by the forces of the notables who subsequently nominated Hasan Cemâl from among themselves as proxy-governor. Hasan Cemâl would also die in action against the Marshland rebels by the summer of 1692.³⁹

Apparently, it had become clear to the central government that the continuous redeployment of Court Corps [*Qapu-qulu*] contingents in the east to the western and northern fronts was undermining the security along the Iranian frontier. By 1692, this policy was partially reversed at least for the provinces in Iraq.⁴⁰ By then, the news of the rebellion in Basra had already reached the padishah's court. As an initial measure,

36. Ottoman sources of the period consistently spell the name of the tribe as well as the surname of its chieftain as *Bebe*. Here, I preferred the spelling *Baban* (*Bâbân*), with which this tribal-princely house has come to be known (the *Baban-zâdes*).

37. Uşşâkîzâde, *Târih* I, p. 397; Nazmîzâde, *Gülşen-i Hulefâ*, p. 327-328; *Mühimme* *df.* 104, ent. 236. For the earlier stages of this rebellion under Deli Bekir Bey, lord of the Baban, of which the Ottoman court had been aware since as early as 1677, see Uşşâkîzâde, *Târih* I, p. 393-396. Also see Nasîrî, *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân*, p. 126-127.

38. *el-Cezâyîr*, literally *the Isles*, to the south of the Province of Baghdad and north of the city of Basra, a sub-province within the Governorate of Basra.

39. *Mühimme* *df.* 104, ent. 197; Nazmîzâde, *Gülşen-i Hulefâ*, p. 329-331.

40. *Mühimme* *df.* 102, ent. 773.

the military deduction from Baghdad, the primary province that was to assert state authority along the Iranian frontier from the Persian Gulf to Azerbaijan, was aborted. The redeployment from the Caucasian borderlands, however, did not halt.⁴¹

The Embassy of Kelb-Ali Ziyâdoğlu-Qacar: the Safavids pay Repeated Homage to Ottoman Supremacy, 1691-92

Süleyman II, whose health had been deteriorating, passed away in Adrianople on 22 June 1691, and was succeeded swiftly by his brother, Ahmed (II). Two months later, the recent Ottoman resurgence was put to end with the defeat in the Battle of Slankamen against the German emperor's army; the architect of this resurgence, grand vizier Köprülü Fâzıl Mustafa Pasha, had been shot dead during combat. Recoveries in Serbia, however, remained intact.⁴² In the meantime, other Ottoman armies on the Venetian, Polish, and Russian fronts continued to hold their positions against repeated offensives.

Kelb-Ali Ziyâdoğlu-Qacar,⁴³ Shah Süleyman's outgoing ambassador to Sultan Süleyman Khan II, soon heard, while in Erivan, of the latter's death and Ahmed II's accession. His trip was halted in the field of Kars; nevertheless, the governor-gen. of Erzurum communicated his arrival to the padishahly court. Having received permission from the Sublime Porte to proceed as the shah's ambassador to Ahmed II while carrying credentials addressed to the now-deceased Süleyman II, Kelb-Ali Qacar resumed his journey.⁴⁴ The 200-to-300-men embassy⁴⁵ reached Constantinople in

41. *Mühimme df.* 104, ent. 60; *df.* 104, ent. 92.

42. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Târihi* III/1, p. 531-535; Parvev, *Habsburgs and Ottomans*, p. 117-119.

43. The sources do not agree as to the name-attached title of Kelb-Ali Ziyâdoğlu-Qacar: Ottoman decree registers and the copy of the subsequent reply epistle call him *beyg*, all Ottoman chronicles call him *xan* and governor[-general] of Ganja [Qarabağ], while the surviving copy of the royal epistle, which could have been the overriding reference and contains his credentials, fails to record his title. Fındıklılı Mehmed Agha, with his unmatched minuteness for recording titles and cognomens, titles him *xan*. The royal epistle and Kelb-Ali Ziyâdoğlu-Qacar's subsequent diplomatic activities indicate beyond doubt that his rank was that of ambassador, according to which he must have been either *sültan* or *xan*. If he was the governor[-general] of Ganja, then he must have been *xan*.

44. Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, p. 1406; Sarı Mehmed, *Zübde-i Vekâiyât*, p. 418; *Mühimme df.* 103, ent. 2 (the decree regulating his lodging on the way stations).

45. İtimâdü's-Saltana, *Târih-i Muntazam-ı Nâsirî* II, p. 994; Anonim *Osmanlı Târihi*, p. 33. The author of the latter chronicle seems to have confused Kelb-Ali Ziyâdoğlu-Qacar

late January 1692 after being ferried, together with the elephant it had brought along, from Scutari. The welcome and hosting were arranged as instructed by vice-grand vizier⁴⁶ Köprülü Amcazâde Hüseyin Pasha,⁴⁷ who was overseeing governmental business at the capital during the absence of the padishah and the grand vizier.

After a week of recreation in Constantinople, Kelb-Ali Qacar set off again, and reached the padishah's court at Adrianople on 6 February⁴⁸ 1692. A welcome procession conducted by Şehrî Mehmed Agha (marshal of the Sultanic Council⁴⁹) took the ambassador to his residence, Qatırhanı Palace of late Merzifonlu Qara Mustafa Pasha. Reportedly, Kelb-Ali Qacar "did not like the sublime pavilions and regal rooms designed in an engineer-esque and architect-esque style by a tyrannical vizier of [haughty] nature such as [Merzifonlu] Qara Mustafa Pasha," and expressed that he found the "venue unhandsome," and that "in the shah's state," there were already plenty of such rooms/marquees covered with baldachin and cloth of gold which he enjoyed the comfort of. The Ottoman hosts are said to have found this unappreciation very "strange."⁵⁰ If true, the ambassador's disdain must have been a diplomatic move aimed at claiming

with the later ambassadors, Ebulmasum Xan Şamlu and Rüstem Xan Zengene, in some respects.

46. *Sadâret qaymaqamı / rikâb-ı hümayun qaymaqamı / âsitâne qaymaqamı.*

47. The ambassador, his entourage, and the shah's gifts were transported to Eminönü in Constantinople with a galiot (*çektiri/çektirme*). As the elephant that was brought along could not be mounted on this ship, a special pinnace (*palasgerme*) had to be constructed and tied to the galiot ferrying the embassy convoy. At the pier, the deputy-marshal and *çavuş* of the Sultanic Council welcomed the guests. On 29 January 1692, the padishahly court, which then resided at Adrianople, received the news of the embassy's arrival in Constantinople. At the capital, the embassy was accommodated in Fâzılmedpaşa Palace. For more details, see Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, p. 1384, 1404, 1406-1407; Üsküdârî, *Vâkıât-ı Rûzmerre* III, f. 89b; and below.

48. Fındıklılı Mehmed provides the date of Wednesday 8 Cemâziyülevvel 1103 and the eighth of midwinter (*hamsîn*). However, 8 Cemâziyülevvel 1103 was a Sunday, the eighth of *hamsîn* coincided with 6/7 February, and Abdullah Üsküdârî provides the date 18 Cemâziyülevvel 1103, which does coincide with Wednesday and 6 February 1692, leading to the conclusion that in the edited version of Fındıklılı's *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, "on" was omitted before "sekiz" when providing the date. See the references below.

49. *Dîvân-ı Hümayun Çavuşbaşısı*

50. Üsküdârî, *Vâkıât-ı Rûzmerre*, ff. 96b-98a. The welcome ceremony, which began at Qarabayır/Solaççeşmesi, was also attended by Kürd Ahmed Agha (*silah-dâr*) as well as one hundred *çavuş* and *müteferriqas*. Some from the embassy personnel were lodged separately at Hüseyinkethüdâ house-compound (*Hüseyin Kethüdâ biyyûtu*, formerly known as *Abdullah Ağa hânesi*) together with the elephant. Sâlih, an apprentice (*şâgird*) or a vicar (*qalfa*) of the chief-accounting bureau, was appointed to keep the registers and deliver the daily allowances and subventions allocated to the Safavid embassy.

Safavid superiority in architectural and decorative arts as well as in wealth rather than being a genuine displeasure with his lodging arrangements, because an extraordinarily pompous grand vizier's palace re-decorated with regal equipment must have offered conditions much better than what a diplomat could actually expect.

On February 11, grand vizier Bahadırzâde Arabacı Ali Pasha hosted the ambassador at his own palace at a feast. During this audience, prime minister Muhammed Tâhir Qazvînî's letter and gifts to the grand vizier were delivered.⁵¹

Soon afterwards, Imre Thököly, Ottoman-vassal king of Upper Hungary who was trying to [re]capture his domain from the Habsburgs, came to Adrianople to hold deliberations. Using the presence of such high-profile guests at court as an opportunity, the Sublime Porte took the vassal-king and the shah's ambassador to residences overlooking the main road, and made them spectate therefrom the grand Friday procession of February 15 performed from the Palace of Adrianople to Selîmiye Mosque, and attended by Ahmed II himself. Of particular importance for the Iranian context, Ahmed II publicly rode with the bejeweled aigrette of Murad IV – the vanquisher of Iran – visibly exhibited on his head.⁵² A certain member of the Safavid embassy who was skilled in literary composition noted the “grandeur of the House of Osman.” It was determined that, after that day, this person would continue to record and compose the embassy's observations of the padishah's court in the manner of a work of history with a Persianate style in composition.⁵³

The very next day, on February 16, an awkward situation occurred. Two slave traders, one of whom was professing lineage from Prophet Muhammad, had brought four-to-five prostitutes in disguise of slaves to the Iranians, and exacted a handsome amount of money from the embassy personnel involved. Not long after, “however, the prostitutes despaired to bear humping this many sons of Persia, [and] when they publicly expressed, with clamour and groans, that they were freewomen,” the news broke

51. Üsküdüârî, *Vâqîât-ı Rûzmerre*, f. 100b; Fındıklılı Mehmed Zeyl-i Fezleke, p. 1407. Kelb-Ali Qacar was taken to the grand-vizierial palace with a procession.

52. Various departments from the Inner and Outer Courts also attended. The ceremonial outfit worn by the padishah and his entourage was purportedly designed to amplify the guests' impressions of grandeur. It was ordered that Friday processions to various mosques be held in this manner as long as Kelb-Ali Qacar and Imre Thököly stayed in Adrianople.

53. Üsküdüârî, *Vâqîât-ı Rûzmerre*, f. 102b-103; Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, p. 1408.

out, and the government sentenced the Ottoman subjects involved.⁵⁴ As might be inferred from the fact that Kelb-Ali Qacar's name is not mentioned in this public scandal and that the Ottoman hosts spoke positively of his personal qualities, the incident most probably occurred in the second residence allocated to a part of the embassy personnel. The whole incident took place in a strikingly short time. Within the nine days that followed the mission's arrival and before the padishah's welcome audience, the involved embassy personnel and procurers in Adrianople established contact, made a plan to evade detection, concluded a deal, actualized it, and then became disclosed.

At Adrianople, former envoy Dal Ahmed Agha served this time as host-officer to the shah's ambassador. The padishah's welcome audience took place on 26 February 1692. During the reception, the royal epistle was held in the hands of an embassy member in a parcel made of a cloth of gold. When the forty-to-fifty-men delegation reached the Sultanic Council's⁵⁵ dome, the ambassador was brought to a seat below the *nişancı*⁵⁶-pasha, conventionally reserved for diplomats. However, Kelb-Ali Ziyâdoğlu-Qacar "did not condescend to sit" there, and, reportedly, stated in hesitation: "now that my shah – Shah Süleyman – is Sunni, it is [an injury to] the reputation of the shah that [I] myself sit at a low-degree place like other ambassadors. I [shall] sit equally with the viziers of the monarch of the House of Osman." He was then authorized to sit below vice-grand-vizier Silahdar Ali Pasha at the viziers' council sofa. Out of deference to the shah's missive, the bearer of the royal epistle was permitted to stand behind the back of the ambassador. When entering the Audience Chamber, the ambassador kissed the epistle[*'s* parcel], took it into his own hands, and removed the parcel before delivering it.⁵⁷

54. Üsküdârî, *Vâqîât-ı Rûzmerre*, ff. 103a-b.

55. *Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn*.

56. Chancellor.

57. Üsküdârî, *Vâqîât-ı Rûzmerre*, ff. 111a-113b; *Anonim Osmanlı Târîhi*, p. 33-34; Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, p. 1408-1409, p. 1423; Sarı Mehmed, *Zübde-i Vekâiyât*, p. 418. Dal Ahmed Agha had been admitted to the Outer Court as *qapıcıbaşı* in return for his services as substitute envoy. Kelb-Ali Qacar was conducted into the padishah's presence after a procession led by the marshal of the Sultanic Council and customarily witnessing the distribution of the Court Corps's salaries at the Council. Before the delivery of the epistle, the ambassador handed over the shah's gifts, which were exhibited and itemized by the vicar of the bureau of protocols (Ali Efendi) under the supervision of the protocol master (Ahmed Efendi), and delivered under the superintendence of the master of presents (Hacı Osman) to the padishah's *qapıcıbaşı*. After the audience, the ambassador and his entourage were invested with robes of honor by the Middle Gate.

Kelb-Ali Qacar's refusal to be preceded by the *nişancı*-pasha and demanding equal protocol with Ottoman viziers was a bold assertion, though such attempts by diplomats to enjoy higher protocol were not uncommon in early modernity. By alleging that Shah Süleyman was Sunni, as in Islam faith is grounded on bare declaration unless proven otherwise, the ambassador both prevented his move from constituting an insolence and attained his goal of enjoying higher protocol at the Council. Conceding the shah's ambassador a seating arrangement higher than what was conventional must have appeared to the Ottomans as a fair tradeoff, because in return, this presumed Qızılbaş or Shiite ambassador demonstrated allegiance to Sunnism on behalf of the shah, which politically implied a more tangible subordination to the caliph-shahenshah and which Kelb Ali Qacar seems to have claimed out of his own initiative..

Shah Süleyman's epistle⁵⁸ to the padishah "his Most-Sublime Majesty, world-possessor, premier- and supreme-sultan, possessor of the supervision of nations, the second Alexander the Great, shelter of the two-oriens and refuge of the two-horizons, exalted horizon of the Greater Caliphate"⁵⁹ was thoroughly imbued with the discourse of solidarity in the context of the ongoing war against the Holy League. The shah stated to have "commanded with heart and soul" to the Iranians that they "be praying" for the Ottoman "troops to attain victory" in their endeavor and "topple" their enemies.

This missive not only reconfirmed the "peace, friendship, amity, fidelity, and concord"⁶⁰ between the Houses of Osman and Safi but also consummated the elevation of bilateral relations to the level of "fraternity, ancient attachment, and coalition."⁶¹ Thus, in many ways, the shah's epistle of 1691 represents the peak of the first phase of the Ottoman-Safavid diplomatic revolution. It overtly honored the padishah's unconditional supremacy. Furthermore, the elevated status quo of *lasting fraternity* now came to qualify the relations, rather than the *friendly harmony* that had lasted for more than four decades. The Safavids also assured the Ottomans that Iranian frontier governors and viceroys would adhere fully to the treaty conditions. This meant that while fighting against the

58. *Nâme-i Hümayun* df. 5, ent. 63; *Münşeat-ı Divân-ı Hümayun*, p. 126-128.

59. "A'lâ-hazret, [...] cihân-dâr [...] sultânü'l-a'zam ve'l-ekrem, mâlik-i rıqâbü'l-ümem, [...] sâni-yi İskender-i Zülqarneyn, [...] kehfü'l-maşrıqeyn ve melâzü'l-hâқиkeyn, [...] ufq-ı muallâ-yı Hilâfet-i Kübrâ."

60. "Sulh [...] düstî [...] musâfât [...] sadâqat [...] yek-cihetî.

61. "Uhuvvat [...] meveddet-i qadîm [...] itilâf."

German Empire, Poland-Lithuania, Russia, and Venice, the padishah did not need to calculate in the possibility of an attack from his eastern borders. The shah communicated that ambassador Kelb-Ali Ziyâdoğlu-Qacar would orally submit additional matters.

Forty days after the orgy scandal with prostitutes, another awkward incident happened. Çoban Dede, reportedly a “false santon appearing in saintly guise,” was publicly speaking in Adrianople:

Now that from the Qızılbaş [i.e. Safavid Iran] an ambassador came, he praises his shah to the skies saying “our shah has 360 pieces of fortresses.” Indeed, I roamed and traveled the Qızılbaş country entirely. He owns three fortresses. One is Erivan, [the other] one is Tabriz, and [the last] one is Nahçıvan. Other than these, [if] a fortress of his is found [to exist], I shall stick it in the shah’s buttocks!⁶²

To make matters worse, as Çoban Dede was strolling around from door to door, the news of his public reviling of the shah of Iran with swear words quickly spread, creating an unpleasant atmosphere due to the presence of the padishah’s court and the Safavid embassy in the city. He was summarily exiled to Bozcaada.⁶³

Neither the prostitution scandal nor this *lèse-majesté* seems to have overshadowed the conduct of the diplomatic business. The former case was probably attributed to the non-diplomatic, service department of the ambassador’s entourage, while in the latter case the step taken by the Ottoman government was decisive enough to preempt any allegation of allowing the shah to be publicly reviled. Yet, one should not rule out the possibility that the ambassador may have been spreading false information about the condition and number of fortresses in Iran. In this case, if we suppose that among the people, Iran’s imagined fortresses became a subject of conversation in the co-capital of a better and more densely fortified empire, the Sublime Porte may well have opted for neutralizing the psychological effect of this rumor on the public opinion during an ongoing all-out war. If, in such a setting, a lunatic person was found to be cursing the shah and asserting that the shah does not possess more than three fortresses, it is not improbable that the Ottoman government let him talk here and there until the word spread so much as to counter the effect

62. “İmdi ki Qızılbaş [...] tan elçi geliptir, ‘bizim şâhımızın üçyüz altmış pare qalesi oluptur’ diye şâhını uçurur. Ben ki Qızılbaş ülkesini bütün gezip seyahat eyledim. Üç qaleye mâliktir. Biri Revan, ve biri Tebriz, ve biri Nahçıvandır. Bunlardan gayrı bir qalesi bulunur [ise] şâhın dübüriüne soqayım!”

63. Üsküdârî, *Vâkıât-ı Rûzmerre*, f. 139b.

of the ambassador's exaggeration, and that it only then took action in accordance with "fraternal" relations.

In confirmation of his commission to orally submit additional matters, Kelb-Ali Qacar notified the Sublime Porte of a political asylum incident: viceroy/king George XI Bagrationi⁶⁴ of Kartli and his brother Archil⁶⁵ (formerly viceroy/king of Imereti and Kakheti) had escaped from their seats of government. Now, both brothers were allegedly hiding at the court of Atabeğli Salih Pasha (governor-gen. of Çıldır). As giving asylum to Safavid fugitives was in violation of the peace, the Sublime Porte decreed in mid-May 1692 their imprisonment and delivery to the shah's ambassador. Governor of Erzurum Bînamaz Halil Pasha was entrusted with overseeing the punctual implementation of this order and installing Alexander (IV), the newly nominated sovereign of Imereti, to his capital.⁶⁶ At the end of the month, when the ambassador was granted permission to depart, a follow-up decree was issued to the same addressees to inform them of the ambassador's return and that they should arrange the delivery formalities.⁶⁷ This was followed by yet another decree in early June forewarning the addressees to refrain from any possible default in the implementation of the order.⁶⁸

It soon turned out that of the mentioned Georgian dynasts, only George was at the court of Çıldır. Upon the receipt of the cited decrees, he was imprisoned in Akhaltsikhe, but managed to escape before he could be delivered to the shah's ambassador. Without any doubt, the padishah's court held Atabeğli Salih Pasha responsible for what had happened; he had been harboring a renegade who had rebelled against the Safavids and invaded the Ottoman protectorate of Imereti, whom he now also helped escape capture. In mid-September 1692, the new governor of Erzurum was commissioned, among others, to arrest and hand over the fugitives to Iran.⁶⁹ With help from Atabeğli Salih Pasha, Archil would also escape arrest⁷⁰ and reappear in 1693 in Imereti to seize control of the territory. The governors of Erzurum, Çıldır, and Kars would be commanded to

64. Also known as Şahnevaz Xan.

65. Also known as Shahnazar Xan.

66. *Mühimme df.* 104, ent. 62.

67. *Mühimme df.* 104, ent. 114-115.

68. *Mühimme df.* 104, ent. 144, 154, 183-184; Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, p. 1436.

69. *Mühimme df.* 104, ent. 254-256.

70. *Mühimme df.* 106, ent. 1258.

jointly reinstate Ottoman sovereignty in this Georgian realm⁷¹ when the bulk of the forces subordinated to them were actually in Europe.

Contrary to the norm, these internally communicated decrees contained a concise version of the Safavid monarch's titulature, which was normally omitted. In such documents, the Safavid ruler was otherwise simply referred to as *shah of Iran*. Here, for the first time since the peace of Zuhab, the shah was styled as *Most-Sublime Majesty*⁷², referring to his promotion to junior-imperial rank. Apart from repeated references suggesting that harboring these fugitive Bagrationi brothers was contrary to the peace agreement, their "rebellion against the shah"⁷³ was also used as an additional argument to legitimize the prosecution. In a sense, this affair goes beyond the extradition of fugitives to a friendly state, as any petty offender could be extradited on these grounds. Hereby, rebellion against a friendly monarch is additionally introduced as a rationale for taking action, without a doubt a direct consequence of the recent rapprochement in Ottoman-Safavid relations.

One must consider the inclusion of titulature (though concisely) in a decree in general as the next step of the diplomatic revolution. "*Most-Sublime Majesty*" here can be seen as the forerunner of the eventual insertion of this title into the diplomatic *inscriptio*. The purpose must have been to inform the addressee, who could potentially correspond with the Iranian side, of the elevation of the shah's grade to make sure that he use the updated titulature. By consistently rejecting all anti-Ottoman alliance offers, the shah, now ranking not two but one level below the supreme-monarch, had saved the latter's monarchy from a potential disaster. The extradition of a fugitive kinglet was not an issue over which the Sublime Porte would jeopardize this unprecedented harmony with Safavid Iran.

Kelb-Ali Qacar's stay in Adrianople lasted around four months. Due to the "Persianate pied kerchiefs he muffled himself in, as well as the bizarre-ish turbans and the Persianate calpacs" of his and his retinue, the embassy was quite a spectacle of apparel. During his activities, the ambassador proved to be a man of "orderly discourse,"⁷⁴ and "by virtue of being literate, learned, and well-versed in history, he met and conversed with the elegants of the Sublime [Ottoman] State."⁷⁵ After completing

71. *Mühimme df.* 104, ent. 701, 959. See also *Mühimme df.* 150, ent. 376.

72. "A'lâ-hazret," instead of "âlî-hazret (sublime majesty)." *Mühimme df.* 104, ent. 62, 67, 75, 101.

73. *Mühimme df.* 104, ent. 255.

74. Üsküdârî, *Vâkıât-ı Rûzmerre*, ff. 96b-97a.

75. *Anonim Osmanlı Târîhi*, p. 33.

his mission, which also included commercial matters, and receiving permission to leave, he was first invited to the grand vizierial farewell feast given on 15 May 1692. During this event, the ambassador was treated with “solemnness and regard for the dear sake of the shah of Persia.”⁷⁶

The farewell audience was held on May 29 at the Palace of Adrianople. Unusually, Kelb-Ali Qacar was conducted into the padishah’s presence by the chief of the Privy-Guard⁷⁷ who grasped him from his right armpit and the marshal of the Sultanic Council from the left. Ahmed II addressed the ambassador: “say my greetings to the Shah, I was delighted by his epistle-of-servitude and gifts, his veracious friendship has become acknowledged and accepted by my August [Person]. The more he carries fidelity to excess, the more he shall also consider Our friendship.”⁷⁸ The ambassador said in reply: “the shah is thy genuine, faithful, true friend, and does not turn away from true friendship.”⁷⁹ Afterwards, the padishah’s reply epistle was entrusted to him. From Saraçhane Pavillion, Ahmed II watched the departure procession. On June 3, the ambassador set off from Adrianople.⁸⁰ The departure of a flashy Iranian embassy after a

76. Üsküdârî, *Vâqîât-ı Rûzmerre*, f. 194a.

77. *Bostancıbaşı*.

78. “Şâh’a benden selâm eyle, gönderdiği ubûdiyet-nâmesiyle hediye hazzeyledim, hulûs üzere dostluğu malum [u] maqbûl-ı hümayunum oldu. Ne denli sadâqatte ifrât ederse bizden dostluğu dahi ziyâde bilsin.”

79. “Şah, hâlis muhlis sâdıq yahşı dostundur, yahşı dostluqtan dönmez.”

80. The event was held in the canopied area of the Privy Garden (*Has Bahçe*) refurbished as audience hall, by the Su-Terâzisi Pavilion located at the banks of River Tunca across the bridge outside the Iron Gate (*Demir Qapı*). Kelb-Ali Qacar came to the audience with a procession from his residence. After the audience, the ambassador, his treasurer/second-ambassador, and the seven selected members of the embassy were invested with robes of honor. In addition to those admitted inside, forty members of the embassy personnel waiting outside were also invested with simpler robes. Along with the permission to leave, the embassy was also granted a total of 25,000 *quruş* for its travel expenses. Çavuş Qara Hasan was appointed to accompany the ambassador as host-officer until the mission left Ottoman territory. Üsküdârî, *Vâqîât-ı Rûzmerre*, ff. 211a-212b, 220b; Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, p. 1432-1433. See also Ibid. for the set-up of the audience. See Sarı Mehmed, *Zübde-i Vekâiyât*, p. 427 for a breakdown of the embassy’s 25,000-*quruş* travel-allowance. For the rations of foodstuff the embassy was allocated during residence at Adrianople, whose daily cost for the state was 125 *quruş* (20,000 debased [*çürük*] *aqçe*), see the breakdown authenticated by the proxy-judge of Mahmudpaşa court at Constantinople, Sunullah Efendi: BOA, *Ali Emîrî – II. Ahmed*, doc. 917. For another breakdown of the same items in the pay order given to the Palace Kitchen superintendent, see BOA, *Cevdet – Hâriciye*, doc. 4402. As documented by a decree, apart from the handsome travel allowance, the embassy was also allocated a daily amount of 125 *quruş* – 20,000 debased *aqçe* as subvention to be disbursed by provincial authorities on behalf of the Central Treasury during the return journey. BOA, *Cevdet. – Maarif*, doc. 5390; *Cevdet – Hâriciye*, doc. 6749, doc. 3; BOA, *Yabancı Arşivlerdeki Belgeler* (04). BLG. İST. 3/66.

four-month stay at court, which, aside from diplomatic events, also occasioned scandals and unpleasanties, and imposed a considerable burden on finances during an all-out war, was a relief for the monarchy. Abdullah Üsküdârî, a financial secretary who witnessed the embassy, portrayed the departure of Kelb-Ali Qacar as the “elimination of the ambassador turmoil.”⁸¹

In Ahmed II’s reply to “Shah Süleyman his Most-Sublime Majesty, of welkin-potency, booster of the domains of Iran, the foremost one on the seat of Kings,⁸²” titles conceding imperial dignity to the shah were remarkably omitted and literal and direct references to supreme dignity were reserved for the padishah. Yet, the current peace was defined as the zenith of the “ancient oaths,⁸³” and the recently achieved status quo as “harmony and union, bipartisan concurrence and friendship, reciprocal cohesion and fraternization.”⁸⁴ Subsequently, via the citation of the verse “fulfill the oath, indeed there is responsibility in oath,⁸⁵” adherence to the current Ottoman-Safavid treaty was declared to be a dogmatic obligation.

Ahmed II then asked for the shah’s moral support in the ongoing war, and expressed his wish that the frontiers remain safe and that positive relations consolidate through long ages. He apparently signed the epistle as “Father of the Victorious – Sultan Ahmed Khan son of Mehmed Khan.”⁸⁶ The Sublime Porte seems to have paid special attention to the wording of this missive. The composition was commissioned to *reisülküt-tab*⁸⁷ Qara Ebubekir Efendi of Şirvan, incidentally a born-Iranian.⁸⁸ The final text was presented “for the shahenshahly inspection.” The extraordinary consistency in composition and eloquence in phraseology did not go unrewarded. In appreciation of the artistic skill displayed in this epistle to the shah, Ahmed II’s autograph reconfirmed Qara Ebubekir

81. Üsküdârî, *Vâqîât-ı Rûzmerre*, ff. 211a-212b.

82. “A’lâ-hazret, sipihr-iqtidâr, [...] revnaq-efzâ-yı memâlik-i îrân, sadr-ârâ-yı mesned-i keyân [...] Şah Süleyman.”

83. “Uhûd-ı qadîme.”

84. “Tevâfuq u ittihâd [...] muvâfaqat u müvâlât-ı cânibeyn [...] müvâlefet u müvâhât-ı tarafeyn.”

85. *Quran*, 17:34.

86. *Mecmua-i Mekâtib*, f. 1b.

87. The chief secretary of the state, whose office evolved into that of a minister of foreign affairs.

88. See Resmî, *Halîqatü’r-Rüesâ*, ff. 31a-32b; Süreyyâ, *Sicill-i Osmânî* II, p. 430-431 [ent. “Ebubekir Efendi (Kara), Şirvanlı”].

Efendi as *reisülküttab* in perpetuity on 6 April 1692, an unprecedented act in Ottoman history – though later repealed.⁸⁹

Until the 1680s, each occasion had slowly consolidated peaceful relations, no structural change to their nature had however taken place. Reconfirmation had remained essential for the treaty to remain in force. From 1686 onwards, novel concepts on bilateral platform were gradually introduced. It was now time to consolidate this new accord not only in writing but also in deed; any reason to doubt the mutual well-wishing intentions was to be eliminated. The Ottoman-Safavid peace was no longer perceived to be bounded by renegotiation and reconfirmation upon the accession of rulers, or subordinated to the changing policies of succeeding chief ministers. It carried now all attributes and even the description of an eternal peace, as testified by Ahmed II's wish to perpetuate it, lacking only the official designation *eternal*. Both sides seemed determined to observe the new rules of the game which helped bring relations to this level: the shah was to assure the padishah about Iran's neutrality even when the padishah was fighting a multi-front war against a grand coalition in the west, which was forcing him to redeploy troops from the Iranian frontier to Hungary. In return, the shah was to be promoted in rank, friendly inter-state relations were to be elevated to the level of fraternity, and Safavid requests regarding some religious and commercial issues were to be granted.

During Kelb-Ali Qacar's embassy in Adrianople, the turmoil at the east Iraqi frontier continued to escalate. In early July 1692, a petition from the inhabitants of Kirkuk, which mentioned the Kirmanc rebels' killings and plunders in villages across the border on Iranian territory, reached the government. In response, a decree gave Ahısqalı Ahmed Pasha, the new governor-gen. of Baghdad, full authority to determine the best course of action in this "most important affair," and neighboring provincial dignitaries were immediately summoned to report under his command. After restoring order and the judicial process, injured parties, which included Iranian subjects, were to be recompensed.⁹⁰

Due to successive deaths of incumbent governors, an interregnum ensued in Basra during the Marshland uprising,⁹¹ leaving the province

89. Üsküdarî, *Vâqîât-ı Rûzmerre*, ff. 153a-b; Sarı Mehmed, *Zübde-i Vekâiyât*, p. 422; *Anonim Osmanlı Târîhi*, p. 40.

90. Death and imprisonment sentences were also to be executed. *Mühimme* df. 104, ent. 235-239.

91. Sarı Mehmed, *Zübde-i Vekâiyât*, p. 436; Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, p. 1454.

defenseless and without leadership. This, in turn, let the insurrection expand further.⁹² On the road from Adrianople to Baghdad, Ahısqalı Ahmed Pasha received the news that the Bedouin coalition would soon target the principal cities of the province, namely Basra and Qurna. The state then sent decrees to relevant officials subordinating them to the governor-gen. of Baghdad, who was appointed *serasker*⁹³ at the southern flank of the Iranian frontier.⁹⁴

The Baghdad-centered Diplomacy during Cross-Border Revolutions: the Sublime Porte declares Alliance and perpetuates the Peace, 1692-96

In the coalition, the Bedouin of the Marshlands, the Ma'dân, the Müntefiq, and the Âl-i Serrâc, among others, were involved. In August 1692, they besieged the city of Basra, blocking the traffic between it and Qurna, while pursuing their plundering and killing throughout the countryside. From then on, from the center's point of view, dealing with this problem had become a "matter of state."⁹⁵ The riots in Basra were no longer seen as repercussions of a struggle for ascendancy among provincial power-holders. The Marshland coalition had attained the character of a rebellion directed against the very presence of the Ottoman State in the province, with direct implications for Ottoman-Safavid relations. The campaign of 1693 was nevertheless undersized, and ended in disaster. Probably around the turn of the year, the new governor-gen. of Basra, Bezirgân Qapıcı Halil Pasha, at the head of 3,000 troops still managed to run a blockade and enter the governorate's capital. This arrival had been much awaited by the inhabitants who had recognized the governor-gen. *in absentia* beforehand, declaring, with a collective petition, that "the dominion is the padishah's."⁹⁶

Towards mid-1692, the shah had written a follow-up epistle to the padishah in complaint of Baban Süleyman's encroachments. The courier carrying the epistle had reached the returning Safavid ambassador in Kars

92. Sarı Mehmed, *Zübde-i Vekâiyât*, p. 454; Râşid, *Târih*, p. 444-445.

93. In Ottoman terminology, the capacity of *serasker* approximately corresponds to that of *serdâr* in Safavid terminology.

94. Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, p. 1476-1477.

95. *Mühimme df.* 104, ent. 473-497, 768.

96. BOA, *Sadâret Mektûbî Kalemî Belgeleri*, 4/5; *Cevdet – Askeriye*, 37480; Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, p. 1493; Sarı Mehmed, *Zübde-i Vekâiyât*, p. 454-455; Râşid, *Târih*, p. 445; Floor, *The Persian Gulf*, p. 577.

possibly in August, and Kelb-Ali Qacar had forwarded this correspondence to the Sublime Porte with his own men.⁹⁷ Meanwhile, Baban Süleyman had in a way come to terms with the new governor of Şehrîzor, but as a result, his destructive incursions were hereafter more directed towards Iranian territory than before. In late February 1693, Ahîsqalı Ahmed Pasha was re-commissioned to restore order at this section of the Iranian border. The padishah's decree issued by this occasion stressed that the expediency of the monarchy was in the satisfaction of the "Shah his Majesty," the stabilization of the demarcated borders, and the observance of the peace conditions.⁹⁸ The Kirmanc affair in northeastern Iraq thus grew to become an international, destabilizing, and anti-state movement on both sides of the border.

Yet, the planned punitive operation of 1693 against the Kirmanc also could not be undertaken. The contingents that were ordered to participate in operations in Şehrîzor were indeed the same as those mobilized for the disastrous Basran campaign. This is one of the most obvious demonstrations of how the redeployment of troops from the Iranian frontier to European fronts had grave consequences. The Sublime Porte took Baban Süleyman's transgressions in Iran no less seriously than his lawlessness and killings in Ottoman territory. Still, it is quite extraordinary for Ottoman diplomatics that, in a decree issued to a governor-gen., which was not foreign correspondence and hence was not to be viewed by the Safavids, appeasing the anxiety of the shah, also referred to with unconventional honorary titlature, was formulated as the principle rationale. The House of Osman must have greatly appreciated the Iranians' full adherence to the treaty and preservation of their positive neutrality at a time when it could not respond to a potential offensive at its eastern borders. Accordingly, these acts of good will by the House of Safi were not to be abused in such times of dire need.

At the turn of the year, Baghdad witnessed an interregnum caused by the untimely death of the governor. Soon after, in April 1694, the fortress of Baghdad underwent repair works.⁹⁹ Not much later, on July 29, Shah Süleyman died, apparently due to a health failure originating from

97. Uşşâkîzâde, *Târih* I, p. 398.

98. *Mühimme df.* 104, ent. 686-688; Uşşâkîzâde, *Târih* I, p. 398. The decree was forwarded by a *Dergâh-ı Âlî qapıcıbaşı*, Hamdiefendi-emmezâdesi Ali Agha.

99. See BOA, *Büyük Kale Kalemî Defterleri* 32246 for the register of wages paid to the craftsmen commissioned with the repair of the fortress of Baghdad, April 1694.

decades-long heavy drinking and debauchery.¹⁰⁰ With the active support of the deceased shah's sister and wife of the chief judge¹⁰¹ – Meryem *Begüm*, prince Sultan-Hüseyin smoothly acceded to the throne.¹⁰²

Like in the case of the Marshland uprising in Basra, as of 1694, the cross-border Kirmanc insubordination was also recognized as an independence movement¹⁰³, and thus a direct rebellion against both the padishah and the shah, rather than one aiming at attaining a better share of power against central authority. Baban Süleyman, not contenting himself with undertaking raids and returning to his base, directly seized control of the Iranian forts Mekri, Mesbuş, Oraman, and their adjunct countryside. These localities, he claimed, had once been attached to Şehrizar, which he now possessed. From these new footholds, he also began encroaching into Urûmiye. Upon these developments that had coincided with his father's last days, the new shah decided to send an army against the invaders, and had his frontier governors write to the new governor-gen. of Baghdad, Qalaylıqoz Ahmed Pasha, that the Safavid expeditionary force inevitably had to pass through Ottoman territory, and that the Ottoman side should in no way perceive this as a violation.¹⁰⁴

The shah's rescript created governor of Urûmiye Canı[-pek] Xan the general commander of the mobilized forces. They were however routed in the first encounter, and Baban Süleyman expanded his Iranian zone of occupation to Kirmanşah. In response, another rescript commissioned an army under the command of Murtazâ-Qulu Beyg Zengene (son of the chief of the royal guard, Şah-Qulu Xan Zengene), who managed to recover fort Şemiran. But soon, the Ottoman vassal-turned-rebel also defeated this second Safavid force.¹⁰⁵

Following these defeats, the governor of Kirmanşah – Süleyman Murtazâ-Qulu Xan –, presumably instructed by the shah's court, sent a letter to Baghdad, along with an emissary of the shah. He stated that because the Ottomans had not undertaken the necessary operations against the Kirmanc in due time, they had fallen short of adhering to the

100. Roemer, "The Safavid Period," p. 309-310.

101. Saf. *sadr*; Ott. *Qazasker*.

102. Newman, *Safavid Iran*, p. 104.

103. *Huruç* – it literally means *exiting* or *emerging*. In political or religious contexts, it was employed to identify the act of a leader who, after an outwardly passive period of waiting and preparation, launched his campaign to achieve power, recognition, independence, or sovereignty.

104. Nasîrî, *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân*, p. 128; Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, p. 1592.

105. Nasîrî, *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân*, p. 128-131; Uşşâkizâde, *Târih* I, p. 398-399.

peace conditions, and that the Safavids would now give Baban Süleyman, condemned by both sides, his due retribution. He also affirmed that the pursuing army's path would cross from Ottoman territory out of necessity, but neither the Ottoman side nor any informed party could or should interpret this move as a violation, and that Baban Süleyman's removal was rather to be regarded as the fulfillment of the union between the Houses of Osman and Safi. Upon hearing of the shah's intention, the grand vizierate issued orders to Baghdad to intervene before Iran would.¹⁰⁶

In response, Qalaylıqoz Ahmed Pasha sent a letter¹⁰⁷ accompanied by an emissary agha directly to Shah Sultan-Hüseyn seated on "the throne of world-possession."¹⁰⁸ He expressed his condolences for Shah Süleyman's death, congratulated Sultan-Hüseyn on his "august accession [to the] eternity-joining sultanate,"¹⁰⁹ and stressed that "between the Two Eternal States, friendship [was] durable, and the alliance [was] firm."¹¹⁰

The padishah had heard of Baban Süleyman's misdeeds, which were labeled an "encroachment to Both Sides at that frontier of well-known borders," probably in order to give the impression that the Sublime Porte was no less disturbed than the Iranian government was. As it was indispensable to uphold whatever the treaty conditions necessitated, wrote the governor-gen., the padishah had sent his autograph with one of his privy men-at-arms,¹¹¹ [Sari¹¹²] Muslu Agha, by which he had created Qalaylıqoz Ahmed Pasha *serdar*¹¹³ and subordinated to him the Baghdad Local Corps, the governors-gen. of Van (Firârî-Yeğeni Beyzâde Ali Pasha), and of Mosul, along with their provincial and Kurdish-tribal troops. At the time of the arrival of this decree, the shah's emissary was already in Baghdad,

106. Nazmizâde, *Münşeat*, f. 32b; Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, p. 1593; Râmi, *Münşeat*, ff. 133a-133b.

107. Nazmizâde, *Münşeat*, ff. 30b-33b. The copied text of the letter in this compilation contains a factual mistake: the name of the Ottoman ruler is given as Süleyman instead of Ahmed. However, Fındıklılı Mehmed Agha's first chronicle recounts in more detail each event and name that one comes across in this letter, thus leaving no doubt as to its sender, dating, and occasion. Also, unlike what is suggested in this probably miscopied version of Nazmizâde's compilation, Murtazâ-Qulu Xan was actually not the shah's envoy but the governor of Kırmanşah. See Râmi, *Münşeat*, ff. 133a-133b.

108. "*Serîr-i cihân-dâri*."

109. "*Cûlûs-ı hümayun, [...] saltanat-ı ebed-peyvend*."

110. "*Devleteyn-i Müebbedeyn miyânında [...] dûstî [...] pâyidâr ve [...] ittifâq üstûvâr olmağla*."

111. "*Hassa silahşor / silahşor-i şehriyârî*."

112. Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, p. 1384, 1389, 1393, 1405, 1435.

113. *Serdâr* in Ottoman terminology denotes a capacity comparable to that of *sipeh-sâlâr* in Safavid terminology.

and thus had first-hand knowledge of the Sublime Porte's close attention to this matter. To give further assurance, the *serdar* had opted to write this letter directly to the shah himself: he had officially inaugurated the campaign on 25 October 1694, and would move to the operation zone in order to "give [Baban Süleyman] his deserved punishment." Whichever territories he might have seized from Iran were to be restored to the shah's officials in accordance with the border protocol; it was "not necessary that the evidently-honorable shah attend to the expulsion of the mentioned bandit, or bother himself with anything else."

The governor of Kirmanşah's statement that the impending Safavid pursuit of Baban Süleyman would be legitimate action without constituting a violation of peace must have alarmed the governor-gen. of Baghdad, even beyond the degree suggested by his letter to the shah. As he might have wanted more precise instructions to follow in the case of such a development, he had immediately forwarded Süleyman Murtazâ-Qulu Xan's letter to the grand vizierate, (seemingly along with the shah's emissary¹¹⁴). The grand vizier, in an unprecedented and isolated move, made *reisülküttab* Râmi Mehmed Efendi compose a letter directly to Süleyman Murtazâ-Qulu Xan "his Highness, gauge of magistracy¹¹⁵". In the letter, he stated that to the "caliphal padishah, shahenshah, sultan of the sultans on the Earth, Shadow of God in Both Globes,¹¹⁶" he had submitted the incoming letter concerning the crimes Baban Süleyman had committed in the realms of the "Shah his Most-Sublime Majesty, refuge of sultanate.¹¹⁷" The grand vizier communicated that Baban Süleyman was currently in check, and that a *qapıcıbaşı* of the Sultanic Court had been sent with decrees to the neighboring governors to make sure that he stay in check; if he would not remain tame, he would meet his due punishment with the troops to be dispatched. The grand vizier declared it impossible that the "time-honored covenant" be injured by "such minuscule incidents." However, especially at a time when Ottoman armies were preoccupied on the European fronts, a "violation of the border [by the Safavids],

114. See *Ali Emîrî –II. Ahmed*, doc. 917 for the treasury note dated 24 June 1694 – the payment order for the ghee, meat, bread, and other items that were allocated as bouche to an unnamed emissary from [the shah of] Iran and his retinue, who were to stay in Adrianople from June 24 to July 23.

115. "*Cenâb-ı xâniyet-meâb, hükûmet-nisâb.*"

116. "*Hilâfet-mekân, [...] pâdişah, [...] şehinşah, [...] sultân-ı selâtîn-i rây-i zemîn, [...] zıllullah fî'l-arzeyn.*"

117. "*A'lâ-hazret, [...] saltanat-penâh, [...] şah.*"

which had no precedent,” while not ruining the cordial relations, would still distract these armies fighting the foe. It was communicated that dealing with this matter was to be left exclusively to the padishah’s state, and that the shah’s side was to give up the intention of pursuit.¹¹⁸

The Ottoman authorities’ inability to prevent Baban Süleyman from killing Iranian subjects in 1693, as well as pillaging their properties, and seizing control of Iranian territory, forts and villages, justified the Safavid claim to the right to stop these encroachments. The Kirmanc rebellion now carried implications that went much beyond a security deficit and the Ottomans’ conjunctural impotence to implement state authority in north-eastern Iraq. Remarkably, the Safavids made no attempt to turn this development into an advantage. Otherwise, they could have justifiably accused the Sublime Porte of not taking the necessary measures to prevent Iran from being attacked by unruly Ottoman vassals coming from Ottoman territory. However, the Safavids knew that, because almost all of the padishah’s available resources were employed in the ongoing war against the German Empire, Poland-Lithuania, Venice, and Russia, he was unable to intervene with sufficient force. Therefore, they tried to negotiate a mutually consented pursuit of the Kirmanc in order for the Sublime Porte not to perceive this as a violation of the concord.

That the shah did not attempt to draw more benefits from this situation indicates how vital he deemed the perpetuation of the current cordial relations with the Ottoman State, which was inherently stronger than Safavid Iran. If Iranian forces were to cross the border in a pursuit, this would undermine the current convergence. Moreover, the Ottoman State possessed the capacity to reassert its power once the war of the Holy League was over, and the Iranian government had every reason to prefer that this assertion not be aimed against its own interests. Probably in view of all these, the Safavids only planned to defend their territory and subjects, and did not strategize to crush the rebel headquarters across the border, despite being in the right. The gains to be made from such an adventure would be temporary, but the losses that would ensue from alienating the Ottoman State would have long-term effects.

On the other hand, the Ottoman side was well aware that the Safavids had every right to intervene. In response to the forewarning that the Iranians were about to conduct an operation, the grand vizier remarkably declared, as seen above, that a crossing of the border by the Safavids,

118. Râmi, *Münşeat*, ff. 133a-134b.

though a violation, would not break the peace. The Sublime Porte did not legally have the right to protest when it was not in a position to impose its authority along a border stretch across which Iran was receiving harm. This awareness was also reflected in the abovementioned hurried decrees sent to Baghdad and its neighboring provinces that they intervene before the Iranians, as only this would remove the legal base of the otherwise justified course of action declared by the Safavids. Additionally, the shah's crushing of a rebellion by the padishah's rebel vassals in Ottoman territory would indeed cost more than land, tax, lives, or superstructure, and have serious consequences regarding the legitimacy of Ottoman rule in the region.

Lastly, the letters by the *serdar* to the shah (1694) and by the grand vizier to the governor of Kirmanşah (1695) show that, just as in 1692, Ottoman authorities along the frontier were given instructions to adapt to the revised status quo in their correspondence. Qalaylıqoz Ahmed Pasha adhered to the shah's elevated rank. The steps taken towards the eternalization of the peace also left clear marks on the wording. As precursor to an eternal peace, both parties had to recognize one another's justified existence as unbounded by time and conjuncture, a recognition which the Safavids had been conceding to the Ottoman State since the establishment of bilateral relations. This letter makes clear references to the permanence of the peace and to the Ottoman recognition of the Safavids as an equally *eternal state*. Thus, *perpetual peace*, which had begun to be uttered in 1686, now entered into diplomatic correspondence. Also, the grand vizier's reference to the *time-honored pact* was a milestone on the road to the perpetuation of the peace, which had until then been indefinite in terms of time but subject to renewal at each occasion.

This rapprochement also brought about the first mention of *alliance* in official correspondence. One should take this new level in relations as a rather passive alliance which prescribed not taking advantage of the other party's difficult situation during an ongoing war against a third party, and even indirectly aiding the other party by assuring it of the safety of its borders so that it would not have to invest militarily to the common frontier concurrently while mobilizing for other fronts. This novelty in Ottoman-Safavid relations would continue to receive reference, showing that such wording by the *serdar* in his letter to the shah was not coincidental. Rather, it was the very first occasion, preceding the next inter-monarch correspondence, in which the latest accord was featured. Again, the padishah's primacy vis-à-vis the shah, despite the latter

being elevated to junior-imperial dignity, was strictly observed in both letters. Lastly, the grand vizier's writing to the governor of Kırmanşah was more of a friendly warning from above to below than part of the conventions of interstate correspondence.

As the state authority at various sections of the Iranian-Ottoman frontier collapsed, an espionage attempt in Constantinople was revealed. Mehmed Taqî of Baghdad, a merchant active in the trading house Vezir-Hanî located in Çemberlitaş, sent written messages to the Bedouin chieftains of the Basran countryside and to the shahly court. Emphasizing that the House of Osman was completely preoccupied with the enemy offensive in Hungary, he urged the chieftains to seize Basra, and the Safavids to capture Baghdad. The Sublime Porte intercepted these papers. Upon grand vizier Sürmeli Ali Pasha's submission of the case to Ahmed II and the subsequent autograph by the latter, Mehmed Taqî was brought to Adrianople and, charged with high treason, executed before the palace gates on 29 January 1695.¹¹⁹ Neither the intercepted papers nor any other extant report suggests that Mehmed Taqî of Baghdad was spying on behalf of the Safavid State. Thus, this could be a unilateral initiative undertaken with an expectation of reward. His transportation from Constantinople to Adrianople hints at further interrogations by the padishah's government to extract more information. Seemingly void of a Safavid connection, this failed attempt did not affect bilateral relations.

On 6 February 1695, after several years of minor advances and setbacks on all fronts in the Great Turkish War and the transformation of the turmoils in eastern Iraq into cross-border coalitions led by the Müntefiq and the Baban, Ahmed II passed away. His nephew, Mustafa (II), succeeded him, and immediately resolved to assume personal command on the Hungarian front against the German emperor's forces.¹²⁰ Again in the same year, the Republic of Venice sent a letter to the shah and reawakened the proposal that Iran ally itself with the Ottomans' foes.¹²¹ In a parallel attempt, Pope Innocent XII wrote to Shah Sultan-Hüseyin in a brief dated 30 April 1695: "joining with the arms of the Christian princes against the Turks Your awe-inspiring might, you will unite to destroy it altogether and also vigorously oblige it to restore provinces which it has appropriated up till now." Nevertheless, this new wave of offers too could not

119. Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, p. 1589; *Anonim Osmanlı Târihi*, p. 106.

120. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Târihi* III/1, p. 555-557.

121. Rota, "Safavid Persia and Venice," p. 152.

prompt the Safavids to reconsider their answer. As of 5 October 1696, a missionary would report from Isfahan: “there is not a word, nothing mentioned, of any war against the Turks.”¹²² Unlike in 1684-1685, the Ottomans were now not alarmed at the possibility of a positive reply by the Iranian government. The manner in which the Holy League’s attempt to draw Iran into the war in 1695 failed shows how firm the post-1684 Ottoman-Safavid rapprochement was.

The decree dated 13 June 1695 appointing Beyzâde Ali Pasha governor-gen. of Baghdad with full authority in all security- and frontier-related decisions also charged him with strictly upholding the conditions of peace with the shah.¹²³ In October, the process of redeploying troops from Iraq to European fronts showed the first concrete signs of reversal.¹²⁴ By then, the state center had understood through bitter experience what disastrous consequences could result from decreasing its military presence at the Iranian frontier to a level lower than the peacetime norm.

By 1695, contrary to the earlier promises given to the Safavids, the Ottomans could still not undertake an effective operation against the Kirmanc, and Baban Süleyman continued his destructive activities on both sides of the border.¹²⁵ On the other hand, as of 1695, the Safavids also began to no longer perceive the Kirmanc rebellion as one stemming solely from the lack of authority on the Ottoman side of the border. Encroachments to Erdelân and Urûmiye had reached such a degree that the rebel chieftain was no less influential there than he was at his base in Şehrîzor. As of 1694-1695,¹²⁶ in parts of Safavid Kurdistan too, the Kirmanc rebellion attained the quality of an independence movement, and it also grew stronger due to the Safavids’ inability to crush it within Iran. This situation required a closer coordination between Adrianople and Isfahan than before, and to avoid any sort of accusations of non-fulfillment of contractual responsibilities.

Upon the worsening of the situation, the Iranian government deemed it necessary to implement measures against the Kirmanc rebellion in coordination with its new “ally.” Because the upholding of the treaty conditions was prioritized, further operations against the Kirmanc were temporarily halted, as these would require military activity on both sides of the

122. *Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, p. 494-495.

123. *Mühimme df.* 106, ent. 563-566.

124. *Mühimme df.* 106, ent. 1229-1231.

125. Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, p. 1593.

126. Nasîrî, *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân*, p. 125.

border. Diplomatic initiatives began in order to have the Sublime Porte issue an official permission authorizing the Safavids to undertake cross-border operations against Baban Süleyman. Ebulmasum Xan Şamlu, former governor of Khorasan, was appointed Shah Sultan-Hüseyn's ambassador to congratulate Mustafa II's accession, and commissioned with relating the details of the Kirmanc occupation in the Safavid Kurdistan. He was also charged with the notification that the central army had not been sent to crush him on the grounds that he was the padishah's vassal; that if the Ottoman side honored the peace as much as the Safavids did, it was then the padishah's responsibility to deal with the issue; and that otherwise, the shah would order his troops to march and crush the rebels.¹²⁷

Concurrently, the city of Basra surrendered to the rebels in July/August 1695 following a brief siege, because the Ottomans had failed to capitalize on a setback inflicted upon the Marshland coalition. Mâni es-Saadûn had Bezirgan Halil Pasha along with his 700-men household shipped off to Iran – across the Shatt-el-Arab to Bûşehr, and massacred the 500-strong Court Corps contingent within the fortress.¹²⁸ Fearing punishment for having surrendered and implicitly acquiesced to the massacre of the padishah's servitors, Bezirgan Halil Pasha remained in Iran in order to convince the shah to intercede, via the outgoing ambassador, for Mustafa II's pardon.¹²⁹

As Basra was falling, Mustafa II pushed the main theater of war with the German armies back to Hungary in the summer of 1695. After entrenching his position in Temesvar, the principal fortress of the Ottoman-held southern Hungary, he took the surrounding forts back and defeated the German emperor's army in the Battle of Lugos.¹³⁰ Soon after the

127. Nasîrî, *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân*, p. 132-133; BOA, *İbnülemin – Hâriciye*, doc. 424; Râşid, *Târih*, p. 533.

128. Findıklılı Mehmed, *Nusretnâme*, p. 131. The Carmelite chronicler dates Sheikh Mâni's seizure of Basra to 1694. It is inaccurate, as documented by the consistent chronology of events as presented in *Nusretnâme*. Findıklılı Mehmed Agha's entries note the news' dates of occurrence and of reaching the padishah's court. The Carmelite chronicler cannot date the event exactly as well, providing instead a tentative period, from March to September. This supports my interpretation that he confused the chronology in this specific entry. See *Chronicle of Events*, p. 412; *Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, p. 1170.

129. Matthee, "Basra," p. 74. Apparently, he was later granted the pardon, as he reappeared in state service. Süreyyâ, *Sicill-i Osmânî* II, p. 584 [entry: "Halil Paşa (Bezîrgân)"].

130. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Târihi* III/1, p. 555-560; Parvev, *Habsburgs and Ottomans*, p. 121-124.

padishah's triumphal entry to Constantinople in November, a victory epistle was sent to the shah of Iran, among other Muslim rulers, via a diplomatic agent.¹³¹

In late December 1695, Beyzâde Ali Pasha was created *başbuğ*¹³² of the campaign for recapturing Basra. In the meantime, Mâni es-Saadûn further expanded the support base of the rebellion among the Bedouin.¹³³ The operations in 1696 could not be undertaken as planned. Only a quarter of the mobilized forces could actually gather, and the rebels defeated them in battle. The result was the loss of Ottoman control in the entire province of Basra, with direct consequences regarding neighboring Iran. In confirmation of this loss, Mâni initiated attempts to expand his influence to the Bedouin across the border with the aim of also rallying under his banner Safavid vassals. Concurrently, with letters dispatched via emissaries to the Iranian government, he offered to recognize the shah as suzerain. Sultan-Hüseyn did not issue an acceptance, and instead instructed the Mushasha viceroy of Huveyze, Seyyid Ferecullah Xan, not to intervene militarily into Ottoman territory.

The Ebulmasum Şamlu Embassy during the Collapse of the Border: the Shah's Obeisance to the Padishah seals the Accord, 1696-97

As the abortive campaign of Basra was still underway, Shah Sultan-Hüseyn's ambassador to Mustafa II had set off, and arrived in Erivan in mid-1696. Here, with the shah's orders, an agent of the governor-gen. of Çuqursaad (centered at Erivan), a certain Mehemed Beyg, joined the embassy with instructions to gather intelligence, independently from the ambassador, about the state of affairs in the war-ridden monarchy. Upon return to court and before Ebulmasum Şamlu himself would be received in audience, this agent was to inform the shah of his observations not only on the Ottomans but also on the conduct of the ambassador himself. In Constantinople, where the people had gathered to behold the embassy's entry during the welcome ceremony, a diplomatic crisis

131. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* VI, p. 615.

132. A term in the same capacity as *serasker*.

133. Sarı Mehmed, *Zübde-i Vekâiyât*, p. 575; Râşid, *Târih*, p. 516; *Mühimme df.* 108, ent. 2-43, 281-294, 393-394, 841-843, 846-848; 1344-1349; BOA, *Dîvan-Beglikçi Kalemi Belgeleri*, 240/94, 240/96.

reportedly occurred: vice-grand-vizier-at-Constantinople¹³⁴ Çerkes Osman Pasha had sent a fully equipped horse with his officer of the ceremonies¹³⁵ as a gift, but, getting off the ship, the ambassador chose to mount his own horse. In reaction to this insult in the presence of the gathered public, the vice-grand-vizier refused to meet the ambassador during the latter's twelve-day stay in the capital.¹³⁶ We are not in a position to know whether this story was made up by the ambassador back in Iran in order to boost his own image or, if true, what really caused Ebulmasum Xan Şamlu to reject a gift by Çerkes Osman Pasha, who was officially substituting the grand vizier. In any case, in Adrianople, the ambassador would not reject the same gifts from dignitaries ranking both lower and higher than vice grand vizier.

As the embassy approached the court, Mustafa II, again on campaign in 1696, was busy with relieving Temesvar in Hungary, then besieged by the German army under the command of prince-elector Frederick Augustus I of Saxony (also king of Poland as Augustus II after 1697). The padishah's army repelled the offensive. The court-on-campaign departed for Adrianople after reinforcing the garrison in southern Hungary.¹³⁷ When Mustafa II received the word of Ebulmasum Şamlu's arrival in Constantinople, he ordered his grand vizier to host the ambassador in an extraordinarily generous manner. Accordingly, the accommodation arrangements in Constantinople were "regal."¹³⁸

134. *Istanbul/Âsitâne qaymaqamı*, an office created when not only the grand vizier but also the padishah was outside the capital, separately from and in parallel with the vice-grand vizier of the sultan's court (*rikâb-ı hümâyûn qaymaqamı*).

135. *Selam ağası*.

136. Nasîrî, *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân*, p. 165. The embassy personnel was recruited from among royal court officials, royal guards, the household of the governor-gen. of Çuqursaad, the clans/tribes of Afşar, Kengerlu, and Qacar, and self-evidently the Şamlu. After entering Ottoman territory from Çuqursaad, the embassy began to receive its daily subventions and was welcomed by the host-officer who accompanied them for the next twelve days until Erzurum, where another host-officer appointed by the Sublime Porte took over. Another change of host-officers took place in Tokat. However, this last one deserted the convoy for some reason several days after departure.

137. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Târîhi* III/1, p. 561-563; Parvey, *Habsburgs and Ottomans*, p. 124.

138. "Mülûkâne." Hacı Seyfî Agha, formerly steward of Merzifonlu Qara Mustafa Pasha and currently in Elmas Mehmed Pasha's retinue, was appointed as the ambassador's host-officer at court and during the return journey. As was the convention, a janissary company led by a *çorbacı*-captain and three-to-four Sultanic Council *çavuşs* were attached to the embassy in order to prohibit contact with unwanted inhabitants, a measure taken to

On 1 December 1696, the embassy arrived in Adrianople,¹³⁹ coinciding with Mustafa II's triumphal return from Hungary.¹⁴⁰ Following several days of welcoming events,¹⁴¹ at the meet-and-feast conventionally held by the padishah's absolute deputy for the shah's ambassador, grand vizier Elmas Mehmed Pasha waited seated in the reception hall, exchanged – while seated – words of courtesy with the ambassador entering by foot, and only then stood up to take several steps towards Ebulmasum Xan Şamlu. As both dignitaries stood, Ebulmasum Xan delivered the Iranian prime minister's letter, which the grand vizier passed on to the *reisülküt-tab* standing by.¹⁴²

On December 18, Mustafa II summoned the ambassador to the welcome audience.¹⁴³ Following the customary Sultanic Council session, the ambassador, with the marshal of the Council to his left and an embassy member carrying the royal epistle over the head to his right, saluted the present janissaries and shared their ceremonial soup. In the subsequent feast, the grand vizier seated him below the vice-grand-vizier-at-Adrianople,¹⁴⁴

prevent the embassy from keeping its finger on the pulse of the affairs of the padishahly court and matters of state. Teşrifâtîzâde, *Defter-i Teşrifât*, ff. 106b-107b.

139. The date calculation is based on the data given in *Cevdet – Hâriciye*, 6698, which agrees with the date provided by Fındıklılı Mehmed in his *Nusretname*, p. 243. Teşrifâtîzâde Mehmed provides the date for the arrival in Adrianople as 12 December 1696 in his *Defter-i Teşrifât*, f. 108a.

140. Outside the city, a committee led by marshal of the Sultanic Council – Küçük İbrahim Agha welcomed the guests and escorted them to their residences. Ebulmasum Xan Şamlu was quartered in Defterdarahmedpaşa Palace in the vicinity of Selimiye Mosque, and his retinue at Ayşehatun Hanı. *İbnülemin – Hâriciye*, doc. 424 – the innkeeper's petition for the refund of his expenditure, the chief-accounting bureau's calculation, and the grand vizier's edict that the *defterdar* attend to the remittance. Also see Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Nusretname*, p. 243.

141. Several days after the arrival of the embassy, the commander of the Janissary Corps sent gifts to the ambassador's residence, which was followed by official visits from various dignitaries. Lastly, grand vizier Elmas Mehmed Pasha invited Ebulmasum Şamlu with gifts and gave a feast in his honor. The commander of the Janissaries and the grand vizier each presented the ambassador with a fully equipped and gold-interwoven-saddled horse. The padishah's eventual summons was made via a dispatch of thirty fully equipped horses. Nasîrî, *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân*, p. 165-166; Sarı Mehmed, *Zübde-i Vekâiyât*, p. 604; Râşid, *Târih*, p. 533; *Nâme-i Hümayun* df. 5, ent. 100.

142. Teşrifâtîzâde, *Defter-i Teşrifât*, ff. 108a-110b. See *ibid.* for the ceremony.

143. Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Nusretname*, p. 243 – the dating here is accurate. Teşrifâtîzâde Mehmed provides the date as 21 December 1696, however, calls the day itself as a Tuesday, conforming to Fındıklılı Mehmed's mention of Tuesday, December 18. *Defter-i Teşrifât*, f. 111a-b.

144. *Edirne/rikâb-ı hümayun qaymaqamı*, created when not only was the grand vizier absent from the padishah's court but also was the padishah outside the capital, particularly

Moralı Damad Hasan Pasha. At the audience hall, the shah's epistle was taken over from Ebulmasum Xan Şamlu by the present viziers, who passed it on hierarchically upwards among themselves, and ultimately the grand vizier presented it to the padishah. After the delivery of the shah's gifts, conventional ceremonies, and brief conversations in which the ambassador orally conveyed the shah's affectionate and friendly greetings, the session dissolved.¹⁴⁵

In the epistle¹⁴⁶ to "Sultan Mustafa Khan his Most-Sublime Majesty, the conqueror-caesar, shahenshah of the world, sovereign of the Earth and the age, of the supreme-sultanate, world-bestower, custodian of the regnum of the living, of the Greater Caliphate,¹⁴⁷" the shah requested a continuous exchange of missions and correspondence, which he deemed crucial for maintaining the current concord. For this reason, he announced the dispatch of this embassy to be "out of affection and honesty."¹⁴⁸ The shah both acknowledged and expected the new padishah to command his magistrates along the border, with his "quasi-destiny decree,¹⁴⁹" to prohibit the transgressions violating the contracts of the previous monarchs, and to contribute to the consolidation of the "alliance." The ambassador would communicate the rest of the matters orally. With the first official Safavid reference to alliance, which the Ottoman diplomatic correspondence had begun to feature as of late 1694, the initiation of this new level in bilateral relations was sealed.

when residing at Adrianople, separately from and in parallel with the vice-grand vizier of the capital (*Istanbul/Âsitâne qaymaqamı*).

145. The master of ceremonies (*teşrifatçıbaşı*) registered the shah's gifts, and the master of presents (*pişkeşçi*) exhibited them before taking them away. Ninety-one men from the embassy personnel were customarily invested with robes of honor in front of the treasury. Teşrifâtîzâde, *Defter-i Teşrifât*, ff. 111a-113b; Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Nusretname*, p. 243; Sarı Mehmed, *Zübde-i Vekâyât*, p. 604; Râşid, *Târih*, p. 533. Contrary to Teşrifâtîzâde Mehmed, Nasîrî relates that First Moralı Hasan Pasha and then the commander of the Janissary Corps, Delibaltazâde Mahmud Pasha, separately attempted to take over the shah's epistle, but Ebulmasum Xan Şamlu abstained therefrom, and instead delivered it to the grand vizier, who then presented it to the padishah – this version must be the distorted report of the ambassador submitted in order to save face once he was back in Isfahan. Nasîrî, *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân*, p. 166.

146. *Nâme-i Hümayun* df. 5, ent. 99; Râmi, *Münşeat*, ff. 14b-16a; *Esnâd ü Mükâtebât 1105-1135*, p. 117-120.

147. "A'lâ-hazret [...] *kişver-gîr qayser*, [...] *şehinşâh-ı cihân*, [...] *fermân-fermâ-yı zemîn u zamân* [...] *saltanatü'l-uzmâ, es-sultân bin es-sultân ve'l-hâqân bin el-hâqân*, [...] *Sultan Mustafa Han*, [...] *cihân-bahş*, [...] *velâyet-gîr-i mülk-i zindegânî*, [...] *Hilâfetü'l-Kübrâ*."

148. "Ez [...] *muhabbet u sadâqat*."

149. "*Fermân-ı qazâ-rüsûm*."

In the winter of 1695-1696, the Sublime Porte attempted to coopt Baban Süleyman by inviting him to join the planned Basra campaign,¹⁵⁰ which was no doubt a move to temporarily keep the Kirmanc rebellion in check until more resources could be mobilized to the east. In his epistle nevertheless, Shah Sultan-Hüseyn did not refer to the Baban question, which had become a bleeding wound. By only inserting an additional line about border officials into the part emphasizing his assurance of the new padishah's unconditional support for the preservation of the current concord, the shah managed to draw attention to the ongoing transgressions without formally raising the complaint that the Ottoman State could not so far reestablish authority in Şehrizer.

This is a clear indication that the Iranian government would in no way let the Kirmanc rebellion harm relations, which were now faring better than ever. Having the Ottoman State step into action and settle the problem was the ultimate objective. The ambassador would orally communicate more, which was apparently meant to convey his mission objective: convincing the Sublime Porte to undertake a definitive campaign and issue official approval for a Safavid intervention. The mention of this matter in the shah's epistle without its content confined it to negotiational diplomacy without making its way into the inter-monarch correspondence, which could not be overshadowed by anything else than the current concord. In a double gesture of good will, the Müntefiq overthrow of Ottoman authority in Basra was not even implicitly referred to. The shah thus gave the message that he would have nothing to say on an internal affair concerning the House of Osman's directly governed domains.

On 29 December 1696, Mustafa II told his grand vizier: "We have observed in illustrated books the polo game played in Persia, it is my august will to see it exactly; among the men of the ambassador of Persia if there are able ones, he shall send them to my august presence." To the grand vizier's message, the ambassador replied: "even though acclaimed men worthy of the sublime field are unavailable, they will be provided as well as possible." On 2 January 1697, the field facing the Hunt Gate by the banks of River Tunca was prepared as a playing ground. After the ambassador's thirty men arrived and stood at attention, Mustafa II, with an outfit and cortege emphasizing his distinction as victorious war veteran, rode out, saluted them, and seated himself on the throne under the erected canopy. First, the padishah's Inner Court and the present

150. See *Mühimme* df. 106, ent. 1281; df. 108, ent. 392.

pashas' households competed in javelin- and spear-games, marksmanship, and wrestling.¹⁵¹ Reportedly, the Iranian team(s) composed of the Qacar, Kengerlu, and Afşar Qızılbaş¹⁵² could not stage a satisfactory polo performance and attributed this to the snow sitting on the ground. After the games, four outstanding Iranian participants were awarded gold and robes of honor.¹⁵³ The commander of the Janissary Corps, the vice-grand vizier, and Ebulmasum Şamlu himself later separately feasted the top two Iranian participants who had been awarded by Mustafa II.¹⁵⁴

At the behest of the grand vizier, various dignitaries hosted and entertained the ambassador during his stay in Adrianople with utmost hospitality and diligence, as Ebulmasum Xan Şamlu was deemed to be more "preeminent" than other ambassadors who had recently come to the padishah's court. Among these occasions, apart from the grand vizier's entertaining the ambassador several times, the noteworthy ones include the state-organized night event held by the vice-grand-vizier-at-Adrianople, the feast by the commander of the Janissaries, the ambassador's counter-feast to the commander of the Janissaries with grand vizierial approbation, and several feasts by grand-mufti Seyyid Mehmed Feyzullah Efendi. As Ebulmasum Xan Şamlu, apart from his political career, was indeed a distinguished litterateur, his company pleased his hosts, particularly the grand vizier. In view of the previous missions from the shahs, no ambassador was thusly gratified and treated, and the case of Ebulmasum Xan Şamlu set a new precedent of high standard for future Safavid ambassadors to be satisfied with their hosts.¹⁵⁵

While at court, Ebulmasum Xan Şamlu also submitted to the Sublime Porte the shah's request for permission to renew the sarcophagi of the tenth and eleventh Imams Ali el-Hâdî (d. 868) and Hasan el-Askerî (d. 874) at their mausolea located in Samarra.¹⁵⁶ This shows how firm Isfahan perceived the post-1684 Ottoman-Safavid concord to be. If this request had been submitted in an atmosphere other than that of absolute assuredness of mutual good-intentions, the Ottomans could have suspected that an attempt to make inroads into their sovereign rights be behind this

151. Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Nusretname*, p. 254-255. Refer to this source for a more exact description of Mustafa II's ceremony of arrival and the games.

152. Nasîrî, *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân*, p. 166.

153. Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Nusretname*, p. 255.

154. Nasîrî, *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân*, p. 166.

155. Teşrifâtîzâde, *Defter-i Teşrifât*, ff. 110b, 114a-115a.

156. *Mühimme df.* 111, ent. 1694.

initiative. As no available information hints thereat, it can be assumed that the request was rather the result of the newly achieved level in relations, i.e. alliance.

The farewell audience was held on 17 January 1697 in the Privy-Chamber Pavillion. After being admitted to the padishah's presence, "charmed and speechless¹⁵⁷" presumably in adherence to the oriental diplomatic etiquette of a diplomat paying homage to a monarch superior in rank to the sending ruler, the ambassador said prayers, and Mustafa II addressed him: "say my greetings to the felicitous Shah his Majesty. The epistle and gift[s] he sent have arrived and been accepted by my August [Person]. May thou prosper, for thou have mediated [this] by way of diplomacy, and served well.¹⁵⁸" Mustafa II handed over his reply epistle to the present chief-eunuch, the chief-eunuch to the grand vizier, and the grand vizier to the ambassador.¹⁵⁹ Following this, the session dissolved and gifts to the shah were delivered. Special attention was paid to pleasing the ambassador via gifts of extraordinary value to his person for this occasion.¹⁶⁰

After the padishah's farewell audience, the following reception by the grand vizier marked the end of the ambassador's business at court. Elmas Mehmed Pasha's reply letters to the shah and to the prime minister, signed and sealed, were handed over to Ebulmasum Xan Şamlu at this session.¹⁶¹ Ottoman observers found the total cost of hosting this embassy to the Central Treasury too extravagant.¹⁶² The ambassador's last public

157. "Gözleri qamaştı [...] nutqu tutuldu."

158. "Saadetlü şah hazretlerine benden selâm eyle. Gönderdiği nâme ve hediyesi gelip maqbûl-i hümayunum olmuştur. Sen dahi risâlet tarîqıyla ara yerde bulunup güzel hizmet ettiğinden berhudâr olasın."

159. The empress-mother also watched the event. See Findıklılı Mehmed, *Nusretnâme*, p. 255-257 and Teşrifâtüzâde, *Defter-i Teşrifât*, ff. 115b-119b for an exact description of how the place of audience was furnished to impress and how the ceremonies were organized to boost the image of the monarchy's might. The latter source provides the date of audience as 22 January 1697. According to Findıklılı Mehmed, Ebulmasum Şamlu took over the epistle from Mustafa II's own hands.

160. Râşid, *Târih*, p. 534; Nasîrî, *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân*, p. 167.

161. Teşrifâtüzâde, *Defter-i Teşrifât*, f. 120a.

162. Apart from the lavish gifts given from the Privy Treasury, the embassy's accommodation, subvention, and allowance costs amounted to a total of 130,750 *quruş* covered by the Central Treasury. Before departure from Adrianople, the embassy was given a total of 25,000 *quruş* as allowance (15,000 to the person of the ambassador, 5,000 to his entourage, and another 5,000 to the [shah's?] chief-equerry "serzendâr"). Sarı Mehmed, *Zübde-i Vekâiyât*, p. 605. Thus, the remaining 105,750 *quruş* were spent for billeting the embassy throughout its presence in Ottoman territory. Râşid, *Târih*, p. 534. The breakdown of each

appearance in Adrianople took place on 31 January 1697 during the public games held on the Pole Field outside the Procession Pavillion. In addition to the main attraction of a marksmanship contest between janissaries, various pasha-household soldiers, and privy guard, the Qızılbaş from the embassy once again played polo, though reportedly again failing to distinguish themselves.¹⁶³ The ambassador departed on February 15¹⁶⁴. The Porte prescribed him to return via the route of Erzurum,¹⁶⁵ as a journey over Baghdad would necessitate the caravan to cross from regions that were close to Baban Süleyman's sphere of activity, which posed danger. Receiving a subvention of almost the double amount of what Kelb-Ali Qacar had been allocated, he returned home via the route of Van.¹⁶⁶

Even a cursory comparison of the total cost of the Ebulmasum Şamlu embassy to the Ottoman State with the former cases of the same kind reflects the upward trend in Ottoman-Safavid diplomacy. It is noteworthy that the state itself opted for making this extraordinary expenditure. Despite the Ottoman State's inability to intervene with full force in frontier

expenditure item was entered into the Chief-Accounting Bureau registers kept at the Central Treasury, Teşrifâtîzâde, *Defter-i Teşrifât*, ff. 121a-121b. As was the convention, a host-officer was also appointed to accompany the embassy during the return journey on Ottoman territory.

163. Findıklılı Mehmed, *Nusretname*, p. 266.

164. See *Cevdet – Hâriciye*, 6698, which is a breakdown of the state provisioning of the embassy during the first two months of its stay at court and the estimation made for the remaining 16 days until its planned departure, involving correspondence between the chief-accounting bureau (*başmuhasebe*) and the grand vizierate. For the transactions involving grain and straw allocations and their transportation from state warehouses to the ambassador's residence, which involved correspondence between the barley-superintendent (*arpa emîni*), the deputy-*defterdar*, and the grand vizier, see *Cevdet – Hâriciye*, 6821. For transactions involving the bread-makers' guild, the chief-*defterdar*, and the grand vizier concerning the embassy's daily bread allocation while residing at court, see *Ali Emîrî – II. Mustafa*, doc. 1550. For the meat allocation, see the treasury-note (*tezkiye*) involving the chief-butcher (*kasapbaşı*).

165. Findıklılı Mehmed, *Nusretname*, p. 257.

166. See in *Cevdet – Hâriciye*, doc. 6749 and *İbnülemin – Hâriciye*, doc. 425 the decrees to and correspondence with magistrates on the road from Scutari to Van regarding the disbursement to the embassy, on behalf of the Central Treasury, of a daily amount of 200 *quruş* as subvention, which in practice was found insufficient and increased to 241,66 *quruş* (29,000 non-debased [*sağ*] *aqçe*). Compare this with the daily 125 *quruş* (20,000 debased *aqçe*) that had been allocated as subvention to the Kelb-Ali Ziyâdoğlu-Qacar embassy. Indeed, the Ebulmasum Şamlu embassy had been receiving a daily subvention of 240 *quruş* since its entry to Ottoman territory, and this was raised to 540 *quruş* as long as it resided at court. Nasîrî, *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân*, p. 165-166. Also see *Ali Emîrî – II. Mustafa*, doc. 2753. See *İbnülemin – Hâriciye*, doc. 479 for the bill dated 20 April 1698, issued by superintendent of the Palace Kitchen Hacı Mehmed Efendi for the daily amounts he spent on the Ebulmasum Şamlu embassy during the latter's stay at court.

encroachments, the Iranian government had not questioned the Sublime Porte's continued commitment to the treaty, and cooperated with its ally in furthering it. With extravagant gifts, extraordinarily gratifying hosting, and lavish expenditure, the Ottomans both implicitly thanked the Safavids for their cooperativeness and displayed generosity in a manner that would befit the dignity of supreme monarchy, to whose primacy the shah's court paid unconditional homage.

That the subvention received by this embassy was almost the double of what had been paid to the previous one gives a clue as to the comparative sizes of personnel. This, on the other hand, sheds light on yet another trend in the Safavids' Ottoman policy. Because of the Basran upheaval, of the Kirmanc rebellion, of the elevation of the shah's rank, and of the initiation of the *perpetual peace in alliance* in bilateral relations, this mission must have been regarded by the shahly court as much more than just an accession-occasioned contact; therefore, it necessitated the dispatch of an embassy which would exceptionally impress the receiver. As almost all Safavid missions to the Ottoman court since 1639 were embassies, a further promotion of the mission's formal rank was not possible. Thus, the desired effect was to be created by expanding remarkably its size, thus forming a grand embassy.

Once back at court (approximately in spring 1697), the spy of the governor-gen. of Çuqursaad, who had gathered intelligence under the disguise of an embassy member, first informed the shah. After him, Ebulmasum Xan Şamlu concisely reported the course of the Great Turkish War in 1695 and 1696. Separate but concurrently with the ambassador, the governor of Kirmanşah also submitted an account of the affairs of the Ottoman State in 1695 based on the intelligence gathered by the spies he had previously sent to the Sultan's Army. In addition to relating the ineffective measures taken against the Müntefiq coalition in Lower Mesopotamia, the latter report also involved information concerning the Hungarian front.¹⁶⁷

In general, by marginalizing the importance of the Ottoman resurgence under Mustafa II in 1695-1696 against the Holy League and exaggerating the consequences of the already-crucial Russian conquest of Azow (1696),

167. Nasîrî, *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân*, p. 163-164. Nasîrî, or the later copier, wrote down the events with a one to two year shift between the real dates and the date given in chapter titles. When using this chronicle as source, I reconstructed the chronology with the help of other chronicles and archival sources that are consistent and precise in both the dating and the sequence of events.

these reports painted an even darker image than what had already occurred. In any case, the Safavids' intelligence-gathering activities in 1695-1697 demonstrate the utmost relevance that the state of affairs in the Ottoman monarchy had for Iran. The shahdom did not deem superficial updates via the embassy sufficient. Surprisingly, even the exaggerated accounts did not initiate a revision of the Safavids' foreign policy. The policies based on the internalized conviction that the empire of "Rûm" was inherently too strong for Iran to take on would be continued with increased intensity.

Once the intelligence reports were submitted, the ambassador handed in the official correspondence he had brought. In his reply¹⁶⁸ to "Shah Hüseyin his Most-Sublime Majesty, of heavens-shadow, means of world-possession, shah of Iran, dominator of the regnum of Persia, of Kings' hearth, the sultanate-titled,"¹⁶⁹ Mustafa II spoke in length of the all-out land and naval offensives against his empire by the enemy coalition. The padishah attributed the protraction of the war and the monarchy's inability to oust all of its enemies to the overwhelming numbers of the Holy League's fielded troops. Then, he thoroughly related the victories won in 1695 and 1696 on the Hungarian front against the German emperor with the Sultan's Army under his personal command, and thus asserted the House of Osman's hereditary, rightful, and "sublime caliphate."¹⁷⁰ Assuming the due responsibility, stressed Mustafa II, his "caliphal Highness"¹⁷¹ took action *in propria persona*, following the example of his forefathers.

The padishah then repeated his predecessor's statement regarding the obligatory nature of the Ottoman-Safavid contractual relationship by adapting a verse, "*and fulfill the oath when you pledge it*,"¹⁷² – in evocation of Shah Safi's oath instrument in ratification of the peace of Zuhab in 1639, and added that he considered this contract unbreakable. Along the same lines, he described the nature of the current correspondence with reference to the verse "*the faithful are but brothers*."¹⁷³ As Mustafa II concluded his word, he expressed his "hope that his Highness [the Shah] also

168. *Nâme-i Hümâyûn* df. 5, ent. 100; *Münşeat Mecmuası*, ff. 9a-15b.

169. "A'lâ-hazret, [...] gerdûn-sâye, [...] vâsita-i [...] cihân-dârî, [...] şeh-i Îrân, hüdû-i mülk-i Acem, [...] dâdmân-ı keyân, [...] saltanat-unvân [...] Şah Hüseyin."

170. "Hilâfet-i aliyye."

171. "Cenâb-ı hilâfet-meâbımız."

172. Adapted from *Quran*, 16:91.

173. *Quran*, 49:10.

become a co-rider [to the padishah in the endeavor] with [an] army of prayers.” The contribution of Ebulmasum Şamlu’s embassy and Sultan-Hüseyn’s epistle to the existing “alliance¹⁷⁴” between the Houses of Osman and Safi also received emphasis, following which Mustafa II expressed his wish that relations see no harm and that neighborhood rights continue to be observed. Regarding the second matter, the padishah wrote of his strict instructions to his frontier officials, a precaution that he also expected of the shah. In titulature, the Ottoman chancellery observed the new accord, according to which the padishah enjoyed the supreme dignity and the shah ranked at junior-imperial grade.

In this correspondence, the parties did not mention the upheaval and the ongoing encroachments in eastern Iraq. Nevertheless, Mustafa II, through narrating his victories in Hungary and mentioning his strict instructions to border officials, wanted to assure Shah Sultan-Hüseyn that he, as the new monarch of the House of Osman, was not only determined but also capable to reinstate order. In other words, the cross-border chaos in eastern Iraq was soon to be dealt with. Mustafa II must have been delighted to see that Sultan-Hüseyn had not even directly referred to these troubles. Seeing that Iran did not attempt to take advantage of the unprecedented difficulties that the monarchy had to shoulder throughout the Great Turkish War, Mustafa II gladly emphasized the recently initiated *alliance*. This was no coincidence; the Safavids’ observance of the borders despite receiving serious harm from attacks by Ottoman vassal-rebels with bases in Ottoman territory could not be expected from an only *non-hostile* or *friendly* state. Such patience could only be displayed by an *ally*.

Keeping up with the convention of the Ottoman grand vizier’s right to correspond with the Iranian monarch, Elmas Mehmed Pasha too had handed over Ebulmasum Xan Şamlu his letter¹⁷⁵ to Shah Sultan-Hüseyn in the “banner-bearer of autocracy in the orient, builder of world-keeping, dominator of Greater Iran, residence of the Exalted [Safavid] Sultanate, meridian of the Gorgeous [Safavid] State, his Sublime Majesty, refuge of sultanate.¹⁷⁶” The content of this letter does not divert substantially

174. “İttifaq.”

175. *Nâme-i Hümayun* df. 5, ent. 112; *Münşeat Mecmuası*, ff. 20b-25b; Râmi, *Münşeat*, ff. 9a-11b (misdated). The composition of the letter belongs to Hâşim[î]zâde Mehmed Efendi.

176. “*Alem-efrâz-ı fermân-rânî-yi* [...] *hâverî*, [...] *bânî-yi* [...] *cihân-bânî*, [...] *hudûv-i Îrân-zemîn*, [...] *maqarrû’s-saltanatî’s-seniye*, *zuhri’devleti’l-behiye*, *âlî-hazret*, [...] *saltanat-penâh*.”

from the above-mentioned epistle. After congratulating Sultan-Hüseyin for taking up the reins of the “Safavid State,” Elmas Mehmed Pasha committed his side to and expected from the other side the observance of “the established ancient covenant and friendship, and the bilateral concord.” This message was boosted with the grand vizier’s description of the Ebulmasum Şamlu embassy as the “statement of Your [i.e. Sultan-Hüseyin’s] hereditary affection¹⁷⁷” to the House of Osman. Likewise, he too asked for Iran’s moral support in the ongoing struggle against the Holy League. As far as titulature is concerned, the letter conforms to the new accord. Junior imperial titles were used at various instances for both monarchs. The padishah, on the other hand, preserved his primacy via styles such as “universe-conqueror¹⁷⁸” and a rich set of other titles referring to his supreme imperial mandate.

Thus, the grand vizier’s letter brought emphasis to the concept of *ancient peace* that had already been initiated in the previous inter-monarch correspondences. It is of critical importance that Elmas Mehmed Pasha highlighted not only the ancient but also the hereditary character of this peace. Since 1686, the current treaty had no longer been bounded to re-negotiation each time a succession took place in one of the states.¹⁷⁹ It is true that each Ottoman accession still triggered a formal reconfirmation process (unlike Safavid accessions which did not occasion this process, a diplomatic manifestation of Ottoman supremacy), yet explicit references marked the peace between the Houses of Osman and Safi as ancient and hereditary. According to the new accord, reconfirmations, which had involved serious renegotiation until 1686, were now being made just as a matter of form.

In late 1696, the rebel-chieftain Mâni es-Saadûn’s brother and chief-of-staff, Cafer, assembled the coalition partners, which coincided with the Ebulmasum Şamlu embassy. After having brought the entire province of Basra under his control, Mâni es-Saadûn moved on to expand his zone of control into Iran, and terminated his coalition with the viceroy of Huveyze. A group of around 5,000 under the command of Seyyid Mahmud (the viceroy’s nephew) from the Mushasha tribe – the Bedouin dynasty ruling

177. “*Muhabbet-i mevrûse...lerin ızhâr.*”

178. “*Gîtî-sitân.*”

179. This is not comparable to the similar developments in the Sublime Porte’s contemporary diplomacy with various European states. The precedents, conventions, formalities, terminology, ceremonies, practices, and references in the Ottomans’ diplomacy with the orient were quite different from that with the Occident.

over Huveyze as Safavid vassals, had already joined the Müntefiq movement prior to Mâni's seizure of Basra. Crossing the Iranian border, the army led by Cafer es-Saadûn attacked Huveyze, but suffered a heavy defeat. Having lost considerable prestige, the Marshland coalition began to gradually lose its support base. Seeing Mâni es-Saadûn's weakening power, the inhabitants of Basra and the province's notables forwarded a collective-petition to Baghdad asking for the installment of the nominated governor-gen., Kethüdâ Hasan Pasha.¹⁸⁰

Beyzâde Ali Pasha, however, did not find the incoming news reliable. To inquire into the situation, he sent the head of the Baghdad Local janisaries, Derviş Agha, formally as emissary to Seyyid Ferecullah Xan. Derviş Agha, however, secretly undertook intelligence-gathering activities in Huveyze, which was his real commission. Once back in Baghdad, he reported that the Basran inhabitants had indeed invited Beyzâde Ali Pasha to send a delegation to take over the control of Qurna, the principle fortress of the province of Basra; this act would remove any potential doubts as to the accuracy of the news. The 300-strong contingent of the Basran Local Corps, whom Kethüdâ Hasan Pasha had recruited from Huveyze (Iranian territory) and sent out in accordance with Derviş Agha's intelligence report, soon arrived in Qurna under the command of Rûmî Abdi Agha. There, the chieftain of the Sabihoğlu Bedouin welcomed this contingent, and then together with his followers, ousted Mâni's Müntefiq garrison. In doing so, he delivered the fortress back to the authority of the House of Osman.¹⁸¹

The news of Qurna's recovery reached Baghdad the next day via carrier pigeons. Thirteen days later, the notables and the Rufâiye chieftains residing in Basra forwarded letters to Kethüdâ Hasan Pasha, inviting him to march at the head of a 1,000-strong contingent and enter his seat of governorate. Long deprived of his province and the revenues attached to it, however, Hasan Pasha lacked the financial resources to raise such a force. Surprisingly enough, Beyzâde Ali Pasha displayed disinterest and refrained from financing the enterprise. This meant that after the effortless recovery of Qurna, the governor-gen. of Baghdad relinquished the

180. Nasîrî, *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân*, p. 144; Râşid, *Târih*, p. 549; Sarı Mehmed, *Zübde-i Vekâiyât*, p. 628-629; Mathee, "Basra," p. 74.

181. Râşid, *Târih*, p. 549; Nasîrî, *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân*, p. 145. A comparison of these two sources reveals that Seyyid Ferecullah presented this development to the government as his own feat of taking of Qurna, rather than as an action taken by Kethüdâ Hasan Pasha's Basran Local Corps.

opportunity to reinstate Ottoman authority in the city of Basra without facing serious resistance. Monitoring the inactivity despite the circumstances that were favorable for an intervention, viceroy of Huveyze Seyyid Ferecullah sent an emissary to Baghdad and made Beyzâde Ali Pasha an unusual offer: "let us seize Basra for thee in accordance with [our] friendship." Even more strangely, Beyzâde Ali Pasha, despite not having mobilized Baghdad's resources to recover the city of Basra, apparently sent papers to Seyyid Ferecullah Xan in approval of this offer.¹⁸²

In the meantime, the involvement of Ottoman- and Safavid-vassal elements in encroachments on both sides of the border peaked. Ferecullah Xan's son Seyyid Abdullah captured the Basran fortresses of Süveyb and Qurna, ousting the Ottoman Local Corps there. Instead of fleeing, the chief of the Locals Corps at Qurna, Rûmî Abdi Agha, opted for taking refuge at the Huveyzan Mushasha camp. The viceroy tactically presented his capture of Qurna to the shah's court as operations undertaken against Mâni es-Saadûn. Supposing that the viceroy had expelled those in rebellion against the padishah from two fortresses and thus contributed to the concord with the Ottomans, Sultan-Hüseyin even praised Seyyid Ferecullah. Rûmî Abdi Agha himself was no less influential in presenting the course of events as such; he stated to have appealed to Seyyid Ferecullah for military aid against Mâni. Manipulating his suzerain's misinformed praise, the viceroy raised a sizeable army and fielded it across the border. First, he intercepted Mâni's supply lines along the Shatt-el-Arab. Fearing annihilation, Mâni shut himself to the fortress of Basra and began preparations to withstand a siege. But Ferecullah Xan's army proved too strong for the Müntefiq chieftain, who since the previous year had lost most of his confederates and was now defending the fortress of Basra with only several hundred men of his. Once the general assault began, Mâni fled, and the Safavid-vassal prince entered the capital of the padishah's province on 26 March 1697.¹⁸³

The Ottoman governor-gen. of Baghdad thus ended up having refused to take initiative in a relatively effortless recovery of Basra. As a result,

182. Sarı Mehmed, *Zübde-i Vekâiyât*, p. 628; Râşid, *Târih*, p. 549.

183. Nasîrî, *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân*, p. 145-150; Sarı Mehmed, *Zübde-i Vekâiyât*, p. 628; Râşid, *Târih*, p. 549; *Chronicle of Events*, p. 413; *Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, p. 496-497; Rencber, *Muşşaiyân*, p. 330-331. Some of the information found in Nasîrî's *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân* is contradictory with the rest of the sources. What I relate here is the result of a comparative weeding and filtering. The same chronicle also reports events after 1696 mistakenly as belonging to the previous year(s).

and seemingly without protest from the governor-gen., Iranians were now in full control of this Ottoman province that had been in rebel hands throughout the last several years. The capture of Basra by the Huveyzens took place without orders from the shahly court. Since 1639, Ottoman and Safavid subjects had confronted each other on occasions, but in each case, one group was in rebellion against its suzerain, hence not representing the state authority. In this respect, one could not speak of an Ottoman-Safavid confrontation for the events of 1697.

Soon, Mâni es-Saadûn raised a contingent from his former Marshland allies with promises of share in government, and besieged Basra. However, Seyyid Ferecullah's 7,200-strong garrison supported by the Iranian governor of Devraq, İbrâhim Xan, successfully repelled the assault. On the eve of definitive failure, a collaborationist from within the fortress informed Mâni of a weak point by the southern walls. Mâni ordered a feigned offensive: concentrating the defenders' attention to another spot, he entered the city from this gap. Yet, Ferecullah Xan's garrison responded swiftly, and expelled the intruders. In retaliation, Mâni regrouped his supporters to besiege the fortress of Huveyze, the very heart of the Mushasha principality holding Basra. When the viceroy sent a relief force under the command of his son, Seyyid Abdullah, Mâni quickly returned and seized instead the fortress of Süveyb. İbrâhim Xan repelled Mâni's next assault directed at Qurna.¹⁸⁴ Probably as news arrived from Iraq, the padishah's court sent out a series of decrees to make sure that at least the province of Baghdad, where the state authority in the region was concentrated, remain safe and stable.¹⁸⁵ By 1697, the insurrection in Lower Mesopotamia had reached its climax: the shah's manipulative vassal had captured the padishah's province, while the padishah's vassal-turned-rebel besieged the capital of the shah's vassal.

184. Nasîrî, *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân*, p. 179-180.

185. See in *Mühimme df.* 110, ent. 699-700 the decrees issued in early November 1697 to the governors of Mosul and Şehrîzor that they be on the watch for Baghdad's security and respond to any calls from Beyzâde Ali Pasha; *Mühimme df.* 110, ent. 693 – the decree issued in early November 1697 to a chieftain that he performs military duty for Baghdad's security. *Mühimme df.* 110, ent. 741 – the decree, issued in late November 1697, communicating Beyzâde Ali Pasha that his services in Baghdad were praiseworthy and that a robe of honor (of sable fur) was dispatched with Yusuf [Agha], a *qapıcıbaşı*. Beyzâde Ali Pasha had full authority in taking action regarding his duty of keeping the province of Baghdad secure, which included the regulation of the affairs of the Iranian frontier. *Mühimme df.* 110, ent. 782-794 – decrees in the same direction to various *beys*. *Mühimme df.* 110, ent. 1257 – decree to Beyzâde Ali Pasha issued in early February 1698, requesting updates regarding whether the assigned military forces, dispatched provisions, and the governmental commissary Maraşlı Ahmed (Agha, a *qapıcıbaşı*), arrived.

Simultaneously, in Mustafa II's third campaign on the Hungarian front (1697), the German army led by Prince Eugene of Savoy routed the Ottomans at the Battle of Zenta. The grand vizier was killed in a tumult when trying to stop his fleeing troops. Thus, the Ottomans' plan to reconquer the lost Hungarian provinces failed. Nevertheless, control of the Balkans and southeastern Hungary remained intact, and until 1698, contingents in the north led by the padishah's commanders and Selim Khan I Giray of the Crimea successfully held against Polish offensives, even reacting with effective counter-raids. However, the Venetians did manage to breach the borders in Dalmatia/Bosnia and preoccupy the Sultan's Navy with sea battles and sieges, while continuing to hold the Peloponnese, from where it battled for the control of central Greece. After defeating the 1695 Russian attack, and resisting again in 1696, provincial and Crimean contingents, whose strength was divided due to the concurrent fighting on the separate front against Poland-Lithuania, this time failed to prevent the fall of the fortress of Azow to the Muscovites, which was the first serious loss on the extended Russian front.¹⁸⁶ The news of Basra's capture by the Huveyzans reached the padishahly court in September/October 1697 at Belgrade, when Mustafa II was on his way from Hungary to Adrianople.¹⁸⁷

The Rüstem Zengene Embassy: the Rapprochement reaches its Zenith, 1698

At each new development concerning the insurrection in Lower Mesopotamia, Seyyid Ferecullah lost no time in reporting to Isfahan what had come to pass, most probably continuing to misrepresent the course of events. Praised and rewarded, he was left in charge of the affairs in Basra. However, it should be noted that his presence in the padishah's territory as an Iranian actor was officialized not before but after his capture of Basra and the subsequent submission of what had come to pass to the shahly court.¹⁸⁸ Sultan-Hüseyin's immediate move after finding Basra under his vassal's control shows that Iran had no intention of keeping this domain for itself. It did not want a confrontation with its western neighbor even for the sake of a complete province. Thus, the shah lost no time

186. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Târîhi* III/1, p. 563-583; Uebersberger, *Russlands Orientpolitik*, p. 53-56; Parvev, *Habsburgs and Ottomans*, p. 123-126; Davies, *Warfare on the Black Sea Steppe*, p. 183-187.

187. Sarı Mehmed, *Zübde-i Vekâiyât*, p. 626-629.

188. *Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, p. 496-497; Nasîrî, *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân*, p. 150, 180.

in presenting it back to the padishah. In observance of the “peace, friendship, and alliance,¹⁸⁹” and apprehensive that the recent events might be retold at the Sublime Porte by third parties with a negative, manipulated narrative,¹⁹⁰ Sultan-Hüseyin consulted his ministers. This consultation brought forth the decision of restituting Basra to the padishah with the maxim that “this is the ultimate friendship to the Ottomans.¹⁹¹” Accordingly, he dispatched a forty-five-carat diamond symbolizing the keys of Basra and what the Ottoman court called an “epistle-of-servitude¹⁹²” to Mustafa II via his extraordinary ambassador Rüstem Xan Zengene.¹⁹³ Expanding the Iranian domains with a *fait accompli* by seizing the opportunity to appropriate Basra, which had fallen on the Safavids’ lap, could have led to a war. The shah must have judged that he could not triumph in such a face-off. Instead, he chose to affirm the current rapprochement via this utmost gesture of good will.

After arriving in Tokat in Anatolia, Rüstem Xan Zengene, as was the convention, dispatched to the grand vizier the letter-of-introduction announcing his mission, notifying his rank, and presenting his credentials. Upon receipt, the grand vizier replied with a letter-of-welcome officially recognizing the ambassador of the “Shah his Sublime Majesty, the ruler of the regnum of Iran, refuge of sultanate.¹⁹⁴” Şeyhî Mehmed Agha, superintendant of the Council *çavuş*, was appointed host-officer.¹⁹⁵ The unusually high rank of the host-officer, who normally would be a *çavuş* (i.e. bailiff), or at most a *qapıcıbaşı agha* of the Sublime Court, indicates the importance the Sublime Porte attached to this mission.

Reaching Constantinople on 5 March 1698, the ambassador set out again on March 15,¹⁹⁶ and arrived in Adrianople on March 23. He first

189. “*Sulh [...] düstî [...] ittifaq.*”

190. Nasîrî, *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân*, 213; *Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, p. 496-497.

191. “*Osmanlı’ya bundan özge dostluq olmaz.*”

192. “*Ubûdiyet-nâme.*”

193. Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Nusretname*, p. 368; also see Râşid, *Târih*, p. 554.

194. “*Âlî-hazret, [...] fermân-revâ-yı [...] mülk-i İran, [...] saltanat-penâh, [...] şah.*”

195. Râmi, *Münşeat*, ff. 136a-136b.

196. In Constantinople, *çavuş* of the Sultanic Council welcomed the ambassador. He was given accommodation at Fazlıpaşa Palace, and the superintendent of the *çavuş* continued to serve as host-officer during the ambassador’s stop at the capital. He departed for Adrianople with an escort of twelve *çavuş*. *İbnülemin – Hâriciye*, 522. All dates are calculated or estimated, and all names are taken from this internal correspondence series for each separate expense item accrued during the embassy’s stop in Constantinople and journey therefrom to Adrianople, such as: an edict to deputy-*defterdar* Hacı Hüseyin Agha on February 18 to take care of the preparations for the expected arrival of the embassy,

met grand vizier Köprülü Amcazâde Hüseyin Pasha and then grand-mufti Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi, in both occasions to discuss official business. That Mustafa II sent him confectionaries on March 29 augured the positive mood of the upcoming talks. The welcome reception took place on April 20 in the Audience Hall. There, the ambassador delivered to the padishah the forty-five-carat diamond symbolizing the keys of Basra, the shah's accompanying epistle, and gifts. Contrary to the conventions of the event, Rüstem Xan Zengene orally conveyed Sultan-Hüseyin's complaints about Baban Süleyman and request of his extermination, in response to which Mustafa II gave the command: "it shall be discussed with my ministers; whatever its remedy is, shall be seen to."¹⁹⁷

In his epistle¹⁹⁸ to Mustafa II "his Most-Sublime Majesty, the over-generous world-bestower, caesar, shahenshah, sultan of the sultans of the world, khaqan of the khaqans of the age, qaan of the Two Continents and the Two Seas, the second Alexander the Great, Greater Shadow of [God] the Merciful the Compassionate,¹⁹⁹" the shah wrote:

As [my] determination is always conforming to the tradition of our fathers and forefathers in consolidating the steady structure of fidelity, union, and friendship with the friends of that [i.e. Ottoman] monarch and hostility with the foes of that [i.e. Ottoman] Dynasty, the commission by the paradise-residing monarch, conqueror of domains, Sultan Süleyman Khan [II], that he had requested the paradise-abiding khaqan, my shah-father [Shah Süleyman] that the borders be guarded and the [Ottoman] dominions adjoining the Protected Domains [of Iran] be in entrustment during [Sultan Süleyman Khan II's] preoccupation with campaign, has been taken into account, and supreme effort is devoted to it.²⁰⁰

a breakdown petition and a reimbursement edict of expenses during accommodation at Fazlıpaşa Palace, a petition of reimbursement from as well as an affirmative edict to the bread-makers at Tavuqpazarı, a breakdown of provisioned items during the journey from Constantinople to Adrianople, a reimbursement of the expenses made by horse and beasts-of-burder suppliers, travel-allowance allocations to the *çavuş* escorting the embassy from the capital to the court, etc.

197. "Vükelâm ile söyleşilsin, ilacı ne ise görülsün." Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Nusretname*, p. 368; also see Râşid, *Târih*, p. 554 and Uşşâkîzâde, *Târih* I, p. 400. Officially welcomed in Adrianople with a procession led by marshal of the Sultanic Council [Gedikli] Mustafa Agha and the chiefs of the Sublime Court Cavalry, Rüstem Xan Zengene was lodged at Defterdarahmedpaşa Palace. The audience dissolved with the customary investment of robes of honor.

198. *Nâme-i Hümayûn* df. 5, ent. 120; *Esnâd ü Mükâtebât 1105-1135*, p. 127-130.

199. "Cihân-bahş-ı deryâ-dil, [...] qayserî, [...] şehinşah, [...] sultânü's-selâtin-i cihân, [...] hâqânü'l-havâqîn-i zamân, [...] qaânü'l-berreyn ve'l-bahreyn, [...] sânf-yi İskender-i Zülqarneyn, [...] zıll-ı zalîl-i Rahîm-i Rahman."

200. "Çün hemvâre qarâr-dâd [...] iqtifâ be-sünnet-i [...] ebâ ve ecdâd [...] der teş-yîd-i binâ-yı dîr-pâ-yı sadâqat u ittihâd ve dâstî bâ dâstân-ı ân pâdişâh [...] ve muâdât bâ

[I,] since the day that [my] accession to the shahly throne took place, have strived to consolidate more than ever the predecessor monarchs' peace, which have remained preserved from the corruption of the passing of ages. In this three-to-four years, during which that seditionist [Mâni es-Saadûn] repeatedly sent petitions of trickery with his own son to the [Safavid] Court stating the commitment that he hand over [to us] the dominion of Basra and [perform] other services, [these solicitations] have not been taken into consideration.²⁰¹

This Friend [i.e. Sultan-Hüseyin], who is faithful to the concord, deemed it necessary, due to the union and alliance, to make manifest each truth about what have come to pass, as they have come to pass. This plan [i.e. Fereccullah Xan's capture of Basra from Sheikh Mâni] was not executed by way of taking possession in the domains that belong to Your Most-Sublime Highness [Mustafa II]. The mentioned country [of Basra] belongs, as in the past, to You, the high-positied dominator [Mustafa II]. With regards to restituting [to its owner] what, by way of entrustment, is under the control of the vice-roy of Arabistan [i.e. Huveyze], it has been prescribed to him that he act in whatever way required by [Your] decree of destiny-power.²⁰²

By way of this epistle, Sultan-Hüseyin also kindly asked that a definitive decree be issued to Ottoman officials in Iraq to deal with the Kirmanc rebellion. Additionally, "further friendly words" would be submitted orally by the ambassador. It is noteworthy that the shah designated the subjects of both sides collectively as one people with reference to the Ottomans' war against the Holy League.

The shah's epistle was in line with the general policy the Iranian government had been adhering to since 1639 and with the novelties introduced since 1684. First and foremost, it gave an explicit definition of the *consolidated, perpetual peace* between the Houses of Osman and Safi.

a'dâ-yı ân hânedân [...] est, sifârîş-i sultân-ı firdevs-nişîn-i memâlik-sitân [...] Sultân Süleymân Hân [...] râ ki der heyân-i iştigâl be-gazâ [...] hâhiş-i hıfz-ı sugûr ve emânet-dârî-yi vilâyât-ı muttasile be-memâlik-i mahrûse ez [...] hâqân-ı tûbâ-âşiyân [...] Şâh Babam [...] nümûde bûdend manzûr-ı nazar-ı itibâr dâşte eâli-i himmet [...] be-dân maqsûr est."

201. "[...] Ez rûzî ki [...] cûlûs ber evreng-i [...] şâhî rûy dâde, bîşter ez pîşter istihkâm-ı [...] sulh...-i selâtîn-i [...] selef ki be-mürûr-ı dühûr [...] ez [...] halel mahfûz [...] mânde küşide [...] Der in se çehâr sâl ki mükerrer ez ân fitne-engîz arâiz-i hile-âmîz müş'ir ber taahhüdât-ı teslîm-i vilâyet-i Basra ve hidemât-ı dîger bâ veled-i [...] hud be-derbâr [...] firistâd, [...] melhûz [...] negerdîd."

202. "[...] İn düst-i sâdıqî'l-vifâq ez [...] yegâneğî ve ittifâq lâzım dânest ki [...] her haqîqat-ı vâqû-i muqaddime [...] râ hasbü'l-vâqı zâhir sâhte [...] encâm-ı in meram ne ez râh-ı tasarruf der memâlik-i müteallîqe be-ân a'la-cenâb [...] bûde [...] ülke-i mezbûr kemâkân nisbet be [...] ân hudû-i bülend-mekân dâred. Der bâb-ı sipurden-i ân ki ber sebîl-i emânet der zabt-ı vâlî-yi Arabistân est, be-müşârun ileyh muqarrer şüde ki her nahv ki be-muqtezâ-yı fermân-ı qader-tüvân bâşed be-amel âvered."

In recognition thereof, Sultan-Hüseyn had no choice but to designate the Iranian presence in Basra as an entrustment; the province was standing by for the padishah to take over. Given the chronology and calendar of the latest developments, it can safely be said that the shah had not entertained another thought about the fate of the province since he had happened to find it under his indirect control. In an alternative setting, his government could well have argued that because Mâni es-Saadûn had already ousted the Ottoman monarchy from Basra and that Seyyid Ferecullah had taken the province from rebels and not from the monarchy, the shah had a legitimate claim in keeping it – this is almost exactly how the last Ottoman-Safavid war (of 1623-1639) had broken out over Baghdad. The nature of the Ottoman-Safavid interaction from 1639 to 1686, defined by *non-hostility* and mere *friendly* relations, would probably not have prescribed the restitution.

The first inhibitory principle that ruled out this possibility was that Basra, once a tributary government, had been first converted to an autonomous fiefdom and finally to a regular province back in the late 1660s. Therefore, the padishah could justifiably assert that he did not seek to reinstitute a lost suzerainty, but rather to reclaim his own possession, which was a much stronger argument. Secondly, the recent rapprochement in Ottoman-Safavid relations left no room for the possibility of non-restitution, unless the Safavids ventured a war. The move by the shahly court to present Basra back to the Ottomans was the proof of the Safavids' commitment to the maxims of the post-1684 accord. This moreover crowned their previous rejections of the Holy League's repeated offers and their dedicated harmony with the Ottomans throughout the rebellion in northeastern Iraq. Thus, in word and deed, it was once again proved that after 1684, Ottoman-Safavid relations had gone beyond mere *peace* and *friendship*, and attained first *fraternity* and then *perpetual peace in alliance*, regardless of whether the parties were making these statements cordially.

While Rüstem Xan Zengene was still traveling towards the Ottoman court, the parties to the Great Turkish War had agreed in early 1698 to initiate peace talks after sixteen years of full-scale fighting. The urgent need to deal with the insurrection in eastern Iraq was a contributing factor in Mustafa II's acceptance of the grand vizier's inculcations for peace.²⁰³ When the Safavid ambassador was in Adrianople, the definitive negotiations for peace with the Holy League were about to begin.

203. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Târihi* III/1, p. 588-589.

Notwithstanding the shah's gesture of friendship, the Ottoman State blamed Beyzâde Ali Pasha and Kethüdâ Hasan Pasha, because the Sublime Porte now owed a debt of gratitude to the Safavids due to the fact that it had to receive Basra from them, instead of taking it directly back from the rebels. Displeased with the conduct of government in Iraq,²⁰⁴ Mustafa II conferred the province of Baghdad to Çelebi Hacı İsmâil Pasha with his autograph in mid-April 1698. This occurred in concert with repeated mobilization orders sent out to Diyarbekir, Şehrîzor, Mosul, Raqqa, and Van. The objective was to completely expel the rebels and reinstate order in the affected areas. The new governor-gen. was also briefed about the current formal status of Basra and the state of affairs in northeastern Iraq, in line with the information provided by Rüstem Xan Zengene. The nominated governor-gen. of Basra, Kethüdâ Hasan Pasha, was reconfirmed in office. As much as 1,000 Janissaries in seven companies were assigned to Basra as the post-recovery Court Corps garrison.²⁰⁵ Considering that the ambassador was still in Adrianople when the composition of the padishah's reply epistle was in progress as of April 30,²⁰⁶ these enactments must have been aimed at giving the Safavids the assurance that the necessary measures were now actually being taken.

The Ottomans knew well that Sultan-Hüseyin's gesture of extraordinary good will in presenting Basra as ready for takeover could not be taken for granted. Regardless of whether Iran was capable of keeping Basra, it was also possible for the shah not to renounce so willingly his claims from a province that his vassal had captured from a usurper. Thus, the Ottomans deemed it suitable "to respond with the courtesy worthy of the glory of the Sublime State in accordance with such candor displayed to the Sublime State by the shah of Persia."²⁰⁷

This appreciation soon translated into action. In compliance with Mustafa II's orders that his ministers discuss Sultan-Hüseyin's complaints regarding the Kirmanc issue, a consultative session convened at the grand-vizierial residence after April 20, and dissolved with the following resolutions: firstly, Baban Süleyman was to be exterminated and replaced.

204. Sarı Mehmed, *Zübde-i Vekâiyât*, p. 638; Râşid, *Târih*, p. 555.

205. *Mühimme df.* 110, ent. 1570-1590, 1599-1601, 1607-1609, 1620; Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Nusretnâme*, p. 371.

206. *İbnülemin – Hâriciye*, doc. 426, the expenditure petition for, and the affirmative edict to, purchasing and crafting the (white and yellow) silver-thread, satin, purse, and the mounting of the epistle. The total cost for these items was 129 *quruş* and 3 *para*.

207. Râşid, *Târih*, p. 555.

Secondly, to enforce these measures, a Sultanic Army was to be assembled under the command of the governor-gen. of Baghdad who was to be created its *serdar*. Thirdly, cleansed of opposition, Iraqi provinces were to be reordered. Fourthly, instead of conveying the reply correspondence to the Safavids with the returning Rüstem Xan Zengene, an extraordinary mission was to be sent, for which Ebuqavuş Yeğen Hacı Mehmed Bey-Efendi,²⁰⁸ former *reisülküttab* and incumbent superintendent of the State Registry, was appointed ambassador as pasha with the temporary degree of governor of Rumelia. Submitted to Mustafa II, these decisions were enacted²⁰⁹ as decrees on 1 May 1698 at the latest.²¹⁰

Apart from the official mission, it appears that Rüstem Zengene also brought letters and gifts from Ebulmasum Xan Şamlu, former Safavid ambassador to the padishah's court and the incumbent governor-gen. of Azerbaijan. One of the addressees was the grand vizier, while the other one was apparently the *reisülküttab*, Râmi Mehmed Efendi. Both responded to Ebulmasum Şamlu's letters and gifts via the agency of the outgoing ambassador, Ebuqavuş Mehmed. Amcazâde Hüseyin Pasha, who most probably had not met Ebulmasum Şamlu "his Highness, resort of xanship"²¹¹ during the latter's embassy but received gifts and a letter as courtesy, named the exchange an ancient tradition. In conformity with the relevance of his office rather than his person in this correspondence, he emphasized the ancient, hereditary, traditional, and continuous character of the friendship between the two states. He also mentioned in this courtesy reply that Ottoman ambassador Ebuqavuş Mehmed Pasha was sent to consolidate the alliance and facilitate cooperation against the rebels.²¹² Râmi Mehmed Efendi's letter was more intimate and less formal than the grand vizier's, lacking the references to interstate relations and instead focusing on the personal friendship between the correspondents, which must have

208. See Süreyyâ, *Sicill-i Osmânî* IV, p. 1077-1078 [entry: "Mehmed Paşa (Yeğen) (Ebu Kavuk)"]; Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Zeyl-i Fezleke*, p. 1023; Resmî, *Haliqatü'r-Rüesâ*, ff. 29b-31a.

209. See Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Nusretnâme*, p. 370-371 for the list of the provincial dignitaries who received mobilization orders for this campaign.

210. *Ali Emîrî – II. Mustafa*, doc. 1866 – petition by the fifteen Sultanic Council *çavuş* who were to escort ambassador Ebuqavuş Mehmed until the Iranian border, the to-be-allocated travel-expenses, and its approval by the grand vizierate on 2 May 1698 with referral to the financial departments. Also see *Ali Emîrî – II. Mustafa*, doc. 1867, 4570, 4609 – decrees issued on 9 May 1698 to provincial magistrates for the providing of treasury subventions to the embassy from Adrianople until the Iranian border.

211. "cenâb-ı xâniyet-meâb, fütüvvet-nisâb."

212. Râmi, *Münşeat*, ff. 21b-22a.

developed thanks to the possible collaboration during Ebulmasum Şamlu's time as ambassador at Adrianople.²¹³

Without delay, Ebuqavuş Mehmed Pasha's household and ceremonial equipment was accordingly set up with state resources,²¹⁴ and regalia lent out from the [Privy] Treasury,²¹⁵ probably from its diplomatic²¹⁶ department. The farewell audience was held on 26 May 1698 in the Sultanic Marquee,²¹⁷ as a mark of the start of the campaign season and the padishah's decision to lead it once again in person. The grand vizier prescribed the two ambassadors to travel together over the route of Erzurum. Mustafa II said: "say greetings to Our friend the Shah. The more he displays fidelity, a thousand times [of it] shall he consider from Us [Our fidelity]. And, thou have also served well, thou shall prosper!"²¹⁸ Rüstem Xan Zengene set out for Iran on June 2.²¹⁹ Entrusted with the reply correspondence and gifts on May 30 during a separate audience in the Throne-Tent²²⁰, Ebuqavuş Mehmed followed Rüstem Zengene after

213. *Münşeat 1050-1140*, ff. 149b-151a; Râmi, *Münşeat*, ff. 22b-23a. Ebulmasum Şamlu's gift to Râmi Mehmed Efendi had been brought by a certain Ebulhasan Agha along with the letter, probably within the scope of Rüstem Zengene embassy.

214. Râşid, *Târih*, p. 555.

215. *Anonim Osmanlı Târihi*, p. 132. The ambassador's regalia consisted of a bejewelled sword, dagger, and quiver. The chronicler notes that the ambassador's household lacked a military-band. Again, the chronicler confuses the Safavid ambassador present in Adrianople, Rüstem Xan Zengene, with the previous one, Ebulmasum Xan Şamlu.

216. Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri*, p. 24-25.

217. *Otağ-ı Hümayun*.

218. "Şah dostumuza selâm eyle. Dostluğunda ne denli ızhâr-ı sadâqat eder ise bizden bin qat ziyâde bilsin. Ve sen dahi güzel hizmet eyledin, berhudâr ol." After this farewell audience, the ambassador also received a 25,000-*quruş* travel-allowance / largesse. Fındıklılı Mehmed, *Nusretname*, p. 371; *Anonim Osmanlı Târihi*, p. 133. See both sources for the setup of the audience.

219. *Cevdet – Hâriciye*, doc. 4506 – the judicial deed issued by Ahmed Efendi, judge of Adrianople, on 2 June 1698 to vouch for the payment of amounts due by the state straw superintendent, Seyyid Osman Agha, to the porters who had supplied straw to Rüstem Xan Zengene, whose seventy-day residence had come to an end. See in *İbnülemin – Hâriciye*, doc. 440 the bill issued on 24 February 1699 concerning the subsidies and other costs the Central Treasury covered for the returning Rüstem Zengene embassy from Scutari until the Iranian border. Also see *İbnülemin – Hâriciye*, doc. 532, 555, 628, and 683 for other Central Treasury expenditures made for ambassador Rüstem Zengene's stay at court and journey within the monarchy. Senior [*gedikli*] *çavuş* Hacı Seyfi was attached to the returning embassy as host-officer: *Mühimme df.* 110, ent. 1916, 1932.

220. *Başçadır*. Separate from the *Otağ-ı Hümayun* and the grand vizier's marquee, the *başçadır* was where the Sultanic Council, war councils, and state audiences were held when the padishah was personally leading a campaign or when the grand vizier was substituting his monarch as commander-in-chief. Sarı Mehmed, *Zübde-i Vekâiyât*, p. 637; *Mühimme df.* 110, ent. 1917.

June 3²²¹ with his 400-men retinue.²²² On July 12, a new series of decrees were sent to the governors and magistrates of Baghdad, Mosul, Van, Şehrîzor, İmâdiye, and Hakkâri regarding the resolved campaign.²²³

A comparison between the daily subsidies given to the Rûstem Zengene embassy and those of the two previous Safavid missions leads to the estimation that its size was larger than Kelb-Ali Qacar's embassy and smaller than Ebulmasum Şamlu's [grand] embassy.²²⁴ Besides, that Ebuqavuş Mehmed was sent as pasha and with the rank of ambassador testifies to the cruciality of the occasion and the Ottomans' will to make an exceptional display of gratitude to the Safavids, because throughout the eighty-four years of peaceful relations from the Peace of Zuhab until the collapse of Safavid rule in Iran (1722), he was the only ambassador-ranking Ottoman diplomat to the shahly court.

Conclusion

Mustafa II's dispatch of an ambassador to the shah both constituted the responsive step of the zenith of the Ottoman-Safavid rapprochement, and initiated in the triangle of Baghdad, Constantinople, and Isfahan the coordination of the eventual campaign. With a Sultanic Army, however,

221. *Ali Emîrî – II. Mustafa*, doc. 1868 – the ambassador's petition to the grand vizier requesting extra funds and twenty pack-horses in addition to the fifty that he had already been given. The grand vizier approved the request on 3 June 1698. Also see the decree issued to the ambassador in late May / early June 1698 charging him with maintaining the discipline in the mission and empowering him with full authority over the entire Court personnel in the embassy, *Mühimme df.* 110, ent. 1929, 1931. Sixty to seventy of those in the Ottoman embassy were guardsmen; Nasîrî, *Düstûr-i Şehriyârân*, p. 215. See also *Ali Emîrî – II. Mustafa*, doc. 6459 and 6460; *İbnülemin – Hâriciye*, doc. 439, 531, and 559.

222. Matthee, "Basra," p. 75.

223. Uşşâkîzâde, *Târih* I, p. 400. The chronicler erroneously provides the year h.1109, which should have been h.1110. The decrees were conveyed by *qapıcıbaşı* Abdurrahman Agha.

224. See in *İbnülemin – Hâriciye*, doc. 521 the decree issued on 16 June 1698 to all provincial magistrates from Scutari until the Iranian border to provide a daily subsidy of 190,64 *quruş* (22,877 non-debased *aqçe*) for the embassy, billable to the Central Treasury. This amount corresponds with the daily subsidy the embassy had been receiving since arriving in Constantinople, and is close to the amount that had been paid from its entry to Ottoman territory until arrival in Constantinople, 179,44 *quruş* (21,533 non-debased *aqçe*, see *İbnülemin – Hâriciye*, doc. 522 for the amount and the conversion rate of 120 non-debased *aqçe* per *quruş* [Dutch thaler]). This document series also includes judicial-deeds from several judges documenting the disbursement and deduction of this amount from the taxes due. There are also several documents of the same type regarding the Ebulmasum Şamlu embassy.

the Ottomans would not only crush the secessionist tribal confederations in eastern Iraq but also make an explicit show of force against Iran. From 1702 onwards, the relations between the Houses of Osman and Safi would begin to deteriorate. After the expiration of the international circumstances that had led to an unprecedented concord between the two states and the coming to power of an anti-Ottoman government in Iran, relations would be characterized by a sharp escalation of tensions manifesting themselves in the form of diplomatic insults at courtly level and cross-border conflict along the frontier. Nevertheless, although the achievements of the 1684-1701 rapprochement would be partially undone by degrees, the parties would still, on some occasions, pay lip service to their *fraternity*, *alliance*, and *perpetual peace*. The Ottoman-predominant nature of the bilateral hierarchy as well as the balance of power would remain intact, and interstate hostilities would not ensue until the very end.²²⁵

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Selim Güngörürler, *Fraternity, Perpetual Peace, and Alliance in Ottoman-Safavid Relations, 1688-1698: A Diplomatic Revolution in the Middle East*

As a legacy of a war-oriented reading of the Ottoman-Safavid relations before the treaty of Zuhab, the peacetime after 1639 is considered to have transpired uneventfully. Contrary to this assumption, for eighty-four years the two states maintained an active diplomacy and intensively dealt with each other in a range of substantial matters both on courtly platform and along the common frontier. This article focuses on the culmination of the harmony between the Sublime Porte and the Iranian government (1688-1698). This unique convergence between the Houses of Osman and Safi materialized due to third-party factors as well as bilateral dynamics. In this decade, the two monarchies entrusted the safety of their shared border to each other, exchanged game-changing correspondence via successive missions, and declared their *fraternity*, *perpetual peace*, and *alliance* – all without breaching the hierarchical inequality in their relations.

Selim Güngörürler, *Fraternité, paix perpétuelle et alliance dans les relations osmano-safavides, 1688-1698: Une révolution diplomatique au Moyen-Orient*

En raison d’une lecture guerrière des relations osmano-safavides avant le traité de Zuhab, on a tendance à considérer que la période de paix qui suivit 1639 ne connut aucun événement d’importance. Pourtant, les deux États, au cours de ces 84 ans, ont entretenu une active diplomatie et ont réglé des questions importantes tant à la Cour que sur la frontière. Cet article est consacré à cette période où

règne la meilleure harmonie entre la Sublime Porte et le gouvernement iranien (1688-1698). Cette convergence unique entre les maisons d'Osman et de Safi s'est matérialisée à la fois en raison de facteurs extérieurs et de dynamiques bilatérales. Dans cette décennie, les deux monarchies ont collaboré pour la défense de leur frontière commune, ont échangé des correspondances novatrices par des missions successives et ont entretenu de fraternelles relations de paix et d'alliance perpétuelles, le tout sans rupture de l'inégalité hiérarchique dans leurs relations.

YAVUZ AYKAN

PROPERTY BETWEEN LIFE AND DEATH:
A LEGAL DEBATE OVER THE PROPERTY OF A MISSING
PERSON (GÂİB) IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN AMİD

In Ottoman historiography it has long been argued that legal doctrine played a marginal role in dispute resolution. In this vein, the court is configured as an arena where idioms of justice are articulated through negotiations between the providers of law and the social actors. This scholarship focused on the litigation strategies of individuals during legal processes, making their encounters with legal institutions visible in historiography and giving a great deal of insight into the lives of the ordinary people, whether elite or subaltern.¹

Notwithstanding its contribution, much of this scholarship has generated several analytical blind spots. It leaves very little room for analyses of jurisprudential debates of Muslim jurists and the subsequent application of these debates to specific court cases. Thus, what remains lacking in the existing scholarship is both the centrality of Islamic jurisprudence

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1. Jennings, “Kadi, Court and Legal Procedure,” Peirce, *Morality Tales*.

(*fiqh*) during legal procedures as well as how the opinions of certain jurists were deployed in particular litigation proceedings in the Ottoman courts. Hence, this article addresses the following question, which foregrounds the critical role of legal doctrine in dispute resolution within Ottoman legal scholarship: Was the judgment of the Ottoman *qadi* governed by jurisprudential debates which, in turn, autonomously determined the outcome of litigations reflected in the Ottoman legal courts?

In his criticism of the Weberian notion of Islamic justice, Baber Johansen has developed perspectives that could also be useful for Ottoman legal historiography.² Johansen focuses on the doctrinal aspects of law, that is, on the theoretical writings of Muslim jurists rather than on legal practices. However, his work demonstrates that, starting from the ninth century, jurists attempted to establish *fiqh* as an autonomous field located outside religious ethics and theology. One striking example is the jurists' discussion of evidentiary law rules. By developing the principle of judging solely on the basis of external appearances (*zahir*) as opposed to internal appearances (*batin*), which are not accessible to any judge but God, jurists established a clear division between judiciary systems and religious ethics with regard to evidentiary law.³ Johansen's analysis shows the development of the field of *fiqh* as an autonomous entity that binds and governs the *qadi*'s verdict. However, since Johansen is concerned only with the theoretical aspects of law, his works do not afford any perspectives as to how this authority of the *fiqh* at the theoretical level can be observed in legal *praxis*. By drawing on Johansen's conclusions, the present study undertakes to fill this gap in the existing scholarship. It puts particular emphasis on the need to understand the key role of provincial muftis in the Ottoman legal structures and their operations in legal procedures.

In Ottoman legal practice, in the cities far away from the imperial center, it was the provincial muftis (*kenar müftüleri*) who formulated legal opinions, in the form of fatwas, for litigations in the court. Appointed on a Sultanate certificate (*berat*) from within each locality, the provincial muftis played a vital role in translating seemingly abstract discussions in specific Hanafi jurisprudential texts and mediating daily legal conflicts through the production of fatwas. The relative invisibility of the provincial muftis in most Ottoman court records (*sicil*), however, has often compelled scholars in their analyses of particular court cases to bridge the gap between

2. Johansen, "Truth and Validity."

3. Johansen, "Le jugement comme preuve."

Islamic jurisprudence and actual legal disputes by referring to the fatwas of major muftis of Istanbul or simply referring to fatwa compilations of renowned muftis.⁴ Although recently the provincial muftis attracted the attention of some scholars⁵, an analysis of how their legal opinions were adduced in court cases remains nebulous.

This article analyzes the intersections of the law's authority and social *praxis* by paying particular attention to the authoritative Ottoman Hanafi texts that were deployed in the form of fatwas in the legal life of the eighteenth-century Ottoman city of Amid. By taking as a point of departure a convoluted lawsuit brought in the court of Amid in the eighteenth century, this article explores the dialogic relationship, established by the mufti in the form of fatwas, between the Hanafi legal doctrine and the litigations conducted in the Ottoman courts. These particular fatwas not only illustrate the centrality of Islamic jurisprudence to the legal procedures, but more significantly, they also reveal how the mufti doctrinally oriented the *qadi* in the legal procedures in their assessment of complex legal disputes. This article demonstrates the dynamics through which collaborations between the *qadi* and the mufti emerge as a fundamental, yet under-analyzed, relationship that is key to examining law enforcement in the eighteenth-century Ottoman context.

MARCH 22, 1747: THE STORY OF AL-HAJJ ÂDEM

On March 22, 1747, the *qadi* of Amid, the capital of the Ottoman Diyarbakir province, heard a convoluted legal case about the property of a man named al-hajj Âdem, son of Nezir Çelebi, who had disappeared from the city at a time unspecified in the court record.⁶ The case was filed by a man named al-hajj Mahmud, son of Mustafa, who is described as the *kayyim* of al-hajj Âdem, against a man named Ali Bey.

The role of the *kayyim* during the legal procedure, as well as his legal capacity to act with regard to the property of the missing person (*gâib*), is closely connected to the ambiguity of the legal personality of the latter.⁷

4. Gerber, *State, Society and Law in Islam*; Tucker, *In the House of the Law*; Peirce, *Morality Tales*.

5. Zečević, "Missing Husbands, Waiting Wives."

6. The record of the case can be found among the court records of Diyarbakır (*Diyarbakır Sicilleri*, hereinafter DS) in the register (*defter*) 313, conserved in the National Library of Ankara. DS 313/191 (10 *rebii'l-evvel* 1160).

7. In this article the term legal personality refers to types of persons, as fabricated in the legal vocabulary, who are subject of the law and granted certain rights. Constructions

Hanafi jurists hold that the missing person is considered to be alive as regarding his previously existing legal arrangements. He is entitled to his patrimonial and extra-patrimonial rights; his property cannot be transformed into a bequest and any contract like marriage or rent that he concluded before his disappearance is legally in effect. Nevertheless, the jurists also maintain that the missing person is considered to be dead when it comes to his legal relationship to third parties. He cannot conclude any contract, nor claim rights and or take up legal responsibilities through his proxy (*vekil*). It is the uncertainty as to whether he is alive or dead which locates the missing person in a complex legal category.⁸ The missing person constitutes an ambivalent legal personality, moving back and forth between life and death. Since his succession is suspended until his death can be officially established during a court procedure, it is the *kayyim*, who is charged by the *qadi* from among the agnates of the missing person (*kayyim bi'l-neseb*), who is responsible for the safeguarding (*hıfz*) of his property.

The *kayyim* Mahmud's declaration before the *qadi* reads as follows:

According to the *shari'a*, I have the title of *kayyim* for one of the properties of the missing person (*gâib-i beled*) al-hajj Âdem in Câmiü's-Sefâ quarter in the city of Amid. [The property in question] is attached to a house and used to serve as a storeroom (*mahzen*) until the disappearance of al-hajj Âdem. During his lifetime, the late al-hajj Zeyni, the father of Ali Bey, illegally occupied the aforementioned storeroom and demolished it. On one part of the land he built a room (*oda*) and after his death, his son Ali Bey built a house for his own benefit on the remaining part [of the land]. At present, he is illegally occupying the aforementioned land after having modified (*tagyir*) the property in question. In the name of the abovementioned absentee for whom I am *kayyim* at present, I claim the right of restoring the aforementioned property to its original state (*vaz'-ı asliye*). I demand that the case shall be interrogated and what is necessary shall be executed according to the *shari'a*.

After the declarations of *kayyim* Mahmud, Ali Bey acknowledges having built a house on a part of the land in question while asserting in the meantime that the land had indeed been passed on to Hamide Hâtun, the daughter of al-hajj Âdem, as inheritance from her "late" father. Ali Bey refutes the accusation and defends himself:

of legal personality mediate existing social categories by filtering them through the law's own resources of meaning. For two important discussions see, Supiot, *Homo Juridicus* and Thomas, "Le sujet de droit, la personne et la nature."

8. Tyan, "La condition juridique de l'absent."

Hamide Hâtun, the daughter of the late (*müteveffâ*) al-hajj Âdem had sold the land in question to my father al-hajj Zeyni during his lifetime. Then my father, after having bought it, built a room on it and after his death, by building a house on it, I occupied and made use of the land in question.

The vocabulary used by the plaintiff and the defendant during the court session merits particular attention since it gives us insights into their litigation strategies. In his declaration, the *kayyim* Mahmud constantly uses the word *gâib* which underlines that al-hajj Âdem has disappeared, while Ali Bey, in his discourse, considers him as dead by employing the adjective “late” (*müteveffâ*). As I have underlined, it is the question of whether the missing person is alive or dead that places him or her in an ambivalent legal category. This uncertainty makes the parties deploy different vocabularies in their statements before the judge, particularly in relation to al-hajj Âdem’s legal personality.

The *kayyim* Mahmud directly answered Ali’s declarations before the *qadi* with an argument that pushed the debate in an unfavorable direction for Ali Bey. Following the response of the defendant, al hajj-Mahmud declares: “Thirty days prior to this trial, when he [Ali Bey] was on trial against Hamide, the daughter of the aforementioned *gâib*, for whom I am *kayyim*, the death of al-hajj Âdem was not attested.”⁹

Up to this point the parties in the debate have focused on the property of the *gâib* al-hajj Âdem. However, *kayyim* Mahmud’s declaration radically re-orientes the legal debate towards another issue: the uncertainty of al-hajj Âdem’s very existence. Apparently, thirty days prior, Ali Bey had filed a lawsuit against Hamide Hâtun, where he was not able to prove the death of al-hajj Âdem. Simply put, it was not possible for Ali Bey to make any legal claim on the land in question unless he legally established that al-hajj Âdem was dead.

The court records of the city of Amid, even if they are catalogued in chronological order, do not always contain all the documents registered by the court. In the course of time, many documents have disappeared. Nevertheless, in our case, three pages before the register of the lawsuit filed by the *kayyim* Mahmud, the register of the case filed by Ali Bey against Hamide can be found. This case is important since it gives us insights into the agnatic relations among the actors of the case as well as the time elapsed since the disappearance of al-hajj Âdem.

9. [...] târih-i kitabdan otuz gün mukaddem, kayyimi olduğum gâib-i mezbûrun sulbiye kızı mezbûre Hamide Hâtun ile murafi’-i şer’i olduklarında mezbûr el-hac Âdem’in vefâtı sâbit olmamağla [...].

FEBRUARY 26, 1747: DEBATING ABSENCE BEFORE THE JUDGE

On February 26, 1747, the defendant of the first case, Ali Bey, made his way to the court of Amid in order to file a lawsuit against Hamide Hâtun, in the presence of her proxy (*vekil*) İbrahim, son of Mehmed.¹⁰ In the language of the court Hamide is identified as paternal cousin (*emmisi kızı*) of Ali Bey, a point which was not mentioned in the case described above. This clearly reveals that *gâib* al-hajj Âdem and al-hajj Zeyni were brothers whose father was al-hajj Nezir Çelebi, through whom al-hajj Âdem was identified in the first court record. Keeping this in mind, let us turn back to the declaration of Ali Bey in the court:

The home I occupy, which is located in the quarter of Câmi'ü-s-Sefâ, is the annex building to the exterior of a house. While it was used as a storeroom (*mahzen*) by the late al-hajj Âdem, father of the abovementioned Hamide Hâtun, she had sold it to my late father al-hajj Zeyni, during his lifetime, after having received it as inheritance. On the half of the land my late father built an external cabin and passed it onto Hamide Hâtun. He also built, [on the other half] a house as his property which is the house in which I live now. This home that I inherited after his death, I rebuilt myself from my own budget. Although Hamide Hâtun renounced the suit that she wanted to file against me in 1740 on this property which used to belong to my father and passed onto me by means of inheritance, she is now interfering [again] in my occupying of the house in question. I demand that the case be interrogated, its results be registered and the necessary action be taken according to *shari'a*.

Ali Bey's declaration in this trial reveals that the conflict over the property in question began in 1740, seven years prior to the lawsuit filed by Ali against Hamide. Due to an unspecified reason, however, and probably after negotiations between the parties outside the court, Hamide Hâtun gave up the case that she wanted to bring against Ali Bey. If the story recounted by the latter reflects reality, the daughter of al-hajj Âdem could negotiate with third parties on the property of her missing father by considering it as inheritance, which should be considered illegal, at least theoretically, in the eyes of the jurists. As we shall see in the following pages, this point constitutes the heart of the debate.

Instead of denying or refuting the charge advanced by Ali Bey, the proxy İbrahim declares in Hamide Hâtun's defense: "The aforementioned father of Hamide Hâtun, al-hajj Âdem, having definitely disappeared

10. DS 313/185 (15 *safer* 1160).

thirty-six years prior to this trial, we cannot determine whether he is alive or not.”¹¹

The declaration of the proxy İbrahim reveals the length of time that has passed since the disappearance of al-hajj Âdem. The fact that the proxy has not contested Ali Bey’s statement as to the sale of al-hajj Âdem’s property by Hamide Hâtun implies that possible negotiations had taken place outside the court between Ali Bey and Hamide Hâtun over the property which, theoretically, should be safeguarded by the *kayyim*. That is to say, in this case, the non-negotiable status of the property of the missing person could be a legal matter only when one of the parties brings the problem before the judge. In other words, the law can only determine the rules of the game, not the outcomes of every conflictual social relation.

After the statement of proxy İbrahim, the court record summarizes the case as follows:

Subsequently, when the plaintiff was asked to bring the necessary proof for establishing the death of the aforementioned al-hajj Âdem he requested time (*istimhâl*) for providing proof. However, unable to bring proof within the time required and not having the witnesses on the case, he has been unable to produce the required evidence by the court. Therefore, since the aforementioned Hamide Hâtun and al-hajj Mahmud son of Mustafa, who is claiming to be the paternal cousin¹² of the *gâib* al-hajj Âdem, have taken oath and given that the abovementioned Ali Bey has no proof, he has been disqualified from causing any [legal] opposition to the aforementioned Hamide Hâtun. The case has been registered on demand.

At the end of the case, the *kayyim* Mahmud, this time registered as the person who was “claiming” to be the paternal cousin of *gâib* al-hajj Âdem in front of the judge, takes an oath in order to nullify the accusations of Ali Bey. In the formal legal procedures in Islamic law, it is always the plaintiff who has the best cards in hand to play, because he has the right to bring testimony (*bayyina*) in order to prove his claim.¹³ However, if he is not able to bring any evidence to support his claim, the *qadi* asks the defendant to take oath, after which the *qadi* pronounces his verdict in favor of the defendant.

11. [...] *vekil-i mezbûr cevâbında: müvekkilem mezbûrenin babası el-hac Âdem târih-i kitaptan otuz altı sene mukaddem gaybet-i münkati ile gâib olub hayât ve memâtı mâlûm değildir* [...].

12. ...*emmiâdesi olduğunu iddiâ eden...*

13. Johansen, “Le jugement comme preuve.”

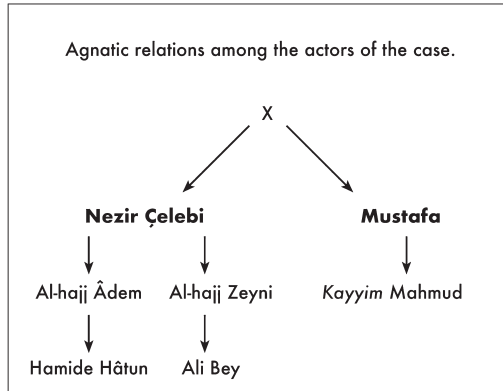
In our case, at the end of the trial, al-hajj Mahmud takes oath with Hamide Hâtun in order to refute the charges advanced by Ali Bey. This implies that he was also legally involved in this case – not as the *kayyim*, but rather as a paternal cousin (*emmizâde*). This point obliges us to further elaborate on the changing legal position taken by al-hajj Mahmud during this lawsuit and its relationship with the law of inheritance in Islamic jurisprudence.

THE PATERNAL COUSINS (*EMMÎZÂDE*) OF AMÎD

The fact that al-hajj Mahmud is registered as claiming to be al-hajj Âdem's paternal cousin (*emmizâde*) is significant given that in the city of Amid in the eighteenth century this title, which was generally negotiated during a court hearing by testimony, would give rights to male agnates (*asaba*) according to the Islamic law of inheritance. Certain lawsuits filed against the public treasury (*beytü'l-mâl*) in Amid reveal that paternal cousins were considered to be male agents of the deceased person and could claim rights over the inheritance. Legally, this paternal genealogical relatedness was hierarchical in its own context since seniority was one of its central features. In other words, in legal *praxes* the eldest paternal cousin held the privilege in cases where more than one paternal cousin could make claim over the bequest of the deceased person.¹⁴ It is precisely at this point that al-hajj Mahmud's registration in the court record as "someone claiming to be the paternal cousin" of al-hajj Âdem merits particular attention. Before going into a detailed discussion of the issue, let me draw a schema of agnatic relations among all of the individuals involved in our legal battle.

As I explained above, Ali Bey and Hamide Hâtun were paternal cousins according to the way they were identified in the second court register. Consequently, this kinship relation revealed that *gâib* al-hajj Âdem and al-hajj Zeyni were brothers whose father was a certain Nezir Çelebi with whose name *gâib* al-hajj Âdem was identified in the initial court register. Furthermore, in this initial court record, al-hajj Mahmud was registered as the son of a certain Mustafa, and later in the second case, as claiming to be the paternal cousin of al-hajj Âdem. This implies that, although al-hajj Mahmud's status as the paternal cousin of *gâib* al-hajj Âdem was not

14. Aykan, *Rendre la justice à Amid*.



officially attested by the court, it is clear that his father Mustafa was genealogically related to Nezir Çelebi. Otherwise it would be legally impossible for al-hajj Mahmud to take on the role of *kayyim* since, according to the law, only an agnate of the missing person could claim this title (*kayyim bi'l-neseb*). In this light, it is possible to argue that in such hierarchical agnatic relationships, al-hajj Mahmud had seniority since his father Mustafa was genealogically the closest person to Nezir Çelebi, the father of *gâib* al-hajj Âdem and the grandfathers of Ali Bey and Hamide Hâtun. It is his position in these agnatic relations that allowed him to claim the title of paternal cousin in the court, in order to justify his right over al-hajj Âdem's property. However, with the title of paternal cousin, al-hajj Mahmud would not be able to make any legal claim over the property of al-hajj Âdem as a missing person. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that after thirty days, during the initial case, he presented himself using the title of *kayyim*, which would clearly give him legal power to act with regard to the property in question.

This shift in presenting the legal personality not only of al-hajj Âdem, but also that of al-hajj Mahmud, suggests that it was with this trial, filed against Hamide Hâtun by Ali Bey, that the disappearance of al-hajj Âdem was attested by the court. Only after this legal procedure would al-hajj Mahmud be able to legally claim the title of *kayyim* in order to have the legal capacity to safeguard the property of al-hajj Âdem. During the thirty days that elapsed between the two lawsuits, al-hajj Mahmud must have been well prepared, presumably by consulting a legal expert, in order to win the case. Be that as it may, the agnatic relations among the actors of

the case as well as their relationships outside the court were central elements of the legal process at hand, which cannot be grasped entirely through their mere representation on a written court document. Finally, it becomes apparent that al-hajj Mahmud was a person who had legal knowledge with which to act accordingly in this case. As a directly involved party, he seems to have been sufficiently armed in order to wage a legal war against Ali Bey. With this in mind, let us turn back to our initial case.

THREE FATWAS AND THREE BOOKS

After having referred to the lawsuit that took place thirty days prior to the case at hand, when Ali Bey could not prove the death of al-hajj Âdem, the *kayyim* Mahmud submitted three highly complex fatwas to the court. In the court of the city of Amid, the operation of fatwas during complex legal procedures was meant to guide actors involved in legal disputes, including the *qadi*, towards a final verdict in favor of the party who presented the fatwa to the court. As simple abstractions of specific cases, fatwas were aimed at dissolving potential knotty points of litigation through a reading of the jurisprudence. As we shall see, the first fatwa formulated by the city's Hanafi mufti, and submitted by the *kayyim* Mahmud to the court, is unintelligible as registered in the court record. The fatwa states:

If Zeyd, on the land of Amr, more than its value, by paying Amr the value of the land in question, and if there exists a [legal] disagreement among the [Hanafi] jurists as to the property right [acquired as a result of this transaction] on this land and if the qadi charged for the case judges for the ownership, would his judgment be valid according to the *shari'a*?

The correct answer is yes¹⁵ [...]

This fatwa is integrated into the case records, but at first glance appears incomprehensible: it must have only been partially recorded on the court record for reasons that are unclear. What is more, this fatwa is not clearly related to al-hajj Âdem's case as registered in the court record. However, the paragraph in Arabic quoted by the mufti from the book entitled *Jami' al-fusulayn* of Şeyh Bedreddin (d. 1420), a renowned Ottoman Hanafi

15. [...] Zeyd, Amr'ın arzında, kıymetinden ziyâde olıcak, Zeyd-i mezbûr arz-ı mezkûrenin kıymetini Amr'a virüb ol arza mâlik olmakda ihtilâf-ı fukahâ olmakda, kadı'-ül vakit mâlik olmâğ ile hükm eylese hükmü şer'en nâfiz olur mu? Cevâb-ı bâ sevâbında olur [...].

jurist, in order to legitimately establish his legal opinion, can help undo the Gordian knot. The citation reads:

In the book of *Jami' al-Fusulayn*, one of the most respected books of *fiqh*: if the value of the building or plantations [on the land] is higher than the value of the land, according to al-Karkhi, the one who has usurped the land may become the owner by paying the value of the land. In all subjects on which the jurists are in dissent (*ikhtilaf*) the *qadi* pronounces the judgment and [his judgment] is valid.¹⁶ [...]

The citation quoted in Arabic reveals that it is the opinion of the renowned tenth century Baghdadi Hanafi jurist al-Karkhi (d. 952) which leads to the disagreement on this particular issue in Hanafi jurisprudential tradition, and it is mentioned in one of the legal opinions of Ebussuûd (d. 1574). The question is simple: If someone constructs a building on land which does not belong to him without the permission of the owner, destroying any existing construction on the land in question, the owner of the land not only has the right to demolish the new building, but he is also entitled to a reimbursement equal to the value of the demolished building. However, according to al-Karkhi, if the value of the new building is higher than the value of the land, the owner of the new building has the right to pay the value of the land to the owner of the land, and become himself the owner of the land in question.¹⁷

Thus, in the first fatwa submitted to the court, the situation can be summarized as follows: Zeyd (Ali Bey) builds a house on a piece of land which belongs to Amr (*gâib* al-hajj Âdem) and whose value is less than the building that Zeyd (Ali Bey) has constructed on this land. In this situation, Zeyd pays the value of the land to Amr in order to legally validate his ownership. Amidst legal dissent among the Hanafi jurists on the

16. [...] kütüb mu'teberât-ı fıkhiyyeden *Jami' al-Fusulayn*'de *law kanat qimat al-bina' wa-'l-ghars akthar min qimat al-ard tamallak al-mughtasib al-ard bi-qimatiha ka-ray' al-Karkhi wa kull shay' ikhtalafa fi-hi al-fuqaha fa-qada al-qadi fi-hi nafadh qada'u-hu* [...].

17. Cited in Düzenli, *Osmanlı Hukukçusu Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi*, p. 368.

Sual: *Zeyd Amr'a evini bana ver âna bedel sana bir ev alivereyin deyüb Amr da verüb Zeyd Amr'ın evini yıkub yeni evler binâ edüb vakf edüb Amr'a bedel vermeden fevt olub Amr'ın oğlu ev babasının olub Zeyd vech-i meşrûh üzerine aldığın şer'le isbât edicek müddeiye yed mi hükm olunur, kıymeti mi, bedel mi? Bir hükm olunduğu takdirce müddei Zeyd'in binasını kal' ettirmeğe kâdir olur mu? Beyân buyurulub müsâb oluna.*

el-Cevâb: *Ol vakt sıhhatı üzerine bey ü şirâ olmadı ise şimdi Amr'ın evlerin tarîk-i şer'i ile isbât edicek yıkılan binasının kıymetini aldıktan sonra yerini dahi alur. Üzerinde olan binâ-i cedîd bahâsı yer bahâsından gerekse zâid olsun gerekse nâkis. Ammâ Kerhi muhtarı üzerine binâ bahâsı zâid olıcak vâris yerin bahâsını alur.*

validity of such a transaction, the *qadi* who is charged with resolving the legal dispute pronounces the verdict in favor of Zeyd.

At first glance, this fatwa appears to be in favor of Ali Bey and not the *kayyim* Mahmud who presents it during the court procedure. In other words, the Zeyd mentioned in the fatwa and in whose interest the *qadi* is supposed to pronounce his judgment is none other than Ali Bey. Why, then, does *kayyim* Mahmud submit to the court a legal opinion which is apparently against his own interests? In order to answer this question, one should elaborate on the effects engendered by dissent among the jurists (*ihtilâf-ı fukahâ*) during the legal process.

Some cases brought before the court of Amid reveal that during the litigation process, when there is disagreement on a particular legal issue in the Hanafi jurisprudential tradition, the judge is entitled to follow his own independent reasoning (*ijtihad*) to find and to apply the appropriate norm to the case in question by paying particular attention to the subject at stake. Thus, in the absence of consensus among the jurists on a legal problem, the *qadi* who is responsible for the operative field of law applies his own decision, according to the subject of the legal question at hand, which is technically termed the ‘reasoning cases’ (*masa’il ijthadiyya*).¹⁸ As we shall see later, by presenting the first fatwa, *kayyim* Mahmud acknowledges its binding force, also in favor of Ali Bey, but challenges it at the same time by presenting two other fatwas, which makes it possible for him to change the course of the trial towards legal arguments that are in his favor.

Before going into the details of *kayyim* Mahmud’s litigation strategy, a question should be raised. If Ali Bey had presented this fatwa underlining the absence of consensus among Hanafi jurists, what decision would the *qadi* have taken? The answer is simple: Ali Bey would have won the case. The legal problem addressed during the court hearing would then have been the illegality of the sale of al-hajj Âdem’s property by Hamide Hâtun to Ali Bey, and not its invalidity. In short, if Ali Bey had directed attention to the disagreement of the jurists, by bringing a lawsuit against Hamide Hâtun, he would have pushed the *qadi* to pronounce a judgment in his favor. The lawsuits and this first fatwa imply clearly that indeed Hamide had sold the land to al-hajj Zeyni, the father of Ali Bey, during his lifetime. We should perhaps remember that thirty days before the lawsuit filed against Ali Bey by *kayyim* Mahmud, Ali Bey had sued Hamide

18. Johansen, “Truth and Validity,” p. 7.

Hâtun in the presence of her proxy. The proxy İbrahim had presented no argument against Ali Bey's declaration with regard to the transaction conducted between Hamide and Ali Bey. It was not even denied. Rather, he insisted on the fact that al-hajj Âdem was not dead, but missing (*gâib*). As such, the legal process was directed towards the disappearance of al-hajj Âdem and not towards the illegal sale of the land by Hamide to the father of Ali Bey. The defendants had insisted that al-hajj Âdem, the owner of the land, had disappeared thirty six years ago, which was a sufficient argument to redirect the course of the trial towards the arguments which would best serve their interests. In spite of the fact that the transaction in question was illegal, what became central in the litigation was the property of a missing person, which could legally not be considered as inheritance.

The language of the court record reveals that after the first fatwa, *kayyim* Mahmud presented two other fatwas arguing in his favor. Using these fatwas, he managed to steer the legal process away from the problem of the illegal sale and shift it towards the illegal occupation of a missing person's property. The court record reads:

However, al-hajj Mahmud submitted two other fatwas of great jurists, may Allah have mercy on them, who oppose to the content of this [first] fatwa. Their noble content are:

If Zeyd constructs a building for his own benefit on the land of Amr, without his permission, would he be obliged to demolish the building and return the land to Amr?

The correct answer is yes.¹⁹

After having discredited the opinion of al-Karkhi, which was indeed in favor of Ali Bey, *kayyim* Mahmud opens up a discussion which constitutes the heart of the debate as to the illegal occupation of the property of al-hajj Âdem. At the end of the fatwa, the mufti quotes a second book, almost like a footnote. The source of jurisprudence which inspires the fatwa in question is that of *Multaqa al-abhur* written by the sixteenth century Ottoman Hanafî jurist Ibrahim al-Halabi (d. 1549). The citation in Arabic reads: "With regard to a construction or plantation on the land of a third person, the order of removal shall be given."²⁰

19. [...] Zeyd, Amr'ın arzında Amr'dan izinsizin nefsiyçün binâ eylese, Zeyd-i mezbur, binâ-i mezkuru kal' ve arz-ı merkûmeyi Amr'a edâ eyleye şer'en hükm olunur mu? Cevâb-ı bâ sevâbında olur [...].

20. [...] wa fi-bina' 'ard ghairihi aw ghars amara bi'l qal'i-hi' [...].

This citation introduces another dimension to the case which gives the order of removing the building that was first built by al-hajj Zeyni and then later by his son Ali Bey. The brevity of the Arabic quotation from the *Multaqa al-abhur* does not give us much insight into the reason for such a legal opinion. In the chapter concerning the question of property over land Ibrahim al-Halabi sheds light on the issue in his *Multaqa al-abhur*. Halabi declares:

The one who has unjustly seized a real estate is not only obliged to restore it but also to compensate the owner for all damages caused by his fault, negligence or by the use that he would have made [of the property]. He is free from the responsibility of what has happened by accident. If one seizes [a piece of] land and plants or constructs [a building] on it the owner is the master to take possession by paying the value of the buildings, plants or the trees [on the land]. He [the owner of the land] also has the right to ask for their removal.²¹

As Halabi discusses in his book, the owner of the land is legally entitled to pay the value of the plantations, or the building that has been constructed on his land without his permission and become the owner. If this is not desirable, another legal option is to demolish the building (or take out the plants) on the land. The second fatwa submitted to the court by the *kayyim* Mahmud explicitly shows that he demands that Ali Bey's house be demolished – the house which he and his father constructed on the land of al-hajj Âdem.

The third fatwa submitted to the court brings us back to the declaration of the *kayyim* Mahmud, where he claims to take back the property of al-hajj Âdem in its original state (*vaz'-ı asliye*). Since as *kayyim* he was responsible for safeguarding the property of al-hajj Âdem as it was before his disappearance, the final fatwa concerns the storeroom (*mahzen*) that was on the land before the disappearance of al-hajj Âdem, which was demolished by al-hajj Zeyni. The final fatwa, which is legitimized by a reference to the book entitled the *Surrat al-fatawi* of Ottoman Hanafi jurist Sâkızî Sâdık Muhammed (d. 1649?) and abbreviated as *Surra* by the mufti, reads:

And again, if Zeyd demolishes the house of Amr without his permission would he be responsible [to pay] its estimated value according to the *shari'a*? Yes in the book of *Surra*²² [...]

21. Ibrahim al-Halabi, *Multaqa al-Abhur* III, p. 274.

22. [...] ve yine Zeyd Amr'ın beytini Amr'dan izinsizin kal' eylese, ol beytin mübeyyinen kıymetine Zeyd-i mezbûr şer'en zâmin olur mu? Olur deyü Surra'de [...].

Finally, in order to wrap up the case in a formal legal manner, the verdict of the *qadi* was registered in the court record as follows: "As it is registered and pronounced in the content of the noble fatwas, it has been ordered to Ali Bey to restore the storeroom in question in its original state with its estimated value. The case has been registered on demand."

The three fatwas discussed above are important for several reasons. First, it should be noted that the argumentation of the fatwas is directed at determining the course of the trial. From a general but central point, the first fatwa underlines the transaction conducted between Hamide Hâtun and her cousin Ali Bey by addressing the opinion of al-Karkhi who is in disagreement with the majority of the Hanafi jurists in this particular legal opinion. The aim is to change the course of the trial and nullify this transaction. Undoubtedly, with the first fatwa the *kayyim* Mahmud also acknowledges the invalidity of this transaction. Nevertheless, two other fatwas inform the court about the central issue of the case in question which is the illegitimacy of occupation of a property belonging to a missing person. As such Ali Bey, who is judged to be an illegal occupant of a third person's land, loses the case. However, most importantly, in this legal conflict it is the jurisprudential debate of the jurists that governs the verdict of the *qadi* and shapes the course of the trial through the fatwas issued by the Hanafi mufti of the city.

CONCLUSION

What can we conclude from the legal battle that took place over the property of al-hajj Âdem? One path leads us to the scribe (*kâtib*) of the court. The scribe transforms a quarrel from daily life via litigation into a notarial document certified and authenticated by the judge of Amid. The first case brought to the court by Ali Bey certified the legal status of al-hajj Âdem as a missing person. Only after this process was Mahmud able to take on the role of *kayyim* in order to file the second lawsuit that, in turn, authenticated the inalienable nature of al-hajj Âdem's pre-disappearance rights. A focus on the notarial activities of the court binds us to re-think the question of the written document beyond conventional studies focusing merely on their evidentiary value in legal procedures. One result of this reconsideration reveals strong parallels between early modern European and Ottoman notarial practices regarding the usage and circulation of such written mediums in daily transactions.²³

23. For early modern Europe see Nussdorfer, *The Brokers of Public Trust*, also see Burns, *Into the Archives*. For the circulation of written documents and their notarial values

A second path would push the general debate away from a focus on fatwas as they are found in the compilations of great jurists (*şeyhü'l-islam*), and towards an appreciation of the historicity and operations of jurisprudence in a provincial context as applied in real court cases. As the case of al-hajj Âdem suggests, fatwas were case-based legal interpretations, dictated by legal reasoning that was generated by the exploration and unraveling of a singular case accessible to observation.²⁴ In this sense, fatwas were produced through a method akin to casuistry, which acknowledges that “the validity of legal concepts is confined to certain boundaries²⁵” and the mufti has to determine whether the singular case in question falls within these boundaries or not. This operation required the mufti’s ability to establish a dialogue between jurisprudential texts pertaining to different Islamic world times and spaces, and social *praxes* through the writing of fatwas.

Finally, the condition of the missing person has been the subject of scholarly research in many domains, from literature to social history.²⁶ The debate in a legal domain illustrates the law’s capacity to govern the legal status of the missing person as an ambiguous category. The story of al-hajj Âdem patently shows how the legal status of a missing person is rendered intelligible by the technicality of the law. Regardless of the time elapsed since his disappearance, the law keeps al-hajj Âdem alive in his absence with regard to his previous legal engagements. In this case, missing persons are alive until proven dead. Neither can al-hajj Âdem’s absence allow him to enter into a contractual relation, nor can he be disinherited. For this reason, the property owner al-hajj Âdem is legally placed in a space between life and death. This allows us to account for the technical capacity of law not only to fabricate persons and things but also to create *fictional* spaces that can be governed by law. Whether or not the rules governing the status of the missing person were upheld in daily life is another question entirely.

in Ottoman context see Aykan, *Rendre la justice à Amid* and Vatin, “Hüccet à signatures multiples.” I would like to thank Nicolas Vatin for sharing his unpublished paper with me.

24. Passeron, Revel, *Penser par cas*, p. 9.

25. Johansen, “Casuistry,” p. 135.

26. See, Heller-Roazen, “Fictions of the Return” and Zemon-Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre*.

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Yavuz Aykan, Property between life and death: A legal debate over the property of a missing person (gâib) in eighteenth-century Ottoman Amid

This article analyses a convoluted eighteenth century Ottoman lawsuit that was brought before the judge of Amid, the capital of the Diyarbekir province. The legal conflict between the disputing parties concerns the property of a missing person (*gâib*), which, according to law, was not considered inheritance. More precisely, the case involves a piece of land belonging to one al-hajj Âdem who had disappeared from the city thirty-six years before. The fatwas brought to the court, as well as the agnatic relations among the actors of the case show the centrality of the legal doctrine, and the importance of the litigation strategies for the resolution of disputes. However, interesting in this case is the fact that the legal personality of the missing person opens up a window for the historian to peer into the abstract classifications of the jurists. Where is al-hajj Âdem, according to the law? We see in this case that a third *fictional* space within the law is revealed: a space that the missing person inhabits, and which is neither that of life nor that of death.

Yavuz Aykan, La propriété entre vie et mort: Un débat juridique concernant les droits de propriété d'une personne disparue (gâib) à Amid au XVIII^e siècle

Cet article analyse un litige complexe porté au XVIII^e siècle devant le juge d'Amid, capitale de la province de Diyarbekir. L'objet du litige est la propriété d'une personne absente (*gâib*) qui, juridiquement, ne peut pas être considérée comme un héritage. Plus précisément, l'affaire porte sur un lopin de terre appartenant à un certain al-hajj Âdem, disparu de la ville trente-six ans auparavant. Les fatwas portées devant le tribunal ainsi que les relations agnatiques entre les acteurs de l'affaire révèlent la centralité de la doctrine juridique et l'importance des stratégies des acteurs du procès dans le cadre du règlement des litiges. Ce que ce cas spécifique permet d'entrevoir, c'est le défi que semble porter la personnalité juridique de l'absent aux classifications abstraites des juristes. Où se situe al-hajj Âdem, selon le droit ? Ce cas fait émerger un troisième espace fictif dans la jurisprudence : un espace habité par la personne disparue, un espace qui n'est ni celui du vivant, ni celui du mort.

CLÉMENT MARAL

LES GUIDES AU SERVICE DES PORTEURS DE DÉPÊCHES ET DES VOYAGEURS EUROPÉENS DANS LE DÉSERT DE SYRIE (XVIII^e-XIX^e SIÈCLES)

Dans le cadre du désert de Syrie, défini comme l'espace délimité par Alep, Damas, Bagdad et Bassora, je m'étais intéressé précédemment non seulement aux rôles stratégiques que pouvaient remplir les guides de voyage, dès le XVI^e siècle, auprès des services de renseignements et de communication de la région, européens et ottomans, mais également aux conditions de voyage d'Européens solitaires, désireux de traverser le désert au XVII^e siècle¹. J'avais mis en évidence le fait que sous l'impulsion des voyageurs portugais, les autres Occidentaux, principalement français et anglais, se mettaient à entreprendre la traversée du désert de Syrie en compagnie d'un guide privé qu'ils recrutaient par l'intermédiaire des missionnaires chrétiens de Bagdad et Bassora ; en outre, ils mettaient par écrit, sous forme de contrat, les conditions de la rémunération et les devoirs de leur guide, qui devait garantir leur sécurité. De cette manière, ces Européens s'affranchissaient des longs voyages en caravane et parcouraient cette immensité désertique au plus vite, car ils étaient porteurs

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1. Maral, « Les guides ».

dans la plupart des cas de dépêches urgentes à destination de l'Europe ou bien des implantations occidentales dans le Golfe et en Asie du sud. En règle générale, à partir d'Alep, les voyageurs s'enfonçaient dans le désert jusqu'à Tayba (Qasr al-Hayr al-Chark) ; ensuite, ils pouvaient se rendre à Bagdad en traversant l'Euphrate généralement à Anah ou Hit, ou continuer leur traversée jusqu'à Bassora sans passer par la capitale irakienne. Ceux qui ne souhaitaient pas traverser le désert pouvaient choisir de le contourner en faisant étape à Diyarbekir et Mossoul.

Le travail présenté ici est le prolongement de cette étude, pour les XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles. Alors que peu de documents manuscrits pouvaient souligner les qualités de ces intermédiaires pendant les siècles antérieurs, pour cette seconde partie, de nombreuses archives ont pu être exploitées en complément des récits de voyageurs européens : je me suis fondé sur les archives du Başbakanlık à Istanbul, celles de l'ordre des Capucins de France, de la British Library à Londres, enfin sur les archives diplomatiques françaises. En outre, la décision prise par certaines puissances européennes (France et Angleterre notamment) d'établir des positions diplomatiques ou commerciales durables à Bagdad et Bassora dans les années 1740 a donné lieu à la rédaction de nombreuses dépêches consulaires qui viennent enrichir considérablement le corpus des sources historiques de mon étude. Dans le cas français, ces établissements sont nés de la volonté d'aider non seulement les missionnaires chrétiens de ces deux villes, mais aussi d'assurer, en collaboration avec le pacha de Bagdad, la protection des agents de la Compagnie française des Indes orientales et de leurs voies de correspondance par le désert et la Méditerranée ; ces initiatives permettent d'avoir un regard privilégié sur les conditions matérielles de voyage dans cette région et, surtout, de mieux comprendre les évolutions du métier des guides du désert de Syrie.

Ainsi, je tâcherai de présenter les évolutions des modes de déplacement des voyageurs européens, et ottomans à certaines occasions, à travers le désert de Syrie depuis la fin du XVII^e siècle, sur laquelle se refermait la première partie de mon travail. Au XVIII^e siècle, puis au XIX^e, il existait désormais de nouvelles modalités de déplacement, individuelles et collectives, s'appuyant sur des moyens humains et techniques dont ne pouvaient bénéficier les voyageurs européens des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles pour traverser le désert syrien. Ces transformations m'ont amené à retenir cette périodisation, afin de distinguer deux temps qui correspondent à des conditions matérielles de voyage bien différentes. Du reste, dans ce second article,

je continuerai à approfondir le rôle de courrier détenu par ces guides de voyage. Enfin, j'essaierai de présenter la permanence de ces pratiques, amorcée pendant la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle, quand ces habitudes centenaires se verront transformées de manière notoire jusqu'à l'avènement, à l'aube du XX^e siècle, de nouveaux modes de transport fluviaux et terrestres, qui feront évoluer inéluctablement les conditions de la mobilité des hommes et des choses en ces lieux.

Le désert de Syrie (1696-1745) : un espace délaissé par les voyageurs (européens) ?

Commençons par dire qu'au XVIII^e siècle, les voyages à travers le désert syrien pouvaient toujours s'effectuer par la voie terrestre, soit avec une caravane, soit par un déplacement individuel avec l'aide d'un ou plusieurs guides, mais aussi par voie fluviale en naviguant sur l'Euphrate. De manière générale, tout au long de ce siècle, même si le réseau caravanier du sud de l'Irak venait à être paralysé à la suite d'éventuels combats, cela n'empêchait pas un voyageur impatient de rallier Alep depuis Bassora, en compagnie d'un guide expérimenté, en prenant parfois soin d'éviter Bagdad – d'autant plus lorsque les caravanes étaient contraintes, parfois, de s'y arrêter afin de payer les frais de douane dus aux autorités ottomanes². En avril 1787, le sieur Duval (sur lequel je reviendrai), futur vice-consul de Bagdad, réussit tant bien que mal, grâce à cinq (ou six) guides arabes armés obtenus à Alep, à traverser le désert (jusqu'à Bagdad) en proie à des combats importants entre le pacha de Bagdad et les tribus Mountefik, ce qui rendait le passage des caravanes absolument impossible (la piraterie qui sévissait au même moment sur le Tigre condamnait l'itinéraire par Mossoul)³. Les règles pour voyager en sécurité sont

2. Dans une dépêche rédigée à Bassora le 19 novembre 1784, année où le commerce maritime dans le Golfe est décrit comme florissant, le consul français Rousseau écrit que le pacha de Bagdad ne permet pas aux caravanes de se rendre directement de Bassora à Alep. Ces directives semblent poser des difficultés aux marchands, bien embarrassés de devoir faire voyager leurs marchandises entre Bassora et Bagdad ; les Ottomans y sont en campagne contre les Arabes de certaines tribus de la confédération des Haza'il qui perturbent régulièrement pendant la décennie 1780 les communications le long de cet itinéraire : Arch. Nat., A.E. B¹, 197, f^{os} 430-433, Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, p. 202-204 ; Abdullah, *Merchants*, p. 76.

3. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 177, f^{os} 5-6, 11-13, 20-21. Il faut souligner que ce voyageur n'arrive pas à convaincre les guides des environs d'Alep de le conduire. Les Arabes qui

toujours les mêmes : aucun bagage, codes vestimentaires stricts, marche de nuit ou de jour à la convenance des guides et évitement maximal des points d'eau⁴.

De la fin du xvii^e jusque vers le milieu du xviii^e siècle, aucun des journaux de voyage dont on connaît l'existence ne relate la traversée du désert syrien par un Européen. Dans le cas des voyageurs anglais (acteurs fondamentaux de mon étude qu'il me faut maintenant mettre en avant et sur lesquels je reviendrai plus bas), j'avais souligné que durant la première moitié du xvii^e siècle, l'Empire colonial britannique envoyait des courriers par cette voie stratégique⁵ ; or, à partir de 1650, cette habitude pourrait s'être progressivement estompée. Jusqu'au début du xviii^e siècle certains facteurs peuvent expliquer en partie ce désintérêt, provisoire, pour cette voie terrestre : les ambitions anglaises dans le golfe Persique et en Iran s'effondrent sont durement éprouvées par les affrontements avec les Portugais⁶, puis par les guerres anglo-néerlandaises de 1652-1654, 1665-1667 et 1672-1674, qui ont amputé de plusieurs territoires d'outremer l'Empire britannique et altéré sérieusement la présence de la *East India Company* en Perse⁷ ; les difficultés en matière de politique intérieure – les incertitudes consécutives à la Restauration de la monarchie Stuart en 1660 – et extérieure – notamment en Inde – ont pour conséquence le délaissement provisoire des itinéraires du golfe Persique⁸. En outre, tout au long

l'accompagnent sont originaires de « l'intérieur du désert » et acceptent de le guider parce qu'ils retournent vraisemblablement chez eux. De plus, la confiance remarquable accordée par ce voyageur à ces accompagnateurs semble démontrer à nouveau le caractère sûr de ce mode de déplacement, même lorsque les risques paraissent très élevés. Du reste, Duval n'aurait-il pas pris un risque plus important en restant à Alep alors que la peste semblait pouvoir atteindre la ville à tout moment ? D'un autre côté, Bagdad est loin d'être une destination sûre : la situation dans cette ville semble être catastrophique en raison non seulement des conflits guerriers dans la région, mais également des émeutes et, surtout, d'une famine dévastatrice.

4. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 177, f^{os} 22-25.

5. Maral, « Les guides », p. 166-171.

6. Il faut garder à l'esprit la guerre luso-anglaise dans le golfe Persique et dans l'océan Indien occidental, dont la reconquête d'Ormuz par les Anglais et les Persans en 1622 ne fut qu'un des épisodes. En prenant pied à Mascate, Rui Freire de Andrade déstabilise toute la région et perturbe les relations anglo-néerlandaises : Gil Fernández, *El Imperio Luso-Español y la Persia Safávida* ; Cutillas-Ferrer, « El Irán post-safaví y la Europa del siglo XVIII ».

7. Sur la politique extérieure de l'Angleterre au xviii^e siècle : Lebecq et al., *Histoire des îles Britanniques*, part. p. 494-509 ; Heywood, « Royaume-Uni ».

8. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, p. 170. Signalons néanmoins que la restauration de la monarchie Stuart marque le rétablissement des relations diplomatiques avec la Porte – pendant l'inter-règne, le roi et le parlement anglais avaient des ambassadeurs rivaux à

du XVII^e siècle, les tentatives de coopération entre l'Angleterre et les communautés marchandes arméniennes se trouvent dans l'impasse⁹. Pour cet ensemble de raisons (qu'il serait utile d'approfondir), jusqu'au début du XVIII^e siècle, l'Angleterre n'a pas les moyens de ses ambitions pour exploiter pleinement la route du désert de Syrie.

Grants et Carruthers, les deux seuls historiens à s'être intéressés de près à cet espace, voient en cette absence de source la marque de l'abandon des itinéraires du désert par les Européens, plus précisément de 1673 à 1745 (intervalle pendant lequel les deux auteurs ne recensent aucun voyage) ; cette absence de données les conduit à penser qu'aucun Européen – émissaire ou missionnaire – n'a pu vraisemblablement traverser cette région, par le désert, à cette période¹⁰. Depuis leurs travaux, assez anciens, aucun historien n'a apporté de réponses à ce *hiatus*. On peut dans un premier temps corriger l'idée d'un abandon des pistes du désert pour la fin du XVII^e siècle, grâce au récit de voyage de Jacques Villotte¹¹ en 1696 – que manifestement ni Grants ni Carruthers ne semblaient connaître¹². En

Istanbul – puisque moins d'un an après le retour de Charles II à Londres en mai 1660, le comte de Winchilsea, le nouvel ambassadeur anglais désigné par le roi, prend ses fonctions dans la capitale ottomane en mars 1661 : Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations*, p. 1.

9. Ferrier, « The Armenians and the East India Company ».

10. Grant, *The Syrian Desert*, p. 90 ; Carruthers, *The Desert Route to India*, p. xxii.

11. Jacques Villotte (1656-1743), jésuite originaire de Bar-le-Duc, fut envoyé en Chine où il devait se rendre par l'Anatolie et la Perse. Il arriva en 1688 à Istanbul où il embarqua pour Trabzon, pour continuer ensuite son voyage jusqu'à Ispahan. De 1690 à 1695 environ, après que ses différentes tentatives pour pénétrer en Chine se révélèrent infructueuses, il entreprit une série de voyages en Anatolie en résidant régulièrement à Erzurum. Il décida ensuite de retourner en Perse par une voie différente – celle du désert de Syrie –, embarqua en janvier 1696 à Istanbul pour Tripoli de Syrie et se rendit d'Alep à Bagdad en compagnie d'un guide arabe en seulement 19 jours ; il parvint le 3 juillet 1696 à la mission jésuite d'Ispahan où il séjourna pendant douze ans. Il repartit pour la France en 1708 en compagnie de l'ambassade française qui avait été envoyée un an plus tôt par Louis XIV à la cour du chah Hussein. Villotte est l'un des rares voyageurs occidentaux du XVII^e siècle à avoir emprunté pratiquement toutes les routes principales menant en Perse à travers l'Empire ottoman : Villotte, *Voyages d'un missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus*.

12. Je signale également le récit de voyage inédit d'un certain Sieur du Val intitulé *Journal de mon voyage des Indes Orientales*, ce dernier ayant apparemment traversé le désert de Syrie au milieu des années 1690 ; dans Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, p. 333, l'auteur mentionne ce personnage qui fait étape à Anah puis Bagdad avant de se rendre en Perse. Il semble que Longrigg ait eu accès au manuscrit par l'intermédiaire d'un confrère résidant à Bagdad dans les années 1920. Malheureusement, il n'a pas été possible jusqu'à aujourd'hui de savoir où ce manuscrit a été conservé depuis cette date.

revanche, après lui, de 1696 à 1745, aucun récit de voyage n'a pu être découvert¹³. En outre, les deux auteurs déplorent le manque d'informations exploitables que pourraient contenir les chroniques des missionnaires carmélites présents à Bassora de 1623 à 1733¹⁴. Il est vrai que ces chroniques ne comportent pas de récit de voyage qui aurait pu être effectué par certains moines. Mais, contrairement à ce que ces deux historiens tendent à affirmer, à la lecture de ces chroniques, il s'avère que le réseau de communication et d'acheminement de la correspondance d'Alep à Bassora perdure, grâce en partie à ces religieux qui effectuent plusieurs voyages entre ces deux localités : Joseph Marie, un religieux français de la province de Bourgogne, quitte Rome le 19 mai 1708 avec pour dessein de rejoindre la mission de Bassora ; il s'y rend au départ d'Alep au cours de l'hiver 1708-1709, puis, en septembre 1715, il traverse le désert en sens inverse ; en mars 1722, il repart d'Alep pour Bassora en empruntant la voie de contournement du désert par Mossoul ; par la suite, il effectue à deux reprises l'aller-retour entre Bagdad et Alep en 1726-1727 et 1729-1730¹⁵. À la même époque, le frère Faustin de Charles, parvenu à Alep le 20 octobre 1716, rejoint Bagdad le 12 décembre de la même année sans que l'on puisse identifier son itinéraire¹⁶. Un autre religieux, Joseph Dominique de Saint Rose, part de Bassora en octobre 1738 et emprunte la voie du désert pour rejoindre Alep¹⁷. Ces témoignages montrent bien que les voyages semblent persister *via* la voie communément empruntée par les courriers du XVIII^e siècle. En outre, les prêtres présents à Bassora continuent de transmettre la correspondance en provenance des comptoirs coloniaux établis en Asie à destination des métropoles européennes. En 1702, ils font transmettre plusieurs lettres du représentant à Surate de la Compagnie française des Indes Orientales – monsieur l'Étude – par

13. Rappelons au lecteur qu'il est question ici du chemin du désert syrien. Quant à l'itinéraire que je qualifie de « secondaire » d'Alep à Bagdad en passant par Birecik, Urfa, Diyarbekir, Mardin et Mossoul, plusieurs récits de voyage existent pour cette période : notamment le récit de Jean Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*.

14. *Chronicle of Events*.

15. *Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia* II, p. 936-943. À la lecture du document, seul l'itinéraire de la traversée de 1715 est identifiable comme étant celui du désert. On ne connaît pas les itinéraires de ses autres déplacements. Tout ce que l'on peut supposer, c'est que le passage du désert étant plus rapide que celui de Mossoul, il aurait probablement davantage séduit un voyageur qui, de surcroît, était amené à faire ces allers-retours régulièrement.

16. *Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia* II, p. 881.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 935.

l'intermédiaire d'un messenger qu'ils envoient sans tarder à Alep. En sens inverse, il arrive régulièrement que des messagers au service de l'ambassadeur de France à Istanbul traversent la Mésopotamie pour remettre des dépêches aux missionnaires à Bassora¹⁸. Du reste, les carmélites sont en contact étroit avec les membres de la Compagnie anglaise des Indes Orientales et continuent de procéder à des contrats avec leurs courriers qu'ils continuent de rémunérer en deux fois comme cela se faisait au XVII^e siècle : dans une lettre datée du 9 décembre 1722, écrite par le vicaire des carmes déchaux au consul anglais à Alep – John Purnell –, le religieux précise à son correspondant qu'une partie du paiement du messenger qu'il lui envoie a déjà été versée et que ce dernier touchera le reste à son retour à Bassora¹⁹. Toutefois, il est important de mentionner que les voyageurs européens qui traversent occasionnellement le désert de Syrie à cette période semblent être majoritairement des missionnaires de la région. Ce sont donc des personnes résidant dans l'Empire ottoman et non des voyageurs de passage comme cela pouvait être le cas au XVII^e siècle. Dans ces conditions, quels sont les obstacles au déplacement qu'aurait pu rencontrer un voyageur de passage en Irak à cette période ? Deux éléments apparaissent fondamentaux pour répondre à cette question.

Premièrement, il faut prendre en compte la situation politique de Bagdad et Bassora marquée par des événements significatifs de 1696 à 1745. Moins d'un an après la traversée de l'Irak ottoman par Jacques Villote, les Séfévides profitent des dissensions politiques qui règnent à Bassora – entre l'autorité ottomane et certains clans arabes – pour s'emparer de la ville en mars 1697²⁰ ; à la même période, des tribus arabes continuent de mener des raids dans la région, désorganisant ainsi la plupart des routes commerciales²¹ ; la reconquête ottomane de la ville a lieu au printemps 1701 après que les troupes iraniennes ont abandonné la ville²².

18. *Chronicle of Events*, p. 440, 633.

19. Arch. de la British Library, coll. India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/E/1/14, f^{os} 62-65 : *I take the Liberty of Troubling you with this Letter and I desire you to let me know whether it came safe to hand, and I desire you would give the Bearer nothing for I have paid him here one half, and made an agreement to pay him the other half at his Return, if he would Contradict it, and pretend anything, it will be false, and do not beleive him, and in case you should give him anything pray let me know it that I may deduct it.*

20. Matthee, « Basra ».

21. *Chronicle of Events*, p. 418-420.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 427-428.

À Bagdad, la situation politique connaît autant de changements profonds : Hasan Paşa, nommé gouverneur de la ville en 1704, s'emploie, dès son arrivée jusqu'en 1708, à mener des campagnes punitives contre des tribus du moyen Euphrate qui s'opposent à sa nouvelle politique. Ces trois années de combats paralysent temporairement les axes de circulation entre Bagdad et Bassora²³. Parallèlement à ces dissensions locales et escarmouches, le regain des hostilités entre Ottomans et Séfévides fragilise également les échanges commerciaux : les campagnes de Nadir chah en Irak à partir de 1723 et le terrible siège de Bagdad en 1733 désorganisent les réseaux marchands. Les témoignages contenus dans les archives de l'agence anglaise à Bassora révèlent que ce n'est qu'après la paix de 1736 que la région connaît, après plusieurs années de trouble, un regain d'activité sur le plan économique²⁴. Cependant, il ne faudrait pas surévaluer ces incursions militaires et ces combats le long des chemins de notre zone d'étude qui peuvent, certes, perturber pour un temps le départ des caravanes de commerce, mais jamais pendant plusieurs années. Au xvii^e siècle, la région avait connu de façon similaire des soulèvements tribaux et des expéditions guerrières. Les marchands – et tous ceux qui traversent quotidiennement le désert syrien – sont habitués à ce climat tendu et reprennent leurs occupations dès que l'apaisement est retrouvé.

Deuxièmement, j'avais démontré qu'au début du xvii^e siècle les voyageurs en provenance des Indes prenaient l'habitude de recourir au service d'un guide qui leur était recommandé par des missionnaires chrétiens de Bagdad ou Bassora. Or, au début du xviii^e siècle, ces religieux ne sont plus en mesure d'assurer ce service dans de bonnes conditions puisqu'ils sont à plusieurs reprises chassés de leurs établissements. En 1702, les capucins de Bagdad sont expulsés de leur mission qui est dans le même temps pillée (vraisemblablement par des janissaires de la ville)²⁵ ; immédiatement, ils envoient en urgence un courrier à leurs coreligionnaires de Bassora pour les informer des risques que ceux-ci encourent également ; au même moment, une délégation est en mouvement pour déloger les religieux de ce second établissement, évacué à son tour en mars 1703²⁶ ; bien que la restauration de leur église ait lieu l'année suivante, la mission est fermée

23. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, p. 124-125.

24. Abdullah, *Merchants*, p. 49 ; cf. sur ces événements l'ouvrage d'Olson, *The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations*.

25. Arch. des Capucins de France, fonds de Constantinople, série O, n° 9.

26. *Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia II*, p. 910.

en 1707 après la mort des derniers religieux ; les missionnaires de Bassora ne seront rétablis dans leur mission qu'en 1714²⁷. À la même époque, la situation à Bagdad n'est guère enviable puisque les capucins sont forcés d'abandonner temporairement leur mission, une nouvelle fois, en 1712²⁸. Quant à l'itinéraire de contournement du désert syrien par Mossoul et Diyarbekir, les missions situées sur ce chemin sont en proie à des difficultés semblables ; déjà en 1711, l'ambassadeur de France à Istanbul est sollicité par les capucins de Diyarbekir, victimes de mauvais traitements infligés par certains officiers locaux ; le Comte des Alleurs obtient de la Sublime Porte un firman pour mettre fin à ces abus qui mentionne le fait que « contre les capitulations imperiales quelques uns des commandans du païs ne cessent pas de les inquieter dans la seulle veüe de tirer quelque chose d'eux²⁹. » Malgré ces remontrances et les directives explicites du sultan à l'autorité de Diyarbekir, la mission est de nouveau inquiétée à la fin de l'année 1725 ; au mois de janvier 1726, les capucins sont chassés de leur mission³⁰.

Ainsi, la dégradation de la situation politique de l'Irak au début du XVIII^e siècle, associée au délaissement plus ou moins long des missions chrétiennes de Bagdad, Bassora, et Diyarbekir, explique en partie la réticence des voyageurs occidentaux à traverser le désert syrien de 1696 à 1745.

La rivalité franco-anglaise à partir de 1745 : un regain d'intérêt des Européens pour les voies stratégiques du désert syrien

De 1745 à 1800, j'ai recensé dix-huit *réçits* de voyage dont les auteurs empruntent à nouveau l'itinéraire du désert tel qu'il était suivi, et décrit, par les voyageurs du XVII^e siècle (je reviendrai plus bas sur les modalités de voyage de ceux qui empruntent la voie postale). Parmi ces dix-huit étrangers, quatorze sont des sujets anglais (tabl. 1).

27. *Ibid.*, p. 911, 966.

28. *Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia* I, p. 526.

29. Arch. des Capucins de France, fonds de Constantinople, série X, n° 14. Grâce à la transcription du firman original conservée avec la traduction des capucins, on peut clairement lire la date de ce document : *fī evā'il kebīr rebī'ū-l-evvel sene ḡelāse 'iṣrīn ve mi'e ve elf* (soit la décade du 19 au 28 avril 1711).

30. Arch. des Capucins de France, fonds de Constantinople, série M, n° 96.

Tableau 1. Mode de déplacement de certains voyageurs européens de passage en Irak au XVIII^e siècle.

Période (nombre de récits)	Voyageurs (<i>Voyageurs anglais</i>)	Chemin du désert	Voie des relais de poste (<i>menzilhâne</i>)	Départ en caravane	Départ avec guide privé
1745-1755 (5)	<i>William Beawes</i>	X1		X	
	<i>Gaylard Roberts</i> ³¹	X2		X	
	<i>Bartholomew Plaisted</i>	X2		X	
	<i>John Carmichael</i>	X1		X	
	<i>Edward Ives</i>		X4	X	
1755-1765 (1)	Jacques Marie de Colza ³²		X3	X	
1765-1775 (3)	Carsten Niebuhr		X4	X	
	<i>Eyre Coote</i> ³³	X2		X	
	<i>Abraham Parsons</i> ³⁴	X1		X	
1775-1785 (4)	<i>James Capper</i>	X1		X	
	<i>Samuel Evers</i> ³⁵	X2		X	
	<i>Eyles Irwin</i>	X1		X	
	Domenico Sestini		X4		X
1785-1800 (5)	<i>Julius Griffiths</i>	X1		X	
	<i>Thomas Howel</i>		X4		X
	<i>John Taylor</i>	X1		X	
	<i>John Jackson</i>		X4		X
	Olivier		X3	X	

X1 (Alep-Bagdad/Bassora)

X2 (Bassora/Bagdad-Alep)

X3 (Alep-Bagdad)

X4 (Bagdad-Alep/Istanbul)

Comment expliquer l'intérêt particulier nouvellement montré par l'Angleterre à l'égard de cet itinéraire ? Pourquoi brusquement, vers 1745, les voyageurs anglais font-ils de nouveau leur apparition ? Ce regain d'intérêt des Anglais pour la liaison terrestre du golfe Persique à la mer

31. Roberts, «A Journey from Basra».

32. Colza, «Lettre du p. Jacques Marie».

33. Coote, «Diary of a Journey».

34. Parsons, *Travels in Asia and Africa*.

35. Evers, *A Journal Kept on a Journey*.

Méditerranée à partir de 1745 est dû en grande partie aux rivalités croissantes qui opposent dans le Golfe – mais surtout en Inde – la France et la Grande-Bretagne³⁶ ; ces tensions entre les deux puissances et la nouvelle expansion à la fois française et britannique ont engendré le recours de plus en plus marqué à la voie du désert de Syrie pour faire acheminer rapidement le courrier³⁷. Tout d'abord, la guerre de l'oreille de Jenkins (1739-1748), dont le théâtre se situe principalement dans les Caraïbes, inquiète les compagnies commerciales anglaise et française qui ne souhaitent pas voir le terrain des opérations s'étendre dans l'océan Indien³⁸. En Europe, la guerre de Succession d'Autriche vient parachever cette période où le désert de Syrie redevient une région stratégique pour les services de correspondance européens : une copie de la déclaration de guerre de Louis XV à Georges II, du 15 mars 1744, est envoyée en urgence à Bassora par voie terrestre, puis relayée à Bombay³⁹. L'Angleterre et la France, à la suite de la guerre de Succession d'Autriche, riches de leurs expériences en matière de renseignement et de leur connaissance de la région, cherchent de nouveau à exploiter le réseau des pistes du désert de Syrie⁴⁰. En 1754, le conseil supérieur de Pondichéry donne l'ordre au consul français de Bagdad d'entretenir une correspondance exacte avec son homologue à Alep pour améliorer la correspondance de la Compagnie⁴¹. En 1758, sur ordre de Perdereau (agent de la Compagnie française

36. Il faut également souligner le fait que le commerce anglais au Levant est à cette époque en grande difficulté. M. Talbot a démontré dans son ouvrage paru récemment que le statut social des ambassadeurs anglais résidant à la Porte évolue à partir de 1735. Face aux grandes difficultés auxquelles est confrontée la *Levant Company*, les ambassadeurs anglais, à partir des années 1740 jusque 1775 environ, sont choisis en fonction de leur expérience en matière de commerce et une grande partie d'entre eux n'a pas de titre de noblesse. Cet effort conscient de la monarchie anglaise pour envoyer des hommes précédemment employés comme marchands ou diplomates, avait pour but non pas d'offenser volontairement le gouvernement ottoman, mais de tenter d'améliorer le commerce britannique au Levant : Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations*, part. p. 43-70.

37. Furber, « The Overland Route to India », p. 118 ; Amīn, *British Interests in the Persian Gulf*, part. p. 57-67 ; Hoskins, « The Overland Route to India ».

38. Furber, « The Overland Route to India », p. 119.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

40. Si les Français sortent victorieux du siège de Pondichéry en 1748, c'est en grande partie grâce aux informations reçues par le gouverneur de la ville – Joseph François Duplex – qui avait été informé par la voie du désert de Syrie de l'armement envoyé par Londres à l'amiral de la Royal Navy – Edward Boscawen – pour entreprendre le siège de la place forte. Ces informations avaient été transmises depuis l'Europe en seulement 75 jours. Le succès de cette opération de renseignement a encouragé la France à développer sa correspondance avec l'Inde en s'appuyant davantage sur ses positions consulaires de Bagdad et Bassora après 1750 ; Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 176, f^{os} 48-49 ; A.E. B¹, 197, f^{os} 230-233.

41. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 197, f^{os} 372-373.

à Bassora), le consul français à Bagdad expédie un courrier arabe par le désert en le faisant accompagner par un de ses fidèles domestiques, et deux autres Arabes, pour porter à la connaissance du consulat d'Alep les expéditions du comte d'Aché, qui escorte, vers la fin de 1757, le nouveau gouverneur général des Indes française à Pondichéry⁴² ; la guerre de Sept Ans (1756-1763), qui se déroule, en partie, dans l'océan Indien, a des répercussions sur les voyages dans le golfe Persique : aucun récit de voyageur anglais sur la route du désert syrien ne nous est parvenu à ce jour pour cette période, qui est, par ailleurs, marquée par la fermeture temporaire du consulat français à Bassora (apparemment pour éviter des dépenses jugées superflues⁴³) ainsi que par le départ des Hollandais (1759) puis des Anglais (1763) du port de Bandar Abbas⁴⁴. À la suite des défaites françaises en Inde pendant cette guerre – dont la prise de Pondichéry en 1761 par Eyre Coote qui empruntera la route du désert quelques années plus tard pour se rendre à Alep –, il devient important de repenser les communications entre la France et les Indes orientales et de démontrer l'intérêt notoire de la voie secondaire par Suez et la mer Rouge⁴⁵ ; c'est la confrontation guerrière que vivent à nouveau, de 1778 à 1783, la France et l'Angleterre, qui semble faire naître (chez les Français) l'idée de développer de nouveaux moyens pour établir une correspondance réglée entre

42. Les nouvelles de son expédition avaient été rapportées à Bassora en mars 1758 par la frégate *Bristol*, Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 175, f^o 128. Le consul préconise de transmettre ces nouvelles depuis Alep à Istanbul en faisant accompagner son courrier d'un janissaire. Le duplicata du document est confié à un jésuite français – le Père Grimaud de Lyon – envoyé par la caravane du désert pour le remettre au consul français à Alep – M. Thomas.

43. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 175, f^{os} 45-46. Le consulat de Bassora avait déjà été fermé en 1744, date à laquelle le consul français Gosse avait reçu l'ordre direct de la Compagnie des Indes de se retirer à Pondichéry. De plus, ce dernier devait transmettre avant son départ un paquet scellé, renfermant les documents officiels du consulat, aux prêtres carmes de la ville ; Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 197, f^{os} 2-3, 16-17.

44. Le retrait de ces nations européennes, dû à un ensemble de raisons politiques et commerciales, marque la fin de la prééminence du port de Bandar Abbas dans le golfe Persique : Floor, *The Persian Gulf*, part. p. 39-94. En outre, l'essor commercial que connaissait Bandar Abbas au début du XVIII^e siècle avait été ralenti par l'invasion afghane de 1722, puis par l'instabilité du règne de Nâdir chah (1736-1747) au point de ne pas pouvoir retrouver sa grandeur passée : Floor, *The Persian Gulf*, p. 94. Il serait intéressant de mener une étude comparée des ports de Bandar Abbas et de Bassora pour voir si le déclin du premier n'a pas entraîné des répercussions positives pour le second et, ainsi, encouragé les Européens à s'implanter à Bassora, comme le laisse entendre l'auteur d'un « Précis historique des opérations Consulaires, et des principaux Evenements de Bagdat et de la Perse depuis 1755 jusques et compris 1791 », Arch. nat., A. E. B³, 415.

45. Arch. diplomatiques du ministère des Affaires étrangères, site de La Courneuve, Mémoires et Documents Indes Orientales, vol. 7, f^{os} 97-102.

la France et ses possessions en Inde, par l'Égypte, en s'inspirant, en particulier, des méthodes préexistantes de transmission de la correspondance anglaise *via* le port de Suez, en ayant recours à des courriers arabes⁴⁶. Les administrateurs français, au Caire et à Alexandrie, comprennent, comme leurs homologues en Syrie avant eux, que l'utilisation de courriers remédiait ainsi, entre autres, aux retards que pouvaient éprouver les voyageurs obligés d'attendre au Caire une caravane pour se rendre à Suez.

Ainsi, au XVIII^e siècle, la nouvelle configuration géopolitique du golfe Persique est à mettre en relation avec les intérêts de certaines grandes puissances européennes qui, désireuses d'accélérer leurs moyens de communications (particulièrement en temps de guerre), montrent leurs intentions de tirer avantage du renouvellement des voies de transmission qui touche la Syrie et l'Irak ; les guides du désert sont toujours mis à profit par les voyageurs européens et ottomans ; en revanche, les conditions de voyage sont assez différentes de celles qui étaient endurées par Jean-Baptiste Tavernier ou Manuel Godinho au siècle précédent.

Les escortes des caravanes du désert : une efficacité accrue pour un meilleur gage de sécurité

Les sources dont nous disposons pour le XVIII^e siècle attestent de changements manifestes des conditions de voyage dans le désert de Syrie par rapport à la période précédente, les XVI^e-XVII^e siècles, en particulier dans le cas des caravanes de commerce. Les voyages individuels tels qu'ils pouvaient exister au siècle passé continuent d'être pratiqués, mais les sources les concernant sont encore plus exceptionnelles que pour le XVII^e siècle. Dans la mesure où la plupart des voyageurs recensés se déplacent en caravane, et comme les informations précises sur les traversées solitaires du désert sont rares pour cette période, je commencerai par présenter la nature des conditions de voyage de ces convois marchands, qui s'avère transformée depuis le passage de Jacques Villote en 1696.

46. « Mémoire sur les moyens d'établir une correspondance réglée entre la France et les Indes par l'Égypte », Arch. nat., MAR/B/7/452. Correspondance à l'arrivée. Levant et Barbarie. 1781-1789 ; ce projet prévoyait initialement de faire partir deux missives par voie de mer : la première depuis Pondichéry et la seconde de Mahé ou Surate, toutes deux à destination de Suez. Les navires devaient prendre, une fois arrivés à Moka, un interprète arabe et un nouveau pilote, pour rallier ensuite un port de Haute-Égypte d'où serait expédié par un courrier arabe un duplicata de ces dépêches à un intermédiaire au Caire, qui, à son tour, les transmettrait au consul à Alexandrie.

D'une part, les guides (*ḵulağuz* en ottoman ou *dalīl* en arabe) continuent de mener les groupes de voyageurs dirigés par le *kārvānbaşı* qui n'hésite pas tout au long du voyage à envoyer des éclaireurs pour être constamment informé des mouvements tribaux le long de l'itinéraire planifié. D'autre part, on trouve dans la documentation la mention, nouvelle, d'un corps particulier de gardes, les *refīk*, qui accompagne les caravanes du désert de Syrie.

Les *refīk* n'ont pas comme fonction principale de guider la caravane mais plutôt d'assurer sa protection ; ce sont tous des Arabes qui représentent chacun une des tribus implantées sur le parcours de la caravane⁴⁷. Avant le départ, après avoir été associés au voyage d'une caravane par l'intermédiaire de son chef qui les recrute, ils engagent à leur tour un certain nombre d'hommes armés pour assurer la sécurité. De plus, ils portent les couleurs de leur tribu (par le moyen d'un étendard ou autre insigne) qui sont exposées au cours du voyage dès qu'un groupe inconnu surgit à l'horizon. Précédemment, j'avais signalé que les voyageurs qui traversaient le désert au XVII^e siècle étaient constamment à faire le guet, facilement alarmés et prêt à engager le combat dès que des personnes non identifiées étaient aperçues⁴⁸. Un étendard permettait donc sans doute aux membres de la caravane d'identifier, rapidement, ses alliés et d'éviter ainsi l'affrontement. Pendant le voyage, les *refīk* sont partie prenante des négociations pouvant avoir lieu avec certains chefs tribaux : entre Alep et Tayba, le convoi de James Capper, en route pour le golfe Persique, déploie ses couleurs à la vue de plusieurs cavaliers qui à leur tour exposent les leurs, ce qui permet au cheikh de la caravane de vérifier qu'il ne s'agit pas d'« ennemis irréconciliables », mais vraisemblablement d'un grand groupe de Bédouins ; une rencontre a lieu entre cinq membres respectifs des deux groupes pour négocier le passage de la caravane ; le *kārvānbaşı* accepte de payer un tribut d'un sequin pour chaque dromadaire portant de la marchandise ; en échange, les Bédouins promettent de leur donner un *refīk* qui les protégera durant la traversée de leur territoire⁴⁹ ; plus tard, c'est à proximité

47. Griffiths, *Travels in Europe, Asia Minor*, p. 350-351 ; Redhouse définit *refīk* ainsi : « a traveling-companion ; any companion or associate ».

48. Maral, « Les guides », p. 179. Au cours de la traversée du désert de James Capper, à l'approche de deux silhouettes, les hommes de la caravane s'agitent et commencent à s'armer avant de se rendre compte qu'il s'agit de leurs propres éclaireurs : Capper, *Observations*, p. 191.

49. Capper, *Observations*, p. 192-193. Un arrangement dans des conditions similaires a lieu plus tard dans le voyage avec un groupe d'Arabes qui agitent un tissu pour pouvoir traiter avec le groupe de James Capper, *Observations*, p. 215-216.

des palmeraies de Raḥāliya que deux *refīk* d'une horde arabe rejoignent le convoi de Capper pour assurer son passage après que le cheikh de la caravane a vraisemblablement négocié avec leur chef⁵⁰.

Au XVIII^e siècle, il était donc de mise pour une caravane d'être accompagnée par un maximum de ces *refīk* pour avoir le moins possible de régions hostiles à traverser. En outre, il est difficile de savoir à partir de quand ces *refīk* ont commencé à intégrer les caravanes tant les sources à leur sujet sont rares. Ils devaient exister au moins dès le début du XVII^e siècle à en croire le voyageur portugais Pedro Texeira qui voyage de Bassora à Alep en 1604-1605 et consigne dans son récit le passage suivant :

« En ce jour [vendredi 10 septembre 1604], nous parcourûmes huit lieues qui pourraient compter comme quatorze considérant le mauvais état du chemin, la chaleur du soleil, la soif, la faim et la peur des voleurs arabes qui infestent ordinairement le désert et attendent-là où il y a de l'eau pour voir s'ils peuvent s'offrir un butin ; ils ne s'épargnent pas quand ils sont de différentes tribus. C'est pourquoi les caravanes prennent avec elles plusieurs Arabes de ces tribus qu'elles peuvent être amenées à rencontrer pour être respectées, comme nous le fûmes ; ils nous servirent à cette fin et [également] de guides pour le chemin et les points d'eau⁵¹. »

Ainsi, d'après ce témoignage, il était possible pour ces représentants tribaux de guider également la caravane mais ce rôle devait être secondaire. Du reste, la dissémination lente et sporadique des armes à feu, qui semblent être utilisées plus communément en Syrie à partir du XVIII^e siècle, aurait-elle contribué à l'armement progressif des populations tribales du désert et donc à la formation, puis au renforcement, de ces escortes devenues indispensables pour les caravanes de commerce⁵² ? Enfin, au XIX^e siècle, le terme arabe « *rafīq* » est attesté par Richard Burton, lors

50. *Ibid.*, p. 207-208.

51. Teixeira, *Relaciones*, p. 87 : « *Andariamos este dia ocho leguas, que puderian passar por quatorze por la maleza del camino, ardor del sol, sed y hambre, y recelos de los ladrones Arabes que muy de ordinario corren el desierto, y aguardan en los parages adonde hay agua por ver si se les offerece qualquiera preza, q'aun vnos a otros no per donan en siendo de familia diferente, y por esso las Caroanas o Cafilas trahé siempre acelariados algunos Arabes, de quellas cabildas con que pueden encontrar, para por ellos se les tener respeto, como nos los trahyamos, que nos seruian desto y de pilotos para el camino, y para las aguas [...]* ». Je rappelle qu'au XVII^e siècle, le fait de recruter des guides différents entre Bassora et Bagdad, puis de la capitale irakienne à Alep, pouvait s'expliquer par le fait qu'il était sans doute très difficile pour un guide d'une tribu d'assurer la sécurité des voyageurs occidentaux en dehors de son territoire : Maral, « Les guides », p. 173.

52. Rafeq, « The Local Forces in Syria ».

de son voyage au Hedjaz, et désignait alors le Bédouin dont le voyageur a acheté la protection avec une somme d'argent (*rifqah*)⁵³.

Dans le cas où un voyageur souhaitait traverser le désert avec une caravane, il lui était possible de passer un contrat écrit auprès du commanditaire de l'expédition. À la fin des années 1750, Edward Ives quitte Bassora où le résident anglais le charge de remettre des dépêches à son confrère de Bagdad – un dénommé Garden⁵⁴. Une fois arrivé dans la capitale irakienne, pour préparer au mieux son départ pour Alep, il sollicite l'aide d'un marchand juif qui doit faire partir ses marchandises par la voie du désert⁵⁵. Ce dernier rédige un contrat en arabe avec le guide de sa caravane, Hābīl Sualem, qui stipule que dans l'éventualité où la caravane ne partirait pas dans les délais prévus, il rembourserait alors la somme de 1 400 piastres (dont une partie avait été avancée par Garden)⁵⁶; le départ se faisant attendre, Edward Ives et ses compagnons sont obligés de repousser leur voyage après l'été; le contrat n'étant pas rempli, l'avance est remboursée selon les modalités prévues; ils choisissent ensuite de se rendre à Alep par la voie secondaire, *via* Mossoul et Diyarbekir⁵⁷. Soit un autre exemple, celui de James Capper qui requiert l'aide de son consul en fonction à Alep pour voyager jusqu'au Golfe. Dans un premier temps, ce dernier sollicite un cheikh arabe – Süleymān – pour former une escorte de quarante hommes, mais un marchand juif – prénommé *Rubīn* (Ruben) dans la documentation –, ayant eu vent des intentions de ces voyageurs, propose de doubler l'escorte afin de profiter de l'occasion pour convoier sa marchandise⁵⁸. Ces arrangements font l'objet d'une mise par écrit (logiquement en arabe et non en ottoman puisque les voyageurs sollicitent des notables locaux) sous la forme d'un engagement, non seulement du cheikh Süleymān, mais aussi de huit personnes envers James Capper, ceci devant témoins; ainsi, ce document

53. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El Medinah* II, p. 111, 113.

54. Ives, *A voyage from England to India*, p. 232-234.

55. Les Français ont aussi recours à la communauté juive pour faire partir leurs dépêches. En 1783, le consul français Jean-François Rousseau mentionne à plusieurs reprises dans sa correspondance l'un des plus importants artisans du commerce à Bagdad et Bassora, un marchand juif, nommé Jacob, qui s'avère être un partenaire très précieux pour le succès des échanges caravaniers, par lesquels transite une partie de la correspondance consulaire : Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 176, f^{os} 110, 123, 125. À la même période, le consul de France à Alep est en contact avec un juif, Samuel, dont les activités commerciales lui permettent d'interagir plus facilement avec certains intermédiaires arabes, capables de lui fournir des courriers pour l'envoi de dépêches, Arch. nat., MAR/B/7/449 : « Communication avec l'inde par Alep et Bassora, 1785 ».

56. Ives, *A voyage from England to India*, p. 277-278.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

58. Capper, *Observations*, p. 179.

n'est établi devant aucune instance juridique ou notariale (*maḥkama*). Il a été possible de retrouver l'original de cet engagement, dont rend compte Capper dans son récit⁵⁹, dans les archives de la British Library de Londres. Ce document, exceptionnel, est le seul qu'il ait été possible de découvrir permettant d'attester des « contrats » conclus entre voyageurs et accompagnateurs, dont font état les Occidentaux dans leurs récits. En outre, il n'y a pas, apparemment, de duplicata, et les voyageurs restent en possession de ces documents qu'ils gardent jusqu'à leur retour en Europe⁶⁰. Dans ce document, il est précisé qu'en plus de soixante-dix préposés à la poudre à canon, neuf *refīk* les accompagneront, originaires de neuf tribus différentes de la confédération des 'Anazah que le groupe risque de rencontrer en chemin. Les signataires s'engagent à prendre à leur charge les bêtes de sommes, les provisions, un palanquin, et à fournir, entre autres, la poudre et les munitions ; ce sont eux aussi qui rémunèrent le guide (*ḥaqq kirā' al-dalīl*) ; enfin, ils s'engagent à conduire Capper (*mistar kūlūnīl Kābār al-angilīzī*) d'Alep au golfe Persique en 36 jours, sans compter les journées où ce dernier se reposera, ni celles où ils s'attarderont par craintes d'un ennemi. Cet engagement est signé par huit personnes directement impliquées dans le voyage, mais aussi par sept témoins qui ont apposé chacun leur cachet – ce qui suppose des notables de la classe des lettrés⁶¹ (voir ce document en annexe).

Ce contrat met en lumière les sommes énormes déboursées par les voyageurs pour leurs escortes de gardes armés (qui s'élèvent parfois à plusieurs dizaines d'hommes). Même si les conditions de voyage ont évolué par rapport aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles, il n'en reste pas moins que ce mode de déplacement est loin d'être à la portée de tous les Européens. En 1787, le sieur Duval, mentionné précédemment, débourse 3 600 livres pour son voyage d'Alexandrie à Bagdad (tabl. 2)⁶² : sur ce montant, 1 040 livres correspondent à la conduite de sa seule personne à travers le désert ; le prix du nécessaire de voyage (16% de cette somme) est loin d'être négligeable. La même année, le consul Rousseau débourse 9 895 livres pour le passage d'un voyageur français – le chevalier de Dourdon⁶³ – de

59. *Ibid.*, p. 179-184.

60. Le contrat de Capper reste en possession de sa famille puisque c'est son petit-fils – James C. Clutterbuck – qui en est détenteur en 1873 ; Arch. de la British Library, coll. India Office Records and Private Papers, Mss Eur C565, n^{os} 1-2.

61. Arch. de la British Library, Mss Eur C565, n^{os} 5,8. Je remercie Salah Bahmani pour sa contribution à la transcription et traduction du document en annexe.

62. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 177, f^o 40.

63. On sait peu de choses sur ce capitaine d'infanterie dont le récit « Voyage dans l'Inde par les Déserts... » est aujourd'hui conservé aux Archives nationales d'outre-mer, sous la cote FR ANOM COL F^{2C} 12. En juillet 1787, alors qu'il est chargé d'un travail au département de

Bagdad à Mascate, par Bassora⁶⁴. À titre de comparaison, en France à la même époque, le voyage de Paris à Toulouse en diligence – les célèbres turgotines viennent d’apparaître – coûte 136 livres⁶⁵.

Tableau 2. États des dépenses faites pour le voyage
du sieur Duval d’Alexandrie d’Égypte à Bagdad en 1787
(TOTAL = 1 440 piastres/3 600 livres)⁶⁶.

Date (année 1787)	Raison de la dépense	Prix (piastres)
20 février	Pour son passage sur un navire impérial d’Alexandrie à Larnaka	60
	Récompenses ⁶⁷ faites à l’équipage qui a servi à l’embarquement et au débarquement de ses effets	10
25 février	Pour son passage de Larnaka à Lattaquié sur un bateau turc, et les frais à l’embarquement et au débarquement de ses effets	40
10 mars	Pour le louage de 4 chevaux pour le transport de ses effets, et la conduite de Lattaquié à Alep	68
	Frais d’escorte de 20 fusiliers pris en divers endroits sur la route	42
	Droits de péage et frais dans les villages	30

la guerre sous la protection du ministre de la Marine, il est informé par Delaunay, chargé de la correspondance politique de l’Inde, qu’il est envoyé en Inde pour remettre une dépêche importante. Il s’agit du seul voyageur européen de mon corpus à avoir fait le trajet Damas-Bagdad par le désert, en compagnie de seulement cinq Arabes dont le chef aurait été le seul à savoir qu’il était chrétien. Malheureusement, on ne sait rien de sa traversée, hormis le fait qu’il effectua le trajet de Damas-Bagdad en 15 jours, avec, en moyenne, trois heures de sommeil, trois heures de pause, et dix-huit heures de marche par jour.

64. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 177, f^o 99. Dans son récit, le chevalier de Dourdon mentionne la somme de 11 588 livres pour les dépenses engendrées par son voyage de Paris à Pondichéry. Dès son arrivée au Levant, en 1782, Rousseau demande au marquis de Castries d’étudier la possibilité de l’envoi d’un agent français à Mascate pour assurer la correspondance entre l’Inde et l’Île-de-France. Au début de 1790, un accord sur l’établissement d’une maison consulaire semblait être conclu avec l’imam de Mascate, mais ce projet est abandonné l’année suivante : Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 177, f^{os} 187, 231 ; et A.E. B¹, 197, f^o 385.

65. *État général des Postes de France*, p. 129. Le voyage dure ordinairement 13 heures.

66. Les frais de voyage du chevalier de Dourdon et du sieur Duval, dépensés en piastres, sont exprimés dans la documentation également en livres tournois ; les conversions ont été faites par les rédacteurs des documents (Rousseau et Duval) au cours de 50 sols la piastre.

67. « Donatives » dans le texte.

Date (année 1787)	Raison de la dépense	Prix (piastres)
6 avril	Avances faites aux Arabes du désert pour son passage et sa conduite à Bagdad	510
	Frais pour l'achat d'outres, tente et autres provisions nécessaires dans le désert	166
25 avril	Récompenses distribuées dans le désert aux gens du cheikh Abbas El-Hanary	44
4 mai	Solde du prix fait avec les Arabes pour son voyage d'Alep à Bagdad	290
	Récompenses faites aux Arabes	30
	Louage des chameaux nécessaires pour le transport de ses effets restés à Alep	150

Au demeurant, les dépenses colossales engendrées par le recrutement de ces escortes (dont la seule présence ne garantit pas d'arriver à destination) semblent avoir été l'une des raisons principales pour lesquelles la création d'une nouvelle compagnie de commerce française (à laquelle Rousseau est favorable), dont l'activité pourrait déboucher en Perse, puis en Inde, *via* le pachalik de Bagdad et la route du désert, paraît, aux yeux des négociants français établis en Syrie, totalement impossible⁶⁸. Du reste, le contrat de James Capper est différent de ceux qui pouvaient être rédigés au ^{xvii}^e siècle : à cette époque, ces documents étaient probablement conclus uniquement entre le voyageur et son guide, avec la supervision des missionnaires chrétiens de Bagdad et Bassora ; on précisait dans cet accord, en plus du montant de la rémunération de l'accompagnateur (versé en deux fois, au départ puis à l'arrivée si le voyageur estimait que le contrat avait été rempli), que les droits de passage éventuels étaient à la charge du guide⁶⁹.

Au ^{xviii}^e siècle, quelques dépêches consulaires mettent en évidence que dans le cas de voyages individuels, on continue de solliciter des guides pour traverser le désert de Syrie (comme c'est le cas pour Duval cité précédemment) ; en revanche, elles ne présentent pas clairement les arrangements conclus entre le voyageur et son guide. Pour autant, il serait difficile d'imaginer le renoncement de ces pratiques (qui fonctionnaient très bien auparavant). Quelques éléments semblent suggérer que ces habitudes, non

68. Arch. nat., MAR/B/7/462 : « Mémoire des Négocians de Syrie ».

69. Maral, « Les guides », p. 173-174.

seulement ont été conservées, mais se seraient même développées, au moins dans le cas de l'itinéraire terrestre de Bassora au port d'al-Karrīn, dans la baie de Koweït. Dans une dépêche datée du 6 novembre 1787, Rousseau fait savoir au marquis de Castries, secrétaire d'État à la Marine, qu'il a fait partir de Bagdad le chevalier de Dourdon avec une personne de confiance, tous deux accompagnés par un troisième individu attaché au gouvernement ottoman de Bagdad, en direction de Bassora ; ces accompagnateurs ont reçu l'ordre de ne pas revenir sans avoir fait embarquer au préalable le voyageur français⁷⁰. Il ajoute :

« [...] je déclare à votre grandeur que Si elle m'adresse encore quelques autre Officiers françois pour passer par la même route comme le Kÿaÿa sera de retour ici je ne l'enverrai pas à Bassora, car surement il lui arriverait quelques accidents, mais je l'achemineraï avec un homme de confiance, et quelques Arabes tout à fait par le Desert à gren [al-Karrīn] ou même plus bās dans le golphe dans un petit Bourgade qu'on Nomme Zēbarā [Zubāra], il s'y trouve dans ces Deux endroits plus de Batteaux qu'a Bassora car il y a la Peche des Perles et ils ont une communication tres frequentes avec Maskat de sorte qu'il y a Beaucoup plus de Sûreté et de facilite par cette voye que par Bassora⁷¹. »

En février 1789, Rousseau reçoit par une dépêche du comte de La Luzerne (nouveau secrétaire d'État à la Marine) la recommandation de faire parvenir, le plus rapidement possible, une dépêche à Thomas Conway, commandant des forces du roi de France dans l'Inde à Pondichéry. Après avoir envisagé de recruter un homme du pays pour cette mission (mode opératoire vraisemblablement en vigueur à ce moment-là pour ne faire courir aucun risque à un sujet français), il accepte finalement l'offre du sieur Outrey – médecin français établi à Bagdad vers 1780 – qui se propose d'aller en Inde en embarquant à al-Karrīn, après avoir dans un premier temps contourné Bassora par le désert⁷². Le consul défraye les accompagnateurs arabes et bédouins, les approvisionnements et les dromadaires

70. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 177, f^o 65. Ce voyageur atteint Bassora, en prenant soin de ne pas ébruiter sa présence auprès des Anglais de la ville, puis se serait embarqué à quelques lieues de là, sur un bateau que le cheikh de Zubair, ami de la nation française, aurait fait préparer secrètement ; Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 177, f^o 87 ; cf. également le récit du chevalier de Dourdon, « Voyage dans l'Inde par les Déserts... ».

71. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 177, f^o 66. Zubāra est une ancienne cité portuaire du Qatar, en face de l'île du Bahreïn.

72. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 177, f^o 131. Outrey a appris l'arabe durant son séjour en Irak et cette compétence semble avoir, entre autres, convaincu Rousseau de lui confier le pli en question.

nécessaires ; de plus, il ordonne à ces guides de traverser l'Euphrate à Musayib, puis de s'enfoncer dans le désert pour avoir l'air de venir d'Alep afin de ne pas éveiller les soupçons des partisans de Tuwainī, cheikh des Mountefik⁷³. En outre, lorsque Outrey embarquera (soit directement pour Mascate, soit en faisant halte à Zubāra), il remettra à ces conducteurs arabes une lettre destinée à Rousseau (dont on ne connaît pas la teneur)⁷⁴. Serait-ce une preuve écrite par Outrey, comme cela pouvait se faire au xvii^e siècle, pour attester le comportement de ses guides, afin que ceux-ci touchent une rémunération à leur retour, ou simplement une note pour informer le consul des conditions de son embarquement ? Le détail de certains frais déboursés par Rousseau à cette occasion permet de répondre, en partie, à cette question (tabl. 3)⁷⁵.

Tableau 3. Dépenses faites par Rousseau à l'occasion de l'envoi du sieur Outrey en Inde en 1789.

Raison de la dépense	Prix (en piastres)
Aux Arabes pour 3 dromadaires et 2 bédouins pour conduire le sieur Outrey à al-Karrīn	210
Gratification auxdits Arabes	28
Un habit au chef arabe qui a procuré les conducteurs et dromadaires	28
Gratification promise et payée à Bassora après l'embarquement du sieur Outrey	58
À l'Arabe qui a rapporté [à Rousseau] une lettre du sieur Outrey	10
Au cheikh du bourg de Makran pour une partie du nolis du bateau dans lequel le sieur Outrey se fit embarquer pour Mascate	262
Pour des lettres qu'un <i>çoḡadār</i> ⁷⁶ a apportées [à Rousseau] de Bassora, renfermant des lettres du sieur Outrey	16

73. Sur ce personnage : Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, p. 204-206.

74. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 177, f^o 138.

75. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 177, f^o 153.

76. À l'origine, le terme *çoḡadār*, corruption de *çuḡadār*, désignait un rang assez élevé des serviteurs du palais impérial qui étaient au service du sultan ottoman et de certains hauts administrateurs. La charge de *çuḡadār*, ou *çuḡadārılık*, fut créée par Mehmed I (r. 1413-1421) : Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* I, p. 384-386. Au xviii^e siècle, ce terme, tel que défini par Redhouse, renvoie à une activité bien différente : « *A kind of messenger at the Sublime Porte, especially one in the service of the agent of a Provincial Governor* ».

Cette note de frais montre bien qu'il y a une gratification promise à certains intermédiaires dès le départ, versée après que le consul a été informé, très probablement par une note rédigée de la main du voyageur, de la réussite de leur mission⁷⁷. Du reste, il est certain que le paiement des 262 piastres, concernant une partie du fret du bateau, est déclenché après la réception par Rousseau d'une lettre du sieur Outrey⁷⁸. Quelques mois plus tard, Rousseau envoie à nouveau une missive à Conway, mais en choisissant un Arabe nommé Şulţān, dont la famille, résidant aux alentours de Bassora (et qui aurait démontré une grande fidélité pour la nation française depuis cinquante ans)⁷⁹, reçoit après le départ dudit messager, « suivant la condition », la somme, conséquente, de 900 piastres⁸⁰. Pour le reste, les missions de Şulţān et Outrey – comme celle du chevalier de Dourdon – sont menées à bien et les deux voyageurs rentrent des Indes l'année suivante⁸¹. Ces témoignages, certes peu nombreux, permettent malgré tout d'affirmer la rémanence des contrats écrits entre voyageurs européens et accompagnateurs, qui existaient au ^{xvii}e siècle, une fois que la région eut retrouvé une certaine stabilité après la fin des affrontements entre Ottomans et Séfévides des décennies 1720-1730. En outre, durant la seconde moitié du ^{xviii}e siècle, les voyages solitaires des courriers restent toujours possibles à travers le désert.

Les voyageurs européens qui progressent en caravane dans le désert croisent à plusieurs reprises des courriers en mission : c'est le cas de William Beawes, Bartholomew Plaisted et John Carmichael, qui effectuent le trajet dans les années 1745-1751. D'après leurs observations, ces

77. Dans le cas d'Outrey, celui-ci n'osera pas se risquer jusqu'à al-Karrīn où est présent Ṭuwaitī. Le 23 février (soit 13 jours après son départ de Bagdad), il embarque finalement pour Mascate, à 15 lieues de Bassora après avoir affrété un équipage de 25 hommes pour 600 piastres ; Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 177, f^o 147.

78. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 177, f^o 147.

79. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 177, f^o 150.

80. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 177, f^o 153. La raison du versement d'une telle somme reste assez énigmatique. Il y a eu vraisemblablement un accord passé avec cette famille, qui incluait peut-être des services additionnels. Il est possible que ce paiement ait pris en compte d'autres courses faites par Şulţān. Dans tous les cas, dès lors qu'il recourait à cet intermédiaire, l'échec de la mission paraissait peu probable aux yeux de Rousseau, qui n'a pas hésité à dépenser un tel montant.

81. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 177, f^o 186. Tous les voyages de retour ne se passent pas toujours ainsi. L'année précédente, le domestique (et interprète) qui accompagnait le chevalier de Dourdon de Damas jusqu'en Inde en avait été renvoyé par son maître avec plusieurs dépêches. Une fois parvenu en Irak, il avait été tué aux abords de l'Euphrate par des membres de la confédération des Ḥaza'il et ses lettres avaient été définitivement perdues : Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 177, f^o 127.

courriers – dont un grand nombre sont au service du résident à Bassora de l'*East India Company* qui correspond régulièrement avec le consulat anglais d'Alep – peuvent effectuer la traversée du désert, de Bassora à Alep, en solitaire à dos de dromadaire⁸². En outre, bien que ces messagers soient missionnés par les services anglais, cela ne les empêche pas de porter, parfois, des lettres aux marchands d'Alep⁸³ ; ainsi, comme au ^{xvii}e siècle, ces courriers continuent de faciliter la communication de l'ensemble des milieux marchands à travers le désert (Carsten Niebuhr fait la connaissance à Bagdad d'un bédouin qui lui affirme avoir effectué plus de vingt fois la traversée entre Alep et Bassora⁸⁴). Malgré le peu d'informations dont nous disposons, il est très probable que les Ottomans aient également continué à intégrer cet itinéraire stratégique dans leurs réseaux de communication en Syrie et en Irak (et au-delà). Néanmoins, il est important de souligner que ces courriers, généralement, entament leur traversée terrestre depuis Bassora ; les voyageurs européens, dans leur ensemble, préfèrent se rendre à Bagdad d'où plusieurs choix s'offrent à eux pour continuer leur périple⁸⁵. Enfin, les Anglais ne sont pas seuls à recourir massivement à des guides arabes pour maintenir leur réseau de correspondance en Syrie et en Irak. À partir des années 1740, la France, de façon progressive, utilise très régulièrement ces intermédiaires pour son propre compte en particulier sous le consulat de Pierre Thomas (1749-1769) à Alep, et celui d'Emmanuel de Saint-Albert (1741-1773), évêque de Babylone, à Bagdad⁸⁶.

82. Carmichael, « A Journey from Aleppo over the Desart », append., p. 46. La caravane croise un courrier aux alentours de Qasr Shakrah (non loin de Bassora) ; Plaisted, « A Journal from Busserah to Aleppo », p. 101 ; Beawes, « Remarks and Occurrences in a Journey from Aleppo to Bassora », p. 18-19. Cette fois, le courrier en question est aperçu près de Kubaysah.

83. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 176, f^o 104.

84. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, p. 236.

85. Il arrive cependant qu'à certaines occasions, un courrier au service de l'*East India Company* soit envoyé depuis Bassora à Alep en passant récupérer d'autres lettres à Bagdad. Par exemple, en 1760, un courrier part de Bassora en possession d'une dépêche écrite le 29 mars – contenant des informations relatives à la prise de sept navires hollandais et la capture d'une de leur position au Bengale par les Anglais, ainsi que le pillage de l'implantation anglaise à Bandar Abbas par deux navires de guerre français activement recherchés par la marine britannique – passe par Bagdad, y reçoit une autre lettre écrite le 18 avril pour finalement délivrer ces deux paquets le 2 mai à Alep : Arch. de la British Library, coll. India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/E/1/42, f^{os} 109-110.

86. Sur ces personnages : Mézin, *Les Consuls de France* ; sur le consulat d'Alep au ^{xvii}e siècle : Mudarris, Salmon, *Le Consulat de France*.

Dans une dépêche datée du 25 septembre 1757, ce dernier revient sur l'envoi (le 26 août précédent) d'un messenger à Alep, porteur de la relation de la prise de Chandernagor par les Anglais (le 24 mars de la même année) à destination du consul français à Alep⁸⁷ ; il expédie pour cette mission un Arabe, à dos de dromadaire, pour transmettre cette information en toute diligence⁸⁸. Huit jours plus tard, il voit son messenger de retour à Bagdad dépouillé de tous ses paquets ; n'ayant fait aucune copie du texte, pour retrouver le document il demande l'aide du *kethüdā* de la ville, bien que ce dernier n'ait pas, selon lui, l'autorité suffisante sur la région du désert pour mener les recherches. La perte de ce paquet est compensée par celle des Anglais qui avaient aussi envoyé un express (mais en sens inverse d'Alep à Bassora par Bagdad) dont les lettres avaient été dérobées en chemin⁸⁹. En conséquence, l'évêque demande à l'agent de la Compagnie française – Perdereau – un duplicata de la relation perdue⁹⁰. Il précise également dans ce document qu'il procède à l'envoi d'un courrier par le désert en l'accompagnant de plusieurs serviteurs ; il choisit d'envoyer des messagers porteurs des duplicatas de ces paquets par le désert, mais en caravane pour plus de sûreté⁹¹. Dans certains cas où un courrier est dépossédé de ses lettres, une enquête peut être diligentée pour régler ce différend en faisant appel aux cadis ottomans. Le 27 avril 1754, à Whitehall, le secrétaire d'État au département du Sud – Sir Thomas Robinson –, envoie à la direction de la *East India Company* un compte-rendu rédigé le 6 du mois par le consul anglais résidant à Venise, où il est mentionné le cas d'un courrier dont les missives avaient été extorquées, en route pour Alep depuis Bassora ; l'auteur supposé de ce crime est un sujet vénitien – Jean-Baptiste Muti – qui aurait intercepté ce messenger et déchiré ses lettres⁹² ; pour résoudre ce litige, on

87. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 175, f^o 120.

88. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 175, f^o 120.

89. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 175, f^o 121.

90. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 175, f^o 121 ; le 23 février 1758, l'évêque de Babylone procède à l'envoi d'un courrier porteur de documents concernant l'expédition des Indes et la prise de Chandernagor ; il apprend plus tard du consul français à Alep que le paquet avait à nouveau été perdu, à seulement quatre heures d'Alep : Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 175, f^o 125.

91. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 175, f^o 125.

92. Arch. de la British Library, coll. India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/E/1/38, f^{os} 46-50v^o : « *On the remonstrances made by the British Court to the Senate of certain Paquets directed to the British Consul at Aleppo being opened of which a Subject of Venice was the supposed Author the Senate it Self immediately ordered the proper informations to be taken from all which however the Crime lay'd to the Charge of John Baptist Muti does not appear nor any thing to the Senate of that place of what is*

fait appel au cadî de Bassora qui rédige un *i'lām* sur la demande des justiciables à l'adresse du sultan que le consul anglais à Alep, Alexander Drummond, envoie à son ambassadeur à Istanbul – James Porter⁹³.

Ainsi, comme nous l'avons vu, les consuls français en Syrie et en Irak, ainsi que le représentant de la Compagnie française des Indes Orientales à Bassora, travaillent de concert pour acheminer la correspondance. Quand des messagers arrivent à Bagdad, on les fait partir en espaçant leur départ de quelques jours pour ne pas concentrer un nombre conséquent de documents entre les mains d'un seul homme⁹⁴. On peut aussi les faire partir directement de Bassora à Alep par le désert : au début de 1760 un messager effectue ce trajet avec quatre Arabes qui se sont engagés, moyennant paiement, à le conduire en vingt jours⁹⁵. Du reste, au moins jusqu'en 1755, Français et Anglais ne semblent pas avoir fait en sorte (du moins avec succès) d'entraver le réseau de correspondance adverse en Syrie ; les messagers des deux camps rencontrent exactement les mêmes difficultés et peuvent être dépouillés de leurs paquets⁹⁶. En revanche, à la fin du

contained in the remonstrances themselves yet notwithstanding on account of the High Esteem and good Friendship they have for that Crown they have ordered the proper Officer at the Ottoman Port to send the said Muti away from the City of Aleppo to this place that he may suffer the punishments due to such a Crime if he appears to be guilty. » Ibid., f° 48.

93. Extract of a Letter from Mr. Porter, dated Constantinople 2^d. May 1754 : « *I have already troubled you, concerning the complaint made by the India Company, of the intercepting of a Packet from Bassora to Aleppo ; I have since received from Mr. Drummond Consul at Aleppo, an Ilam or Declaration, made at Bassora, before the Cady of chief Justice, by the very same Arab, confirming that made before at Aleppo, that it was lacerated by Mutty the Venetian, & Mr. Douglass writes to Mr. Drummond from Bassora the following Paragraph. "Agreeable to your desire, instantly on the Messengers arrival here, I had him before the Cadi, where he made ample confession of the whole fact, with the necessary addition, regarding his being after intimidated by the Dutch, as you will observe by the Ilam now inclosed you, which he has also made Declaration of before the Musselim here, who to render it more firm, has likewise signed & seals said Ilam ; its duplicate I took & will forward you next Conveyance."* [...] ». Arch. de la British Library, coll. India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/E/1/38, f° 74. À en croire ce document, le rapport (*i'lām*) ne viserait donc pas le sujet vénitien, qui ne pouvait sans doute pas être jugé par un cadî ottoman. Il s'agissait d'avantage d'examiner les agissements du messager arabe – Ḥabīb – présenté devant le cadî et le *mütesellim*, apparemment à Bassora, qui aurait été de connivence avec les Hollandais. De toute évidence, nous manquons d'informations pour bien comprendre cette affaire et le rôle de ses divers protagonistes.

94. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 175, f° 114.

95. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 175, f° 168. Seulement celui-ci se retrouve stoppé dans sa progression par une caravane avec laquelle il est manifestement obligé de rester ; cet envoyé en mission prie le consul français à Bagdad d'obtenir de l'autorité ottomane un laissez-passer, ou bien que l'argent versé pour ses guides lui soit remboursé ; pour finir, le sauf-conduit est rédigé et lui est envoyé par l'intermédiaire d'un autre messager.

96. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 175, f°s 74-75.

xviii^e siècle il semble plus difficile pour les voyageurs français de passer par le désert. Les Anglais, au début des années 1780, conviennent avec certains cheikhs des tribus Mountefik qu'aucun Européen voyageant *seul* ne puisse traverser le désert sans être muni d'un passeport du consul anglais d'Alep⁹⁷ ; ces arrangements ne rendent pas pour autant totalement impossible le passage d'Occidentaux qui seraient dépourvus de ce sauf-conduit. À l'automne 1782, afin de prendre ses nouvelles fonctions en tant que consul de Bassora, Jean-François Rousseau, bloqué à Alep, envoie un messenger au pacha de Bagdad pour obtenir de ce gouverneur un sauf-conduit⁹⁸ ; après avoir reçu, comme réponse, une lettre d'invitation et un *buyuruldu* à l'attention des Arabes du désert et de la ville d'Anah⁹⁹, il réussit à former, à l'aide de plusieurs négociants ottomans, une caravane (composée, entre autres, de treize Européens dont le botaniste André Michaux¹⁰⁰, trois femmes et un enfant, mais aussi de quatre domestiques grecs et maronites, et du courtier arménien de Rousseau)¹⁰¹ ; le groupe entre dans Bagdad après 42 jours de traversée fatigante, mais sans aucun accident, et est logé chez les prêtres carmes de la ville¹⁰². Très rapidement, le nouveau consul français commence à envoyer des Arabes à Anah et Hit pour être avisé du passage de tous les messagers qui pourraient venir de Damas ou Alep, pour devancer les services anglais¹⁰³. Du reste, même après le traité de Paris de 1783 qui met fin au conflit entre la France et la Grande-Bretagne, les services de renseignement des deux puissances ne font nullement cause commune comme le rappelle Rousseau en 1789 :

« Il est vrai que nous devrions agir Sans gêne en ce païs vis à vis des anglois au moins en tems de paix mais il est connu qu'ils ont la preponderance a

97. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 176, f^{os} 92-96.

98. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 176, f^{os} 92-96. De plus, il envoie à Bassora un chrétien du pays pour obtenir un rapport sur la situation de la région.

99. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 176, f^{os} 100-106.

100. Durant l'hiver 1785, ce voyageur, à son retour de Perse, envisagera de traverser le désert en compagnie d'un seul Arabe, avant de finalement choisir de se rendre à Alep en caravane : Pluchet, *L'Extraordinaire voyage*, p. 83-84, 173, et Cordier, « Une lettre inédite du voyageur André Michaux ».

101. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 197, f^o 390.

102. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 176, f^{os} 108-109 ; Pluchet, *L'Extraordinaire voyage*, p. 87. Une autre possibilité, pour échapper aux espions anglais qui pouvaient barrer la route aux voyageurs français entre Alep et Bagdad, est de contourner les voies principales du désert le plus possible en passant par Damas (comme le fera le chevalier de Dourdon, quelques années plus tard) : Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 177, f^o 65.

103. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 177, f^o 139.

Bassora par leurs Enormes dépenses¹⁰⁴ Et par les quantités des Batiments de Cete nation qui y arrivent journellement de l'Inde et que d'ailleurs il est connu et ils ont la reputation de metre en usage tous les moyens licites ou illicites pour arreter nos plis lorsqu'ils le peüvent¹⁰⁵. »

Olivier, de passage à Alep en 1797, est obligé d'emprunter la voie secondaire par Urfa, Mardin et Mossoul, jusqu'à Bagdad ; les négociants français l'informent que les Anglais s'entendent (toujours) avec certaines tribus arabes pour stopper les Français qui souhaiteraient passer par le désert pour rejoindre Bagdad ou Bassora¹⁰⁶. Dans ce contexte, il obtient du pacha de Mossoul un *çokadâr* et des chevaux de poste pour son trajet jusqu'à Bagdad, adoptant ainsi un mode de déplacement inhabituel qui semble pourtant se pérenniser durant la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle.

Le recours aux courriers ottomans pour guider les voyageurs par la voie anatolienne des *menzilhâne* au XVIII^e siècle

Alors que le personnel de l'agence anglaise à Bassora utilise des guides locaux pour traverser le désert de Syrie, celle de Bagdad adopte une méthode additionnelle pour faire partir ses dépêches urgentes, en utilisant le réseau des postes de l'Empire ottoman (par Mossoul et Diyarbekir). Désormais, lorsqu'un voyageur arrive en ville, il peut conclure un accord – dont la rédaction est supervisée par un agent au service de l'Angleterre – avec un courrier qui lui sert de guide durant son voyage¹⁰⁷. Les religieux de la ville, qui s'occupaient de coordonner ces dispositions au XVII^e siècle, continuent de faire tout ce qui leur est possible pour aider ces personnes : ils continuent de les héberger, leurs maisons étant bien souvent (du moins pour les critères de confort occidentaux) les meilleurs logements de la ville¹⁰⁸.

104. De nombreux documents des archives consulaires françaises témoignent de cette libéralité dont fait preuve l'administration anglaise qui investit manifestement, et de façon croissante durant la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle, des sommes d'argent très importantes pour garantir le bon fonctionnement de son réseau de correspondance à travers le désert. Ces moyens financiers lui auraient permis, progressivement, de compliquer la tâche des services français, dont le budget ne pouvait rivaliser en ce qui concerne le paiement des guides et, au besoin, de leurs escortes. Ces pratiques ont peut-être encouragé ceux qui pouvaient intercepter les voyageurs français durant leur traversée du désert à marchander leur passage contre des sommes toujours plus élevées.

105. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 177, f^o 140.

106. Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman*, p. 210-211.

107. Plaisted, « A Journal from Busserah to Aleppo », p. 126.

108. *Ibid.*, p. 128. De plus, ils font le nécessaire pour que tous les préparatifs soient faits dans les meilleurs délais et se chargent, par exemple, de trouver un palanquin lorsque c'est utile : Ives, *A Voyage from England to India*, p. 276.

Domenico Sestini – archéologue et numismate originaire de Florence – se trouve à Bagdad en 1782 alors qu’il s’apprête à retourner en Europe. À son arrivée en ville il est hébergé dans la demeure de l’agent de la Compagnie anglaise, un Arménien, où il rencontre un officier britannique – Campbell – arrivé tout droit d’Alep (vraisemblablement par la voie secondaire des *menzilhâne*) avec un courrier comme seul accompagnateur¹⁰⁹ ; cette rencontre convainc le Florentin de profiter du retour du messager à Alep pour l’accompagner ; un acte public est alors contracté entre ce courrier – Mehmed *âga*, dont les services sont fréquemment sollicités par l’agence anglaise de Bagdad – et Sestini. Ils s’accordent sur le prix de 700 piastres pour ces services, avec, en plus, un montant de 100 piastres versé en prévision d’achats de présents, qui seront offerts à plusieurs personnes en route en échange de leur aide pour faciliter leur progression¹¹⁰. De plus, il obtient du pacha de Bagdad un sauf-conduit (*yol hûkmi*), ainsi qu’un ordre pour les postes, afin que soient prises les dispositions nécessaires dans le cas où le courrier serait amené à perdre la vie ou à lui faire défaut pendant le trajet¹¹¹.

À la lumière des sources consultées, il apparaît que la rédaction de ces documents de voyage semble très bien ancrée dans les mentalités à cette époque : Plaisted encourage les agents de la Compagnie en provenance des Indes, et à destination d’Alep, à solliciter le pacha de Bagdad pour obtenir un laissez-passer et, ainsi, voyager plus librement¹¹². Carsten Niebuhr en 1765-1766, Thomas Howel en 1788 et John Jackson en 1797 obtiennent tous un passeport du gouverneur de Bagdad pour leur voyage par le chemin des *menzilhâne*¹¹³. Quant à Jackson, il engage un courrier ottoman – Sayed Aḥmad *âga* – qui accepte 800 piastres pour le guider jusqu’à Istanbul : 500 piastres lui sont données dès la signature du contrat et 300 autres lui seront versées à l’arrivée¹¹⁴. Le récit de Howel

109. Sestini, *Viaggio di ritorno da Bassora*, p. 42.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 43-44.

111. *Ibid.*, p. 43-44 ; le texte ne dit pas si, dans une telle situation, le relais de poste le plus proche doit fournir un autre guide.

112. Plaisted, « A Journal from Busserah to Aleppo », p. 103.

113. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, p. 335 ; Howel, *Passage from India*, p. 63 ; Jackson, *Journey from India*, p. 104.

114. Jackson, *Journey from India*, p. 106. De plus, le guide s’engage à ne prendre aucun autre voyageur ni bagage en chemin. En 1201/1786-87, un voyageur français, dénommé dans la documentation comme le *mārkiz de Kölen*, obtient par l’entremise de l’ambassadeur français en poste à Istanbul – Choiseul Gouffier – un *yol hûkmi* pour voyager via Trabzon, Bagdad et Bassora, dans lequel il est précisé que l’on ne doit en aucun cas faire obstacle à cette personne pendant son déplacement ; Archives du Başbakanlık à Istanbul,

rend compte précisément des conditions de voyage d'une telle entreprise : il va loger chez un marchand arménien chargé d'affaires auprès des Anglais¹¹⁵ ; ce dernier recrute deux courriers (ces messagers viennent de lui remettre des dépêches importantes) pour Howel et ses compagnons qui les accompagneront lors de leur prochaine mission¹¹⁶. En outre, leur destination finale n'est pas Alep mais Istanbul ; il est conclu que ces deux courriers leur serviront de guide en échange d'un montant de 1 200 piastres. Cette somme couvre également les provisions, la location des montures et les dépenses qui pourraient survenir en chemin¹¹⁷.

fonds Ali Emiri, Abdülhamid I, 52-3685 : *eşnā-yı rāhda ve hīn-i mekş ve iķāmetinde rencīde ve remīde olinmayub*.

115. Howel, *Passage from India*, p. 55. Très souvent, les voyageurs demandant l'aide des agents anglais sont hébergés à Bagdad chez un Arménien au service de l'Angleterre qui les met en contact avec un ou plusieurs guides particuliers : c'est le cas de Sestini (1782), Howel (1788) et Eyles Irwin, qui fait le voyage d'Alep à Bagdad en 1781 : Irwin, *Voyage up the Red Sea II*, p. 330.

116. Howel, *Passage from India*, p. 60. Le groupe est composé du major Macleod, du lieutenant Morris, de Muḥammad aḡa, Bekir aḡa, des *ulaḡ* (*tatars* dans le texte), de Muḥammad (leur serviteur turc), *h'oca* Bogos (un marchand arménien d'Istanbul) et Thomas Howel : *Passage from India*, p. 63.

117. Howel, *Passage from India*, p. 61. Les sources présentent ces pratiques comme étant très bien connues à l'avance par les voyageurs qui s'aventurent dans ces pays. Même ceux qui choisissent de traverser le désert décrivent très bien ce mode de déplacement dans leur récit, comme le major John Taylor, qui souligne que le privilège de voyager par les *menzilhāne* peut être obtenu par l'intermédiaire du pacha de Bagdad et du résident anglais à Bassora : Taylor, *Travels from England to India II*, p. 326. Cependant, les voyageurs anglais, qui plus est de passage, ne sont pas les seuls à profiter du service postal pour voyager avec un *ulaḡ* ottoman. En 1783, le consul Rousseau envisage de se rendre de Bagdad « avec un Chokadar en poste à Bassora », afin d'y recevoir Froment, expédié par la France, et le major Gilles, expédié par le ministère de Londres, qui se rendent tous deux en Inde par Bassora pour y porter les ordres de la cessation des hostilités qui opposaient les deux puissances au cours de la guerre d'Indépendance des États-Unis ; Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 176, f^o 129. Ces deux envoyés étaient partis ensemble d'Istanbul en profitant des relais de poste. Parvenus à Alep, Froment décide de traverser le désert, alors que le major Gilles suit la route par Urfa, Diyarbakir et Mossoul, pour arriver à Bagdad après 16 jours de voyage (depuis Alep). Si l'on en croit les dires de Froment, bien qu'il fût parti d'Alep cinq jours après Gilles, il l'aurait devancé pour arriver un jour avant lui à Bassora. Les deux voyageurs parviennent à Bombay au début du mois de septembre suivant : Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 176, f^o 133 ; et A.E. B¹, 197, f^{os} 393-394, 400. La même année, André Michaux obtient également du pacha de Bagdad, en plus de laissez-passer, un *çoḡadār* pour se rendre à Bassora : Pluchet, *L'Extraordinaire voyage*, p. 97. En décembre 1784 ou janvier 1785, Rousseau, durant son voyage de Bassora à Bagdad, est en compagnie d'un envoyé du sultan de Mysore, Tipū Ṣulṭān, chargé d'apporter au sultan ottoman à Istanbul des dépêches annonçant l'arrivée prochaine d'un ambassadeur à Bassora. Le gouverneur de Bagdad, après lui avoir fait bon accueil, fait partir cet émissaire pour la capitale ottomane avec deux autres Indiens de sa suite, en compagnie d'un messager exprès ; Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 176, f^o 225.

Si cet arrangement confère au voyageur un gain de temps important¹¹⁸, tenter une telle entreprise requiert une parfaite condition physique pour suivre des courriers en mission qui ne vont en aucun cas ralentir leur rythme de marche pour attendre les retardataires¹¹⁹. Au xvii^e siècle, on pouvait traverser le désert d'Alep à Bagdad, avec l'aide d'un guide privé, en deux ou trois semaines dans le meilleur des cas (Manuel Godinho l'aurait traversé en 13 jours). Je ne pense pas que le temps moyen d'un tel voyage au xviii^e siècle se soit écourté de manière significative, mais il est possible qu'à certaines occasions, la rapidité du trajet ait constitué un petit exploit par rapport au siècle passé. Dans les années 1780, il faut, d'après La Prévalaye (qui dit tenir ses informations de Froment cité plus haut), 13 jours à un courrier arabe monté sur un dromadaire pour se rendre d'Alep à Bagdad ; ce service coûtait entre 80 et 90 piastres. Mais, en payant le double, si deux Arabes montent ensemble un dromadaire, en menant un second qu'ils utilisent lorsque le premier animal est épuisé, il leur est possible de faire un tel trajet en 8 jours (soit en moyenne, plus de 100 km par jour)¹²⁰ ; en 1784, le comte de Ferrières, accompagné de huit Arabes, écrit avoir traversé le désert au départ d'Alep en 11 jours¹²¹. Les *ulağ* ottomans peuvent effectuer le trajet Istanbul-Alep en 10 (donc plus de 100 km par jour) à 15 jours pour porter une missive contre une rémunération de 250 à 300 piastres, voire plus¹²². En outre, il serait ordinaire (d'après Rousseau) qu'au départ de Bagdad les *ulağ* n'aient besoin que de 12 (mais cela représenterait en moyenne plus de 150 km par jour) à, plus vraisemblablement, 18 jours (soit 13 de moins que le voyage de Jackson cité précédemment) pour parvenir à la capitale ottomane¹²³. Ces valeurs restent malgré tout des records, probablement peu fréquents, et tendent à démontrer qu'il est de règle, comme en Europe au même moment, de faire quotidiennement au plus 100 km, et ce quel que soit le moyen

118. Signalons que ce mode de déplacement permet d'économiser un temps considérable : Howel effectue le trajet Bagdad-Istanbul en 51 jours et Jackson en 31. En 1737, la caravane de l'ambassadeur persan accompagnée par Otter fait le trajet inverse en 165 jours.

119. Sur les remèdes de la fatigue dans l'Empire ottoman : Özkoray, « Ottoman ».

120. Arch. nat., MAR/B/7/449 : « Communication avec l'Inde par Alep et Bassora, 1785 ».

121. Ferrières-Sauveboeuf, *Mémoires historiques*, p. 88 ; Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 197, f^o 417.

122. Arch. nat., MAR/B/7/449 : « Communication avec l'Inde par Alep et Bassora, 1785 » ; Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 176, f^{os} 71-72.

123. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 176, f^{os} 136-137.

de transport utilisé (dans notre cas : dromadaire, cheval, coureur à pied)¹²⁴. D'autre part, les caravanes du désert peuvent présenter des commodités plus avantageuses pour ceux qui voyagent avec beaucoup de bagages (ou qui ne sont simplement pas en état de supporter la fatigue d'un tel périple). De même, il est parfois possible de traverser plus rapidement le désert en prenant à son service une garde rapprochée de plusieurs dizaines d'hommes¹²⁵. Néanmoins, cette manière de voyager reste extrêmement coûteuse puisque le prix peut s'élever, d'après Sestini, à 1 500 piastres¹²⁶ ; outre ces dépenses importantes, on court les mêmes risques liés au brigandage que peut rencontrer une caravane (il arrivait même que ces voleurs s'entendent en avance avec le *kārvānbaşı* pour mener leur attaque et partager le butin¹²⁷).

Voyager depuis Bagdad vers Alep, voire Istanbul, en compagnie d'un courrier ottoman en mission semble être une habitude que prennent les Européens à compter du milieu du XVIII^e siècle. Cependant, cette manière de se déplacer existait déjà en Anatolie au moins dès les années 1700 : le 20 décembre 1706, Paul Lucas obtient du pacha de Konya un *buyuruldu* à l'attention des cadis et officiers d'Anatolie en poste le long de la voie Konya-Alep, leur ordonnant de fournir au Français chevaux et guides, pour qu'il puisse traverser certains lieux dangereux rapidement et en sécurité¹²⁸. Comment expliquer cette nouvelle manière de se déplacer qui semble surgir en Irak à partir des années 1740 ? Comment ces services sont-ils négociés avec les administrateurs de la Porte ? Plus généralement, quelle est la situation du réseau de communication ottoman dans cette province à cette période ? À la suite des conquêtes ottomanes dans la région, puis de la mise en place d'un réseau de courriers d'État, Bagdad se trouve être, en quelque sorte, la station quasi-finale de la voie centrale anatolienne (*orta kol*) par Diyarbekir, Mardin, Mossoul et Erbil¹²⁹. Pour autant, les communications ne s'arrêtent pas là : le territoire ottoman depuis les conquêtes de Soliman s'étend plus au sud, jusqu'à l'oasis d'Al-Aḥsā' (ou Laḥsā) proche de l'île de Bahrein¹³⁰. Quelles sont les

124. Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle*, p. 372.

125. Howel, *Passage from India*, p. 173.

126. Sestini, *Viaggio di ritorno da Bassora*, p. 42.

127. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, p. 238.

128. Lucas, *Voyage dans la Grèce*, p. 257-258.

129. Sur la naissance de ce réseau postal : Heywood, Georgeon, « Poste » ; Halaçoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Ulaşım* ; Bozkurt, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Kollar*. Pour la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle : Çetin, *Ulak Yol Durak*.

130. Sur l'histoire de cette province : Kılıç, « 16-18. Yüzyıllarda Laḥsâ ».

conditions de voyage des *ulaḫ* ottomans à la périphérie de l'Empire ? Compte tenu de la géographie de cette région, il est complexe d'établir un réseau de communication efficace à long terme. Cet espace est celui des marais de l'Irak du sud peuplé par plusieurs tribus que rencontrent les voyageurs aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles¹³¹. Il n'est pas impossible de traverser d'une traite cet espace par voie terrestre¹³², mais bien souvent on ne peut franchir cet obstacle qu'en se procurant une embarcation pour faire le trajet entre Bagdad et Bassora *via* la voie du Chatt-el-Arab. Entre ces deux villes on requiert un « bateau de poste » pour le voyage des messagers¹³³ ; ces *ḳayıḳ* peuvent être mis à disposition par les autorités locales à l'aller comme au retour¹³⁴. Or, dès la fin du XVI^e siècle, il s'avère que les *ulaḫ* de l'Empire rencontrent des difficultés pour se déplacer : en 985/1577-78, à la demande du *beglerbeg* de Bagdad, la Porte ordonne à l'autorité de Bassora de fournir des chevaux aux *ulaḫ* qui vont et viennent sur ce chemin et qui ont manifestement des problèmes pour s'en procurer¹³⁵ ; de plus, à la demande du gouverneur de Lahsa, la Porte ordonne au *beglerbeg* de Bagdad de fournir aux courriers ottomans des embarcations pour qu'ils puissent poursuivre leur route vers les étendues désertiques de Bassora¹³⁶ ; à ce moment, entre Mossoul et Bagdad, un relais de poste situé à proximité de Tikrit est dans un état de ruine car les *re'āyā* de cette localité ne l'entretiennent pas ; il est alors exigé de faire le nécessaire pour y assurer l'approvisionnement en chevaux de poste (*menzil bârgîrleri*)¹³⁷.

Ces éléments illustrent les complications auxquelles fait face l'administration ottomane lorsqu'il est nécessaire d'établir des relais de poste, obligeant le sultan à réformer dans les années 1690 le réseau de correspondance

131. Pour une description du mode de vie des Ma'dān : Thesiger, *The Marsh Arabs*.

132. Comme le démontre l'article d'Axelle Rougeulle, « Quelques notes sur les voies » ; en 1747, l'évêque de Babylone déclare avoir fait le trajet de Bagdad à Bassora en cinq jours pour visiter cette portion de son diocèse : Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 175, f^o 25.

133. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 175, f^{os} 161-162.

134. Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 176, f^{os} 123, 131-132.

135. Archives du Başbakanlık à Istanbul, Mühimme Defterleri, 31-608 : *varduḳda baḡdād ile başra mabeynde vāḳı' olan sancaḳbeglerine tenbih edesin ki mezbûrlara mu'avenet edûb ulaḳ atları bulivérûb emîn ve sâlim menzillerine ulaşıdurub*.

136. Archives du Başbakanlık à Istanbul, Mühimme Defterleri, 31-578 et 609 : *varduḳda anuñ gibi ulaḳlar baḡdâda varduḳlarında ḳayıḳ ta'yîn edûb mezbûrları ḳayıḳ ile irsâl eylesesiz*. Hormis *edesiz* à la place de *eylesesiz* dans le MD 31-578, la formulation est la même dans les deux documents.

137. Archives du Başbakanlık à Istanbul, Mühimme Defterleri, 31-469.

de l'Empire¹³⁸. Au XVIII^e siècle, en Irak, deux facteurs peuvent avoir contribué à l'amélioration de la qualité du réseau postal. Premièrement, les réformes enclenchées à la fin du XVII^e siècle ont pu améliorer le service des *menzilhâne* en s'assurant de la présence continue d'un nombre de montures adéquat ; néanmoins, il est difficile, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, d'avoir une vision précise de l'état des postes en Irak et de leurs évolutions au XVIII^e siècle. Deuxièmement, le conflit qui oppose à nouveau les Empires ottoman et séfévide, à partir de 1722, a pu contribuer, pour des besoins militaires, à un contrôle accru des réseaux de communication : de 1724 à 1726, l'État ottoman aide financièrement les relais du sud-est anatolien, comme celui de Mardin, ou ceux proches de la frontière orientale, comme à Bagdad, où sont mis dorénavant à disposition des courriers un plus grand nombre de montures¹³⁹. Avec l'intensification du conflit, il arrive que les postes situées le long de la voie de gauche (*şol kol*), depuis Üsküdar jusqu'à Erzurum, ne puissent fournir un nombre de chevaux suffisant ; afin de parer à cette éventualité, l'État ottoman déclare que ces *menzilhâne* dépendent du Trésor public (*cānib-i mīriden*) afin de les aider financièrement pour combler ces manques ; une aide similaire leur est octroyée jusqu'au début du XIX^e siècle lorsque des périodes de guerre ou d'insécurité liées au brigandage viennent perturber ces régions¹⁴⁰. En outre, lorsque la guerre touche à sa fin, pour améliorer les communications en Anatolie, il arrive que l'on décide de créer temporairement des *menzilhâne*¹⁴¹. Malgré ces investissements, au moins en Anatolie, il arrive que plusieurs *ulağ* envoyés en mission pendant la guerre ne puissent mener à bien leurs missions par manque de montures¹⁴². Du reste, dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle, ces éléments guerriers n'entravent pas le déplacement des courriers et des voyageurs qui les accompagnent, même si à de rares occasions, d'Üsküdar à Bagdad, leurs conducteurs s'entendent parfois avec les marchands du groupe pour leur subtiliser certains de leurs ballots de marchandises¹⁴³.

Tout compte fait, pour le cas de l'Irak, il semble que le système de poste terrestre n'ait été vraiment performant qu'à partir du XVIII^e siècle. Cela explique que les voyageurs étrangers demandent alors aux autorités

138. Heywood, « The Via Egnatia », « Two firmans of Mustafâ II ».

139. Halaçoğlu, *Osmanlılarda Ulaşım*, p. 81-82, 170.

140. Özkaya, « XVIII. Yüzyılda Menzilhâne Sorunu », p. 346.

141. Çetin, « XVIII. Yüzyılda Çorum Menzilhâneleri », p. 1577.

142. Özkaya, « XVIII. Yüzyılda Menzilhâne Sorunu », p. 351.

143. *Ibid.*, p. 343.

des documents leur permettant de faire usage des relais de poste avec tous les services que cela peut inclure. Cette pratique expliquerait aussi pourquoi les Européens qui traversaient le désert de Syrie au ^{xvii}^e siècle, agents et missionnaires, n'aient pas jugé nécessaire de se tourner vers les autorités ottomanes.

Continuités humaines et bouleversements techniques au ^{xix}^e siècle : la fin d'une époque

Il serait présomptueux de vouloir présenter ici une étude approfondie des conditions de voyage pour le ^{xix}^e siècle dans le désert de Syrie qui devraient être analysées plus largement. Néanmoins, il me semblait nécessaire de présenter les continuités et changements qui font, à nouveau, évoluer les méthodes de déplacement et le rôle des guides qui accompagnent les voyageurs européens. Jean-Baptiste-Louis Rousseau (fils du consul Jean-François Rousseau, mort à Alep le 12 mai 1808) est nommé consul général de France à Alep le 29 octobre 1808 et décide de s'y rendre depuis Bagdad par le désert¹⁴⁴. Sa caravane est composée d'un fusilier (*segbān*) par charge d'étoffes et un autre pour deux charges de marchandises lourdes. Quant aux guides, ceux-ci – au moins pour le premier tiers du ^{xix}^e siècle – semblent être souvent originaires de la même tribu¹⁴⁵. D'après Poujoulat, les pisteurs du désert, en examinant les empreintes laissées sur le sable, peuvent déduire l'appartenance tribale d'un individu, le moment de son passage, son chargement et son état de fatigue¹⁴⁶. Quant aux voyageurs (négociants ottomans ou Européens) passant par le chemin des relais de poste de l'Empire, ils peuvent toujours solliciter l'administration ottomane pour obtenir un *ulaḳ* qui leur sert de guide, dont la « présence seule est un témoignage apparent de la protection impériale et met le voyageur à l'abri d'une foule d'obstacles et de contrariétés¹⁴⁷ ». William Heude,

144. Sur ce personnage : Dehéraïn, « Le voyage du consul », p. 174-187.

145. Rousseau, *Voyage de Bagdad à Alep*, p. 42 ; Callier, « Les Courriers de Turquie », p. 295, 301. Les membres de cette tribu, appelée par les voyageurs européens « Ergueils », « Aguéli », ou « Agêl », seraient en fait reconnaissables à leur agal ('*iqāl* en arabe) particulier, c'est-à-dire l'accessoire servant à maintenir leur keffieh sur la tête. Notons que cette tribu continue dans les années 1920 à fournir des guides aux intermédiaires bédouins de la *Nairn Transport Company* qui souhaitait obtenir la coopération des tribus de la Badiya pour faire circuler ses véhicules en sécurité ; Grant, *The Syrian Desert*, p. 274-275.

146. Poujoulat, *Voyage dans l'Asie Mineure*, p. 69-70.

147. Callier, « Les Courriers de Turquie », p. 290.

agent de la *East India Company* en route pour l'Angleterre en 1817, arrive à Bassora depuis l'Inde et obtient (comme au XVIII^e siècle) l'aide du résident local de la Compagnie pour recruter un guide de voyage pour aller à Bagdad¹⁴⁸ ; là, il établit un contrat (toujours avec l'aide de l'agent britannique en fonction) avec son guide – 'Alī āgā – pour que ce dernier le fasse arriver sain et sauf à Istanbul contre une somme de 600 piastres. L'équipage parvient ainsi en 44 jours aux portes de la capitale ottomane en ayant emprunté la voie des relais de poste en Anatolie¹⁴⁹ ; Vere Monro, en 1833, fait le trajet Alep-Istanbul en un peu plus de deux semaines, lui aussi en compagnie d'un courrier ottoman¹⁵⁰. Parallèlement à l'envoi régulier d'*ulaḳ* par ces chemins, on trouve désormais à Alep un corps particulier de messagers employés par un cheikh local : on fait appel à cet intermédiaire pour établir un contrat afin d'envoyer l'un de ses courriers à pied (ils marchent jusqu'à 15 heures par jour durant un voyage de 100 à 150 lieues) par le désert, en particulier lorsqu'aucune caravane n'est programmée¹⁵¹.

Cependant, vers le milieu du XIX^e siècle s'ouvre une nouvelle période dans l'histoire du désert syrien, marquée par l'arrivée du télégraphe, mais aussi, en Arabie plus généralement, par une phase intense de relevés cartographiques et d'explorations, dont certaines, une fois publiées sous forme de récits de voyage, rencontrent un grand succès littéraire (comme l'œuvre de Charles Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, en 1888). En outre, au XIX^e siècle, on continue à recourir à des guides locaux pour accompagner voyageurs et porteurs de dépêches par le désert. Les progrès techniques et de nouveaux modes de transport (terrestres ou fluviaux) ne perturberont vraisemblablement que très tard ces méthodes de transmission et de déplacement qui perduraient alors depuis quatre siècles dans l'Empire ottoman. L'usage des bateaux à vapeur, dont les premiers font leur apparition en Irak en 1836, durant l'expédition du colonel Chesney à la recherche d'une voie fluviale praticable, est rapidement jugé impossible en ces régions¹⁵². L'idée de développer un système de communication par les voies fluviales n'est pas abandonnée pour autant, mais les initiatives

148. Heude, *A Voyage up the Persian Gulf*, p. 52.

149. *Ibid.*, p. 189-190. Cet accompagnateur est souvent sollicité et rémunéré par le pacha local, en plus de l'être par la Compagnie anglaise et le voyageur qu'il accompagne.

150. Monro, *A Summer Ramble in Syria*.

151. Callier, « Les Courriers de Turquie », p. 290-291.

152. Chesney, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers* ; cf. également Akbulut, « İngilizlerin Hindistan Yolunu Güvence Altına Alma Çabası ».

restent marginales et ne remettent pas en cause les transports terrestres qui continuent de se maintenir. Du reste, au XIX^e siècle, aucun moyen technique ne vient révolutionner les modes de déplacements à travers le désert : ce n'est qu'en 1912 qu'un premier tronçon ferroviaire est ouvert sur l'itinéraire Raqqa-Alep-Birecik ; les premières traversées du désert en automobile, ou en autocar, ne sont concluantes qu'au début des années 1920 et les premières liaisons aériennes du Caire à Bagdad ne s'ouvrent qu'en 1921¹⁵³.

Les *courriers* du désert ne deviennent, sans doute, plus irremplaçables après l'apparition du télégraphe qui transforme en profondeur un réseau de communication en pleine mutation. Les lignes posées pendant la guerre de Crimée (1853-1856) s'avèrent être le signe avant-coureur de la profusion des constructions de lignes télégraphiques qui voient le jour dans l'Empire ottoman ; l'Angleterre propose au gouvernement ottoman d'en construire une de l'Adriatique jusqu'au golfe Persique, *via* l'Égypte, la Syrie et l'Irak, ce qui lui aurait permis d'accroître considérablement la vitesse de sa correspondance avec l'Inde à un moment où elle s'y trouve en difficulté (après la guerre de 1856-1857 contre l'Iran, les Britanniques doivent faire face à la révolte des *cupayes*)¹⁵⁴. Le projet sera décliné par la Porte qui décidera d'établir elle-même cette ligne de communication, en engageant toutefois une équipe d'ingénieurs britanniques pour la supervision des travaux. La ligne, d'Istanbul à Bassora par Sivas, Diyarbakir, Mossoul et Bagdad, est opérationnelle en 1863, grâce en partie au savoir-faire anglais qui permettait de poser des câbles sous-marins télégraphiques sous le Tigre¹⁵⁵. Dès janvier 1865, la communication télégraphique est opérationnelle entre Londres et l'Inde, en passant par les territoires de la Porte. Il n'aura fallu que quelques années pour que le réseau des postes

153. Thobie, « Bagdadbahn » ; McCallum, « The Discovery and Development » ; Knight, « By Motor across the Syrian Desert » ; Holt, « Some Journeys in the Syrian Desert » ; Bailward, « The Baghdad-Aleppo Motor Route » ; Grant, *The Syrian Desert*, p. 261-295. En 1914, à l'initiative d'Enver Paşa, un premier vol aérien est tenté entre Istanbul et Le Caire. Les avions, à cette époque, ne pouvaient traverser la Méditerranée et ne survolaient que la terre ferme en atterrissant régulièrement pour pouvoir se réapprovisionner en carburant. L'essai se solde par la perte de trois appareils et aucun avion ne réussit à effectuer cette liaison directe. Cependant, c'est lors de ce vol que sont largués pour la première fois des sacs de courrier, à destination de Bilecik et Eskişehir ; Aydın, « The Ottoman Air Force ».

154. Davison, *Essays in Ottoman and Turkish History*, p. 136 ; Akbulut, « İngilizlerin Hindistan'la Olan Haberleşmeyi Hızlandırma Çabaları ».

155. Hoskins, *British Routes*, p. 376 ; Ebubekir, *Ottoman Origins of Modern Iraq*, p. 187-189.

télégraphiques de l'Empire – introduits en Syrie en 1861 quand Beyrouth fut reliée à Damas, juste après la guerre civile libanaise de 1860¹⁵⁶ – permet la transmission d'information de part et d'autre du désert syrien.

Il est certain que l'arrivée du télégraphe en Syrie, puis en Irak, permit pour la première fois de séparer la communication du transport, car, désormais, ni un courrier à pied, ni un cavalier, n'était, du moins en théorie, plus indispensable pour porter une dépêche. Néanmoins, le télégraphe a mis plusieurs décennies à fonctionner correctement : dès l'ouverture de la ligne, les pannes répétées qui pouvaient survenir causaient des irrégularités dans les services, dont se plaignaient parfois les Britanniques à la Porte ottomane¹⁵⁷ ; enfin, il n'est pas à exclure que certains correspondants aient privilégié l'envoi de documents écrits par le désert, plutôt que de confier des télégrammes aux intermédiaires des services télégraphiques (en lesquels ils n'avaient pas forcément confiance) qui pouvaient déformer le message initial. Enfin, même si la fonction de courrier des guides de voyage pouvait être mise à mal par l'irruption de cette nouvelle technologie, ceux-ci sont toujours recrutés comme guides par les voyageurs qui souhaitent traverser le désert.

Toutefois, même si l'usage des courriers à pied continue (même sporadiquement) jusqu'à la fin du XIX^e siècle, le télégraphe change très rapidement les conditions de voyage des Européens de passage, des formes nouvelles de déplacement cohabitent avec d'autres, plus anciennes. Soit un exemple, celui du voyage en 1872 du diplomate allemand Max von Thielmann. Une fois arrivé à Mossoul (depuis Tabriz), ce voyageur télégraphie au consul italien en poste à Bagdad – un Suisse dénommé Wartmann –, pour que ce dernier lui réserve un logement¹⁵⁸ ! Une fois parvenu à cette étape, il envoie un télégramme à Berlin et reçoit une réponse en moins de 24 heures, alors même que les échanges postaux, *via* le désert et les routes des *menzilhâne* continuent de fonctionner ordinairement¹⁵⁹. Ensuite, il fait rédiger un contrat écrit avec un chamelier, dont le contenu

156. Akbulut, « Suriye'ye İlk Telgraf Hatlarının Çekilmesi », Rogan, « Instant Communication ».

157. Davison, *Essays in Ottoman and Turkish History*, p. 138, 144. De plus, il pouvait arriver, épisodiquement, que les tribus arabes endommagent les installations entre Diyarbakir et Mossoul, voire plus au sud de l'Irak, *ibid.*, p. 145.

158. Thielmann, *Streifzüge im Kaukasus*, p. 363.

159. *Ibid.*, p. 374-375 : « Postverbindung giebt es auf zwei Wegen ; alle 14 Tage geht der türkische Regierungscourier über Mossul und Aleppo nach Constantinopel und ebenso häufig der englische Courier, ein Araber, zu Kameel durch die Wüste nach Damascus und Beirut ; letztere Gelegenheit wird als die sichrere meist vorgezogen ».

est supervisé par le consul Wartmann, par lequel il est dit que ce conducteur s'engage à amener son groupe sain et sauf à Damas *via* Hillah, Kerbela et Palmyre en 17 jours, à l'aide de six dromadaires et deux guides ; d'autre part, les voyageurs s'engagent à lui verser en avance sa rémunération, pouvant être complétée à l'arrivée par une récompense¹⁶⁰. Comme du temps des voyageurs occidentaux des XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles, voyager avec des guides (avec lesquels on communique désormais au moyen d'un dictionnaire de poche¹⁶¹) d'une tribu qui entretient des relations amicales avec les autres clans arabes du désert est beaucoup plus sûr que de voyager avec une escorte armée octroyée par le pacha de Bagdad¹⁶². En outre, le récit de Thielmann donne un exemple des difficultés d'interprétation des messages télégraphiques et donc de l'importance des courriers du désert pour les services de communication : le consul Wartmann télégraphie à Hillah pour que soient envoyés des chevaux à Mohawil, afin que Thielmann et son groupe puissent visiter les ruines le long de la route plus confortablement qu'à dos de chameaux ; cependant, il s'avère que le télégramme a été mal interprété (ou plutôt son ordre est exécuté au pied de la lettre), car les chevaux arrivent sans selle ni bride¹⁶³.

Le voyage de Thielmann a lieu seulement quelques années après plusieurs événements marquants en Syrie et au-delà. Au début de la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle, l'autorité ottomane, par l'intermédiaire de ses gouverneurs de province, à Alep et Damas, cherche à étendre son autorité sur les régions périphériques du Bilād al-Shām, inaugurant ainsi une nouvelle phase de contrôle du désert syrien : en 1868 – année qui précède l'inauguration du canal de Suez – une force de cavalerie légère du désert, montée principalement sur des mules, armée de carabines, réussit à réprimer des hordes de pillards bédouines¹⁶⁴ ; la même année, à la suite de la création d'un sandjak du désert, avec Dayr al-Zūr en son centre, la Porte commence à établir des garnisons militaires le long de la vallée de l'Euphrate,

160. *Ibid.*, p. 384.

161. *Ibid.*, p. 390.

162. *Ibid.*, p. 385 : « *Der Europäer reist daher mit den Agêl weit sicherer als mit der stärksten Escorte, und auch wir waren herzlich froh, als wir die von dem Pascha uns bereitwilligst angebotene bewaffnete Begleitung dankend ablehnen konnten ; wir hatten im Laufe unserer Reise genug davon zu leiden gehabt.* »

163. C'est du moins l'interprétation qu'il livre dans son récit. Une fois arrivé à Hillah, l'intendant se serait excusé en expliquant qu'il n'avait simplement pas pu trouver d'équipement disponible, ce qui paraît peu probable : Thielmann, *Streifzüge im Kaukasus*, p. 391, 393-394.

164. Thielmann, *Streifzüge im Kaukasus*, p. 426.

renforçant ainsi la sécurité des voyageurs dans la région¹⁶⁵. Ce n'est qu'en 1886 qu'est définitivement fermée la poste aux dromadaires des Britanniques, ce qui n'empêchera pas les Ottomans de recourir dès 1889 aux mêmes procédés pour faire parvenir leur correspondance de Bagdad à Damas¹⁶⁶. Au début du xx^e siècle, le métier de guide du désert continue de se perpétuer même si son quotidien finira d'être radicalement renouvelé par l'apparition de nouveaux moyens de communication terrestre, actant ainsi la mue des modalités de voyage dans la région.

*
* *

Au moment de refermer cette seconde partie sur l'étude des guides et courriers du désert de Syrie, quelle conclusion pouvons-nous avancer sur l'évolution de ce métier particulier, qui, pendant plus de quatre siècles, a permis à des voyageurs et messagers de se déplacer rapidement en déconsidérant le voyage en caravane ? En premier lieu, les contrats écrits que pouvaient conclure les voyageurs européens avec leur guide au xvii^e siècle continuent d'être en vigueur jusqu'à la fin du xix^e. Toutefois, à partir des années 1740, ce sont les consuls et agents des compagnies commerciales européennes qui remplacent les missionnaires chrétiens comme personnes d'autorité, devenant les principaux instigateurs de ces arrangements et superviseurs de ces conventions écrites. Les religieux continuent néanmoins de jouer un rôle important en hébergeant les individus de passage, qui sollicitent parfois leur aide pour se procurer le nécessaire de voyage. La manière dont sont rédigés ces documents évolue également au fur et à mesure que les acteurs de la sécurité des voyageurs se diversifient. Il ne s'agit plus simplement de rédiger un document pour protéger le voyageur et lui épargner le paiement de frais excessifs en chemin ; désormais, des dispositions sont actées pour le portage des bagages, de la poudre à canon, des palanquins, du fourrage des bêtes et des présents destinés aux chefs de tribus du désert. Ces nouvelles dispositions coïncident aussi avec des transformations des modes de déplacement en caravane dont les escortes, désormais équipées d'armes à feu plus efficaces, assurent la protection du convoi.

165. Cf. l'article essentiel de Métral, « Changements dans les routes », part. p. 33-34.

166. Grant, *The Syrian Desert*, p. 258.

En plus des chemins du désert, considérablement exploités par les informateurs des services consulaires européens, la voie des relais de poste par Mossoul et Diyarbekir devient une route sûre et rapide où les voyageurs européens, avec l'aide de l'autorité ottomane à Bagdad, sont guidés par un courrier en mission jusqu'à Alep ou Istanbul. Bien qu'il soit difficile de cerner les évolutions qui ont rendu possible ce mode de déplacement, il est probable que les réformes du service postal, décidées à la fin du ^{xvii}e siècle par le sultan Muṣṭafâ II et exécutées pendant les premières décennies du siècle suivant marquées par l'intensification du conflit avec la Perse, aient amélioré la performance de ce réseau de communication, dont souhaitent tirer avantage les voyageurs occidentaux. Au ^{xviii}e siècle, les frais déboursés pour profiter de ces guides et courriers, par le désert ou les relais de postes, restent, comme au ^{xvii}e, toujours très élevés et loin d'être à la portée de tous les voyageurs ottomans.

Les guides de voyage, acteurs fondamentaux des réseaux de communication de la région, avaient un métier très difficile qui demandait une constitution physique et une résistance exceptionnelle pour mener à bien ces traversées tout au long de leur vie. Les descriptions physiques des guides dans les récits de voyage européens témoignent des séquelles de ce travail, extrêmement fatigant, qui accélère leur vieillissement et les fait souvent paraître plus âgés aux yeux des Européens qui réfléchissent à deux fois avant de leur confier leur vie¹⁶⁷. Du reste, la force et la hardiesse de ces courriers forçaient parfois l'admiration des Occidentaux :

« En examinant cet homme qui venait de franchir toute l'étendue d'un vaste désert ; en voyant encore ses habits tout blancs de la poussière de ces solitudes si difficiles à aborder ; en se représentant les obstacles et les dangers qu'il venait d'affronter, on ne pouvait se défendre d'une sorte d'admiration ; c'était comme l'impression que produit la vue d'une personne célèbre¹⁶⁸. »

Du reste, il serait nécessaire d'approfondir notre connaissance de ces acteurs du voyage dans l'Empire ottoman pour le cas d'autres régions, comme l'Égypte, où nous avons pu voir qu'il existait vraisemblablement des dispositions similaires à celles que pouvaient mettre en place les services consulaires européens en Syrie, pour faire transiter la correspondance par le passage de la mer Rouge. Enfin, de nouvelles études approfondies des services offerts par d'autres acteurs de la mobilité dans

167. Carré, *Voyage des Indes Orientales*, p. 207-208 ; Heude, *A Voyage up the Persian Gulf*, p. 52 ; Callier, « Les Courriers de Turquie », p. 292.

168. Callier, « Les Courriers de Turquie », p. 293-294.

l'Empire, auxquels ont recours les voyageurs pour planifier leur déplacement, serait salulaire pour enrichir notre compréhension des conditions matérielles du voyage dans les territoires de la Porte.

ANNEXE

Arch. de la British Library, coll. India Office Records and Private Papers, Mss Eur C565 f.5.

/l.1/ wağh taħrīrihi wa mūğab taṣṭīrih huwa annahu /l.2/ naqūl naħnu al-fuqarā' al-mudawwan asāmīnā biḍaylihi al-ğamī' min 'aṣīrat al-Nağāda bi annanā qad ittafaqnā wa irtaḍaynā biḥasbi ihtiyārīnā wa kamālī riḍānā annanā nurāfiq wa nuwaddī ḥāfiḍ ḥādihi al-waṭīqa mistar /l.3/ kūlūnīl Kābār al-angilīzī wa ġamā'atih alladīna bi rufqatihi bi sab'in bawārdī min ġamā'at al-Nağāda wal-'Akīl wa banī Ḥālid muzayyanīn bi bawārdīhim wa 'ālat ḥarbihihim alladī naħnu al-musaṭṭarīn biḍaylihi dāḥilīn /l.4/ fī 'adadihihim mā 'adā al-ṣayḥ al-ḥāğğ sulaymān b. 'adīyya wa ayḍan na'ḥuḍ ma'anā tis'at arfāq muzayyanīn bi bawārdīhim wa 'ālat ḥarbihihim wa hum itnān min ṭā'ifatayn al-ağlās wa itnān min ṭā'ifatayn /l.5/ al-Fad'ān wa wāḥid min Walad 'Alī wa wāḥid min Banī Wahab wa wāḥid Dakrūṭī wa wāḥid Ba'īğī wa wāḥid Sirḥānī, al-ğamī' tis'at arfāq wa ṣāra al-ittifāq annanā na'ḥuḍ dāḥīratana wa dāḥīrat alladīna ma'anā al-bawārdīyya /l.6/ wa al-arfāq al-maḍkūrīn a'lāḥ 'alā ġimālīnā min mālinā wa 'ulūfatuhum wa markūbuhum 'alaynā wa na'ḥuḍ lahum min mālinā bārūd ṭalāṭa 'aṣār riṭl wa raṣāṣ sitta wa-'iṣrīn riṭl, wa laysa 'alā mistar kūlūnīl Kābār fī ġamī' /l.7/ dālika ṣay'un aṣlan, wa ayḍan ittafaqnā annanā nuqaddimu ilā mistar kūlūnīl Kābār wa ġamā'atihi tis'at 'aṣār ġamal li ağli rukūbīhim wa muṣāl dāḥīratihim wa ḥawāyğīhim wa mā'ihim wa mā' ḥaylihim wa mā'adā al-tis'ata 'aṣār /l.8/ ġamal naħnu malzūmīn nuqaddim lahum ġamalayn qawīyyāt li ağli ṣīl ġawz al-miḥaffāt kul yawm yatağayyar 'alā ġamal wa nuqaddim lahu zalama 'aqqām annahu yuqayyid al-maḥaffāt min bawwāb Ḥalab ila' bāb'al-Karrīn wa ayḍan nu'ayyin lahu /l.9/ zalama min ṭarafīnā fī ḥidmat al-ḥayl wa 'alīqihim wa ayḍan naħnu al-mudawwan asmāynā bi ḍaylihi qad ta'ahhadnā bi ḥusni riḍānā ilā mistar kūlūnīl Kābār bi annanā multazimīn lahu fī ġamī' mā yakūn min ġafarat wa ġawāyīz ilā 'aṣāyr /l.10/ al-'arab wa ilā al-ṣayḥ Tāmīr wa al-ṣayḥ Tawīnī wa ṣuyūḥ Banī Ḥālid wa li kul man ittafaqa wa ṣadaḥūh min 'aṣāyr al-'arab, fa ġamī' dālika fa huwa 'alaynā naħnu al-musaṭṭar asmāynā bi ḍaylihi wa kaḍālika fī masīrīnā idā qarubnā ilā /l.11/ ṭaraf

*al-Aslam wa Šumr wa ġayrihim malzūmīn annanā nā'ħud minhum raftiq
yamši ma'anā ħattā yufawwitanā ħudūdahum wa yarġi', tūmma šāra
al-riḍā bi an lā nušayyil ma'anā li aħad ħaml wa lā maktūb siwā al-wāħid
/1.12/ wa talātīn ħaml allatī hiya ilā al-ħawāġā Rubīn al-turġumān allatī
wašala lanā minhu kirwatuhā wa ma'lūmuhā wa arfāquhā wa ġawayzuhā
wa sakmāniyatuhā wa ġamī' mašārīfihā ilā al-Karrīn wašala minhu bi
al-tamām wa al-kamāl /1.13/ bi mūġabi sanad minnā bi yadih, wa ayḍan
qarrarnā 'alā anfusinā bi ħusni riḍānā bi annanā nuqaddim ilā hādihi
al-wāħid wa talātīn ħaml al-maḍkūra li aaġli mašāl kul ħaml ġamalayn
ħattā nussayyirahum bi ruḥqat mistar kūlūnīl /1.14/ Kābār al-maḍkūr wa
lā nufarriqahum min ruḥqatih fī masīrhim wa ayḍan malzūmīn annanā
nu'ṭi ħaq kirā' al-dalīl wa al-mu'addib wa al-bayraqdār wa al-ġāwuš wa
ġamī' ḍālika fa huwa min mālinā wa laysa 'alā mistar /1.15/ kūlūnīl Kābār
šay' ašlan, wa šara al-ittifāq fī-mā baynanā wa bayna mistar kūlūnīl
Kābār al-maḍkūr bi riḍānā bi an nuwaddiyahu fī yawm ħurūġinā min
Ḍay'at al-Nayrab min ḍiya' Ḥalab ilā yawm wuṣūlinā /1.16/ ilā al-Karrīn
bi al-salāma bi sitta wa talātīn yawm wa ḍalika mā'adā yawm allaḍi
yastariħ fīhi al-maḍkūr mistar kūlūnīl Kābār fī al-ṭarīq bi ṭalabihi wa
riḍāh fadāk al-yawm lā-yuḥsab wa ayḍān idā ħakam waqt /1.17/ wa
ta'ħħarnā 'an masīrinā ħawfan min al-'adūw falā yuḥsab ḍalika al-yawm,
wa tūmma ayḍān naħnu malzūmīn bi an qabla wuṣūlinā ilā al-Karrīn bi
ṭalāṭat ayyām nursil min ṭarafinā ṭāriš bi maktūb min mistar kūlūnīl /1.18/
Kābār ilā wakīl al-aṅġilīz allaḍi fī al-Karrīn, wa 'alā hādā al-ittifāq qad
irtaḍaynā ma'a mistar kūlūnīl al-maḍkūr 'alā ġamī' al-kirwa al-maḍkūra
wa al-bawārdiya wa al-rifaq wa al-ġafarāt wa al-ġawāyiz wa ġamī' mā
maḍkūr a'lāh annahu /1.19/ yadfa' lanā min ḍalika fī Ḥalab tis'a māyat wa
wāħid wa arba'īn ġuruš wa rub' al-ġuruš allatī al-'āna qad qabaḍnāhā
minhu wa tasallamnāhā al-taslīm al-tām, wa ayḍān šāra yusallīmunā fī
masīrinā bi al-ṭarīq ḥamsa māyat ġuruš wa fī wuṣūlinā /1.20/ bi al-salāmat
ilā al-Karrīn idā r'ā mistar kūlūnīl Kābār al-maḍkūr annanā aqamnā bi
wa'dinā m'ahu wa ḥadamnāhu ka al-wāġib wa šāra raḍī min ḥidmatinā
yadfa'u lanā fī al-Karrīn tamānī māya ġuruš rūmī wa /1.21/ in lam
istaqamnā 'alā ittifāqinā wa ḥašala min ṭarafinā quṣūr bi ḥaqqihi ḥilāfa
mā ta'ahhadnā lahu yakūnu šaqaṭa ḥaqqunā min al-tamānī māyat ġuruš
al-maḍkūrat, wa naħnu al-mudawwan asmāynā bi ḍaylihi ġamī'unā
mutakāfilīn wa mutaḍāminīn /1.22/ li ba'ḍinā ba'ḍ 'alā ġamī' mā ḍukira
a'lāhu, wa 'alā ḍalika šāra wa waqa'a al-riḍā, wa šaḥḥa al-išhād taḥrīran
lahu al-yawm al-sādis 'ašar ḥalat min šahr Šawwāl fī šuḥūr iṭnān wa
tis'īn wa māya wa alf sanat 1192*

al-faḳīr Sulaymān b. Naʿīsa	<i>ṣahada bi-mā-fih Ismaʿīl b. Aḥmad Takrītī</i>
al-faḳīr Moḥammad b. Muḡḥam	[<i>Ismaʿīl b. al-marḥūm</i>]
al-faḳīr Sulaymān b. Kḍayyab	<i>ṣahada bi-mā-fih Al-Ḥaḡḡ Fāthī b. al-marḥūm</i>
al-faḳīr Nāfiʿ Ibn Ruṣaydān	<i>al-Ḥaḡḡ Yūsuf Maḡaḍmāwī</i>
al-faḳīr Ḥaḡḡ ʿīsā b. Ḥumaydān	[<i>ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Muʿazzamāwī</i>]
al-faḳīr ʿAlī b. Fāḍil	<i>ṣahada bi-dālik Al-Ḥaḡḡ Moḥammad Amīn</i>
al-faḳīr Moḥammad al-basr	<i>al-Takrītī</i>
al-faḳīr Sulaymān b. ʿAdīyat	[<i>Moḥammad Amīn b. al-Ḥaḡḡ ʿOmar</i>]
	<i>ṣahada bi-dālik Al-Ḥaḡḡ Moḥammad Firūz</i>
	[?]
	<i>ṣahada bi-dālik Ismaʿīl ʿAṣārī</i>
	[<i>Ismaʿīl [?] b. ʿalī</i>]
	<i>ṣahada bi-dālik Al-Ḥaḡḡ Ibrahīm Walīd</i>
	[<i>Moḥammad Ibrahīm [?] b. Ḥaḡḡī Walīd</i>]
	<i>ṣahada bi-dālik Al-Ḥaḡḡ ʿOmar Walīd</i>
	[<i>Al-wāṭiq bi-l-maḡīd ʿOmar b. Al-Ḥaḡḡ Walīd</i>]

La raison de l'établissement de ce [document] et la nécessité de sa mise par écrit sont ceci :

Nous disons, nous, les pauvres dont les noms sont ci-dessous mentionnés, tous de la tribu des Naḡāda¹⁶⁹, que nous sommes convenus et avons choisi, de notre plein gré, d'accompagner et d'emmener le détenteur de ce document, monsieur le colonel anglais Capper, et son groupe qui l'accompagne, avec soixante-dix préposés à la poudre à canon du groupe des Naḡāda, ʿAkīl, et des Banu Ḥālīd¹⁷⁰, équipés de leur [propre] poudre à canon et de leurs armes, dont nous, ci-dessous mentionnés, faisons partie, sauf le cheikh *al-ḥaḡḡ* Sulaymān b. ʿAdīyya.

Nous prendrons aussi avec nous neuf compagnons équipés de leur poudre à canon et de leurs armes ; [ces personnes] sont : deux [compagnons] des deux groupes des al-Aḡlās, deux de la tribu des al-Fadʿān¹⁷¹,

169. Les références aux Naḡāda – une tribu arabe originaire du Nejd en Arabie – dans la documentation est en augmentation à partir du xviii^e siècle, période pendant laquelle leur prestige et nombre semblent s'être accrus au point de leur avoir permis de commettre une série d'outrages à Bassora en 1820 : Abdullah, *Merchants*, p. 26, 92 ; Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf*, p. 1312-1313. Sur les tribus bédouines du Bilād al-Shām : Meier, Tell, « The World the Bedouin Lived in ».

170. Cette confédération de tribus arabes occupait la région d'al-Ahsa le long du golfe Persique. En 1670, l'une des tribus des Banu Ḥālīd réussit à conquérir la ville qui était alors sous contrôle ottoman : Fattah, *The Politics of Regional Trade in Iraq*, p. 95. Leur domaine est envahi par les al-Saʿūd à la fin du xviii^e siècle qui s'emploient alors à contrôler le commerce du Golfe : Abdullah, *Merchants*, p. 66.

171. Les Fadʿān, ou Fidʿān, sont une tribu de la confédération des ʿAnazah qui apparaissent en Syrie à la fin du xvii^e siècle. Après s'être disputés avec les Hasanah (une autre tribu

un des Walad ‘Alī¹⁷², un des Banī Wahab¹⁷³, un Ḍakrūfī, un Ba‘īgī, et un Sarḥānī¹⁷⁴. Le total est de neuf personnes. En plus, il est convenu que nous prendrons avec nous nos munitions et celles des *al-bawārdīyya*, et les compagnons mentionnés ci-dessus, sur nos chameaux, à nos frais, et leurs fourrages et leurs montures [également] à nos frais ; et nous leur fournirons de notre argent treize *riṭl*¹⁷⁵ de poudre à canon et vingt-six *riṭl* de plomb. Et Monsieur le colonel Capper ne paie rien de tout ça. Nous sommes également convenus de donner, à Monsieur le colonel Capper et à son groupe, dix-neuf chameaux pour leur monture et les munitions qui sont emportées, leurs affaires, leur eau et l’eau de leurs chevaux. À part les dix-neuf chameaux, nous nous engagerons à leur donner deux chameaux robustes pour porter le palanquin¹⁷⁶ chaque jour en alternance ; nous lui [Capper] fournirons un serviteur pour fixer les palanquins, de la porte d’Alep à la porte d’al-Karrīn¹⁷⁷, et nous lui mettrons également à

‘Anazah) les pâturages situés à l’ouest de Palmyre, les Fid’ān migrèrent plus au nord : la vallée de l’Euphrate, la Djézireh et les plaines à l’est d’Alep devinrent leurs terrains d’été. À la fin du XVIII^e siècle, les Fid’ān étaient devenus l’une des tribus qui déstabilisaient le plus souvent la région d’Alep, d’où la nécessité pour un voyageur d’obtenir leur protection pour traverser en sécurité leurs territoires : Lewis, *Nomads and Settlers in Syria and Jordan*, part. p. 9-12.

172. Il est probable qu’il s’agit également d’une tribu des ‘Anazah dont certaines sections auraient été les premières de cette grande confédération à migrer régulièrement en Syrie : Lewis, *Nomads and Settlers in Syria and Jordan*, p. 9.

173. Les Banī Wahab sont aussi un sous-groupe des ‘Anazah : Büsow, « *Bedouin Historiography* », p. 175.

174. Bien que n’ayant que très peu d’informations concernant cette tribu, on peut penser que ses membres vinrent de la vallée d’al-Sirḥān qui s’étire au nord de l’Arabie Saoudite vers la Jordanie sur près de 300 km.

175. Dans l’Empire ottoman, on utilisait le *dirhem* pour évaluer les différents poids en usage, généralement fixé à 3,207 g après le XV^e siècle. À Alep, en 1800, un *riṭl* (ou *raṭl* en ottoman) compte pour 720 *dirhem* soit 2,278 kg. Ainsi, les signataires s’engagent à fournir 29,614 kg de poudre et 59,228 kg de plomb : Panzac, « Poids et mesures ».

176. Une *miḥaffāt* est une sorte de palanquin, qui n’est pas arqué mais fixé en deux parties sur chaque flanc d’une bête de somme, principalement un chameau ou une mule. Les femmes voyagent souvent assises dans ces petits habitacles, ces derniers pouvant également abriter toute personne en incapacité physique de continuer le voyage en selle. C’est le cas du valet de chambre de James Capper, un Français, qui dès le surlendemain du départ, tombe malade et est obligé de continuer le voyage sur cette litière ; Capper, *Observations*, p. 188.

177. Al-Karrīn, de la corruption du mot arabe *qurain*, signifiant « corne », désigne au XVIII^e siècle la baie de Koweït. Dès 1750, cette bourgade est mentionnée dans la documentation néerlandaise comme étant un lieu de commerce. Elle aurait été fondée dans les années 1700 par la tribu arabe des al-‘Utub, à un moment où les affrontements entre Ottomans et Séfévides auraient pu pousser une partie de la population de Bassora à migrer

disposition un homme de notre choix pour s'occuper des chevaux et de leur entretien ; de plus, nous ci-dessous mentionnés, nous nous sommes engagés, de notre commun accord, auprès de Monsieur Capper en tout ce qui concerne les droits de passage et les présents à remettre aux tribus arabes, au cheikh Tāmir¹⁷⁸, au cheikh Tawīnī¹⁷⁹, aux cheikhs des Banu Ḥālid et à toutes les tribus arabes que nous pourrions croiser : tout ceci est à nos frais, nous ci-dessous mentionnés.

En outre, lorsque l'on s'approchera des tribus d'al-Aslam et Shammar¹⁸⁰ et autres, nous nous engageons à y prendre un *rafiq* qui nous accompagnera jusqu'à ce que nous ayons dépassé les frontières [de ces tribus], et à ce qu'après il [le *rafiq*] retourne dans son territoire. Ensuite, il est convenu qu'on ne porte avec nous aucun bagage ni lettre à qui que ce soit, sauf les 31 charges appartenant au *hawāḡā* Rubīn l'interprète dont nous avons reçu la rétribution pour le transport [de ses charges], pour les accompagnateurs, pour ses présents et sa protection ; la totalité des frais relatifs à elles [les 31 charges] jusqu'à al-Karrīn nous a été totalement et entièrement réglée par lui [l'interprète], comme en atteste un reçu de

plus au sud. Du reste, il est très probable que la peste de 1773 – qui emporta le consul de France à Bagdad, Emmanuel de Saint-Albert, l'agent de la compagnie française des Indes à Bassora, le sieur Pyrault, et une grande partie des missionnaires des Carmes déchaussés de la région – suivie par le siège et l'occupation de Bassora par les Persans en 1775-1776 força des habitants de la ville à se réfugier dans d'autres ports du golfe Persique et à développer les activités portuaires de cette localité, faisant ainsi de ce lieu de mouillage l'un des principaux points d'embarquement du Golfe pour les Indes ; sur ces événements très importants sur lesquels je ne m'étendrai pas : Slot, *The Origins of Kuwait*, p. 69-100 ; Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, p. 187-195 ; Ateş, « XVIII. yy'm İkinci Yarısında » ; Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 197, f^{os} 171-172, 230 ; Pluchet, *L'Extraordinaire voyage*, p. 102, 108 ; cf. également les cartes contenues dans Rennel, *A Treatise on the Comparative Geography*.

178. En 1778, Tāmir est le chef des tribus Mountefik et avait, en septembre de la même année, mis en déroute les Persans dans les marches nord de la ville de Bassora : Abdullah, *Merchants*, p. 55 ; Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, p. 190-193.

179. Le chekh Tawīnī était aussi de la tribu arabe des Mountefik dont il ne devient le commandant en chef vraisemblablement qu'à la mort de Tāmir vers 1779-1780 : Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, p. 195. Il continua d'être en relation étroite avec les Anglais puisqu'ils convinrent ensemble que lui et sa horde ne laisseraient pas passer de voyageurs français sans passeport préalablement délivré par le consul anglais d'Alep, Arch. nat., A.E. B¹, 176, f^o 93 ; le 6 mai 1787, Tawīnī s'empara de Bassora et demanda à la Porte sa nomination en tant que gouverneur (*vali*) d'une province séparée de celle de Bagdad : Abdullah, *Merchants*, p. 35, 77, 112-113.

180. Al-Aslam est l'une des tribus principales de la grande confédération tribale des Shammar dont certains sous-groupes migrèrent depuis la province d'Ḥā'il vers l'Irak au début du XVIII^e siècle : Nakash, *The Shi'is of Iraq*, p. 26.

notre part qui lui a été remis. Nous avons également de notre plein gré décidé de fournir des chameaux pour [le transport] desdites 31 charges à raison de deux chameaux par charge afin de pouvoir les acheminer [avec la caravane] dudit Monsieur le colonel Capper cité plus haut ; nous ne les séparerons pas de son groupe¹⁸¹. De même nous nous sommes engagés à assurer la rétribution du guide¹⁸², du préposé à la nourriture, du porte-étendard¹⁸³ et du messenger¹⁸⁴. Tout cela reste à nos frais et Monsieur le

181. Il s'avère qu'une petite caravane à destination de Bagdad se joint au convoi le lendemain du départ d'Alep, soit le 12 novembre, et s'en sépare le 25. D'après cet engagement le reste de la caravane (composé du groupe de James Capper et de celui de l'interprète Rubīn) devait donc aller à al-Karrīn sans se séparer. Le groupe ne souhaitait pas se rendre à Bassora (entre les mains des Persans) dont les environs n'étaient pas sûrs ; cependant, le 28 novembre, un membre du convoi qui avait été envoyé à Kubaysah (une bourgade tout proche de Hīt) revient en annonçant que la ville de Bassora avait été probablement évacuée par les Persans et qu'elle serait désormais aux mains des Arabes Mountefik, alliés de plusieurs membres et représentants tribaux de la caravane ; en conséquence, la destination s'en trouve modifiée : le but de Capper n'est dorénavant plus d'atteindre al-Karrīn, mais Bassora pour joindre les membres de la *East India Company* qui y résident ; ce n'est que le 16 décembre que le groupe de l'interprète Rubīn se sépare de Capper en emmenant à al-Karrīn apparemment la plupart des hommes ainsi que les réserves en eau : Capper, *Observations*, p. 203, 213-214, 220 ; cependant, l'information qui leur parvient paraît exagérée car l'occupation de la ville par les Persans n'est pas terminée (ce qui doit expliquer que le cheikh de la caravane décide de les quitter non pas dans la ville même mais à proximité). Les Mountefik ont encerclé la garnison persane qui reçoit de nouvelles troupes à la suite de l'arrivée de Şadek Hān Zand le 24 décembre, qui engage des pourparlers avec Tāmir. L'occupation persane ne prendra fin que plusieurs mois plus tard ; en mars 1779, à la suite de la nouvelle de la mort du chah de Perse et fondateur de la dynastie Zand, Şadek décide de repartir de Bassora pour réclamer ses droits au trône. La prise de la ville par les Mountefik peu de temps après permet aux Ottomans de se réapproprier la ville ; sur ces événements : Perry, *Karim Khan Zand*, p. 181-201.

182. *Al-dalīl* dans le texte.

183. Dans l'armée régulière ottomane, chaque corps de cavalerie (*bölük*) et de janissaires (*orta*), avait un ou plusieurs porte-étendards (*bayraqdār*) qui s'occupaient de porter les drapeaux de formes et de couleurs différentes de ces unités militaires : Özcan, « Bayraktar », p. 255. Dans notre cas, le *bayraqdār* des caravanes du désert ne déployait sa bannière (bariolée de rouge et de vert et confiée au plus ancien de la troupe) que dans des circonstances critiques et avertissait ainsi les fusiliers de se mettre sur la défensive. Le *bayraqdār* marquait le lieu des campements et indiquait aux pourvoyeurs d'eau les emplacements où ceux-ci devaient puiser : Rousseau, *Voyage de Bagdad à Alep*, p. 43.

184. Dans l'Empire ottoman, différentes catégories de *çavuş* remplissaient dans leurs corps respectifs des tâches de transmission des ordres, de discipline et de protocole. Ils veillaient notamment à l'exécution des ordres du sultan ou du grand vizir, qu'ils portaient à leurs destinataires, aussi bien dans la capitale de l'Empire qu'en province ou à l'étranger : Vatin, « Çavuş ». Les chefs de caravanes de pèlerins, sur le chemin du retour de La Mecque, envoyaient des coursiers ou courriers (*mubashshir*) annoncer rapidement au lieu d'arrivée son retour prochain : en 1700, un courrier du pèlerinage met vingt jours pour aller de La

colonel Capper ne paie rien du tout. Il est convenu entre nous et Monsieur le colonel Capper mentionné, de l'amener depuis notre sortie de Day'at al-Nayrab¹⁸⁵, un hameau [près] d'Alep, à notre arrivée en trente-six jours à al-Karrīn sain et sauf, et cela, sans compter le jour où Monsieur le colonel Capper se repose à sa demande ; ce jour-là ne sera donc pas compté. En outre, si nous avons du retard causé par des ennemis, ce jour [de retard] ne sera pas compté¹⁸⁶. Nous nous engageons également à envoyer, trois jours avant notre arrivée à al-Karrīn, un messenger pour apporter une lettre de la part de Monsieur le colonel Capper au représentant des Anglais à al-Karrīn¹⁸⁷. Nous nous sommes mis d'accord avec Monsieur le colonel Capper sur la totalité des rétributions mentionnées, [celles] des préposés à la poudre, du groupe des *rafīq*, des droits de passage, des présents et tout ce qui a été cité plus haut, et qu'il [Capper] nous paie à Alep la somme de 941 et un quart de *guruş*¹⁸⁸ que nous venons de recevoir maintenant et entièrement, et qu'il nous verse en cours de route 500 *guruş*¹⁸⁹. À notre arrivée sains et saufs à al-Karrīn, si Monsieur le

Mecque au Caire : Jomier, *Le Maḥmal et la caravane égyptienne*, p. 89-90, 92, 123. Rousseau écrit que le *çavuş* des caravanes du désert de Syrie était chargé de publier les décisions prises par le cheikh du convoi et ses coadjuteurs relatives aux marches, aux approvisionnements et aux stations. Il donnait également le signal du départ, faisait les proclamations ayant pour objet les effets égarés ou mis en vente, médicamentait les hommes et les chevaux, veillait à la police des Arabes et punissait ceux qui manquaient à leur devoir : Rousseau, *Voyage de Bagdad à Alep*, p. 43.

185. Il s'agit de la localité actuelle d'al-Nayrab située à une dizaine de kilomètres du centre-ville d'Alep au sud-est. C'est le lieu de rassemblement de la caravane où Capper s'entretient une dernière fois avec le consul anglais avant le départ du groupe.

186. La caravane part de Day'at al-Nayrab le 11 novembre et Capper prend congé de ses accompagnateurs aux portes de Bassora le 18 décembre. Il aura donc voyagé pendant 38 jours.

187. Cet engagement est respecté ; le 12 décembre (soit 6 jours avant d'arriver à Bassora), le cheikh de la caravane dépêche un courrier arabe de nuit pour informer le résident anglais à Bassora – William George Digges La Touche – de leur progression afin que celui-ci retienne tout navire prêt à partir pour Bombay. Le courrier arabe rapporte une réponse de La Touche et reçoit 10 *guruş* pour ce service ; Capper, *Observations*, p. 217-218.

188. Durant le XVIII^e siècle, jusque dans les années 1780, la stabilité fiscale que connaît l'Empire ottoman associée à l'accroissement de l'approvisionnement en argent donna lieu à la création d'une nouvelle unité monétaire, le large *guruş* d'argent (ou piastre), comme principal moyen d'échange. En 1780, un *guruş* pèse 18,5 g pour 10 g d'argent pur. Lors du passage de Capper, le taux de change de cette monnaie pour un ducat vénitien est de 4 *guruş* et 70 *aķçe* : Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, ch. X, « The New Ottoman Kuruş ».

189. Le 13 décembre 1778, soit cinq jours avant d'arriver à Bassora, James Capper procède à un dernier versement de 110 *guruş* ; les 390 autres ont déjà été versés pendant

colonel Capper trouve que nous avons bien honoré notre engagement avec lui, que nous l'avons bien servi, et qu'il est satisfait de notre service, [alors] il nous donnera, à al-Karrīn, 800 *guruš rūmī*¹⁹⁰; et si nous n'avons pas respecté notre contrat et qu'il y a un manque de notre part, [alors] nous n'aurons pas droit aux 800 *guruš* mentionnés. Nous, ci-dessous mentionnés, sommes solidaires et liés à tout ce qui a été dit plus haut, qui a donné lieu à un consentement et un contrat.

L'appel à témoignage étant authentique [le document] a été rédigé le 16 šawwāl 1192 / 7 novembre 1778

[Signataires]

le pauvre Sulaymān b. Na'īsa
 le pauvre Moḥammad b. Muḡḥam
 le pauvre Sulaymān b. Kuḏayb
 le pauvre Nāfi' b. Rušaydān
 le pauvre Ḥaḡḡ 'īsā b. Ḥumaydān
 le pauvre 'Alī b. Faḏīl
 le pauvre Moḥammad al-basr
 le pauvre Sulaymān b. 'Adīyat

[Témoins]

A témoigné de ce qu'il [l'acte] contient : Isma'īl b. Aḥmad Takrītī [Sceau]
 A témoigné de ce qu'il [l'acte] contient : Al-Ḥaḡḡ Fāṭḥī b. al-marḥūm al-Ḥaḡḡ Yūsuf Maḡaḏmāwī [Sceau]
 A témoigné de cela : Al-Ḥaḡḡ Moḥammad Amīn al-Takrītī [Sceau]
 A témoigné de cela : Al-Ḥaḡḡ Moḥammad Firūz [Sceau]
 A témoigné de cela : Isma'īl 'Ašārī [Sceau]
 A témoigné de cela : Al-Ḥaḡḡ Ibrahīm Walīd [Sceau]
 A témoigné de cela : Al-Ḥaḡḡ 'Omar Walīd [Sceau]

la traversée du désert dont vraisemblablement 105 le 22 novembre pour que le cheikh du convoi puisse négocier le passage auprès d'un chef bédouin : Capper, *Observations*, p. 198, 219.

190. Ici, il s'agit peut-être d'une monnaie européenne sans que l'on puisse préciser laquelle. Du reste, James Capper verse cette somme à Zubayr, aux portes de Bassora (ayant jugé par conséquent que le service rendu était en conformité avec l'arrangement conclu à Alep) où une nouvelle escorte envoyée par le résident anglais prend le relais le lendemain pour conduire Capper et son groupe : Capper, *Observations*, p. 221, 226-227.

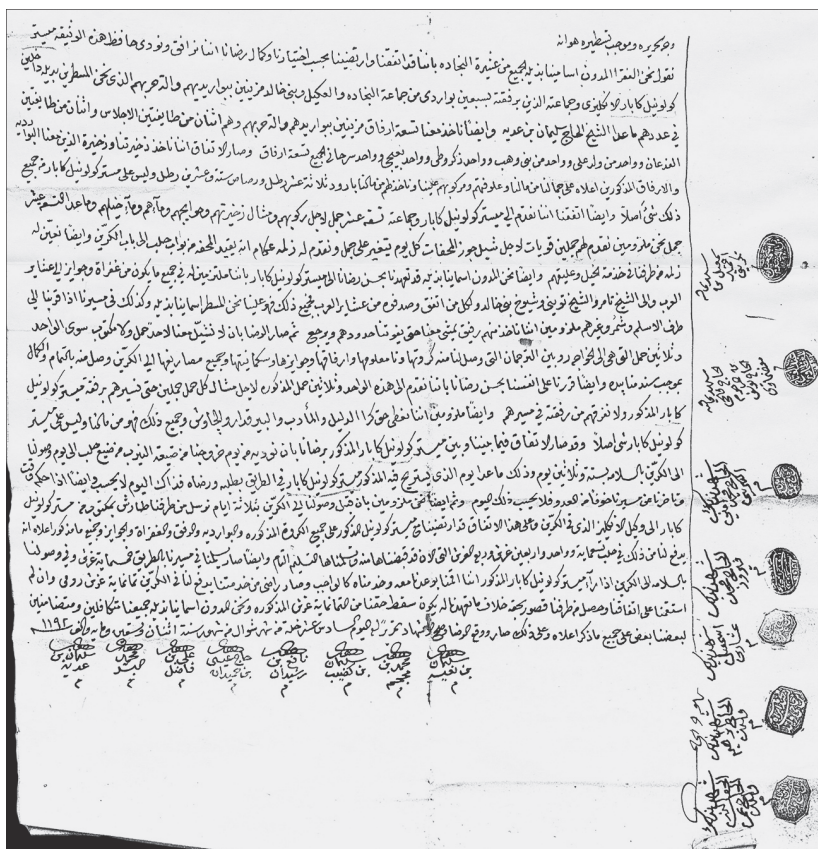


Fig. 1. Convention entre James Capper et huit individus de la tribu des Nağāda pour voyager d'Alep à al-Karrīn (1192/1778).
(Arch. de la British Library, coll. India Office Records and Private Papers,
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Clément Maral, *Les guides et courriers du désert de Syrie au service des porteurs de dépêches et des voyageurs (XVIII^e-XIX^e siècles)*

Au XVIII^e siècle, les guides de voyage du désert de Syrie, qui dès la conquête ottomane de la région avaient été sollicités par les voyageurs européens de passage dans l'Empire, continuent d'exercer leur métier d'accompagnateur, mais aussi de courrier, dont le quotidien n'a pas beaucoup évolué depuis le siècle passé. Les contrats écrits entre voyageurs et accompagnateurs continuent d'être le meilleur moyen d'assurer la traversée rapide et sûre de ces territoires. Alors qu'au XVII^e siècle, les missionnaires chrétiens de Bagdad et Bassora étaient les principaux intermédiaires des Européens pour obtenir ces passeurs, à partir des années 1740, ce sont désormais les agents des compagnies de commerce européennes, françaises et anglaises en

particulier, et les représentants diplomatiques, plus qu'auparavant, qui se chargent, parfois avec l'aide des autorités ottomanes, d'organiser un tel voyage. En outre, il est dorénavant possible pour les Occidentaux, comme pour les négociants ottomans, de voyager promptement par la voie des relais de postes de l'Empire, en compagnie d'un courrier (*ulak*) en mission, de Bagdad à Alep, voire Istanbul. Le métier de courrier, et guide à l'occasion, n'évolue réellement qu'à la suite de l'introduction vers 1860 du télégraphe en Syrie, puis en Irak, réduisant aussitôt les temps de communication entre l'Inde et l'Europe, qui, contraints par le recours à ces messagers, n'avaient pas évolué. L'arrivée des engins motorisés, capables au début du xx^e siècle de rouler sur les pistes centenaires des courriers du désert, transforma les conditions de voyage qui se perpétuaient depuis quatre siècles dans l'Empire ottoman.

Clément Maral, *Guides and Couriers of the Desert of Syria in the service of Dispatch Bearers and Travellers (18th-19th centuries)*

During the 18th century, the private travel guides of the Desert of Syria whose services had been requested by European travellers passing through the Empire as far back as the Ottoman conquest of the region continued to work as guides and couriers in the same way. The written agreements were the best way to guaranty speed and safety while crossing this territory. Christian missionaries in Baghdad or in Basra, who were the main intermediaries to provide guides to western travellers in the 17th century, were partly replaced from the 1740s onwards by agents of European commercial companies, particularly French and English, and consuls who took care more often than before of the organization of such trips, with the occasional help of the Ottoman administration. Furthermore, it became possible for Europeans and Ottoman merchants to benefit from the postal network services during their travels in the company of an Ottoman courier going from Baghdad to Aleppo or even Istanbul. The profession of courier, and guide from time to time, did not change significantly before the introduction around 1860 of the telegraph in Syria and then in Iraq. The telegraph immediately reduced the time that took communications between India and Europe, which had remained unchanged due to the dependence on those messengers. Besides, in the early 20th century the arrival of motorized vehicles capable of going along the desert couriers' centuries-old tracks transformed conditions of travel that had been maintained for four centuries in the Ottoman Empire.

CONSTANȚA VINTILĂ-GHIȚULESCU

**"I BELIEVE IN STORIES":
THE JOURNEY OF A YOUNG BOYAR FROM
BUCHAREST TO ISTANBUL IN
THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY**

“One day, I sat after reading the tragedies of Orestes¹ and of Erotocritos² and I wondered. I resolved that I too should make a history of the things that had happened to me.” Pie-maker, shoe-maker, and later *paharnic*,³ Dumitrache Merișescu, a young petty boyar born in 1797 in Colentina and brought up in the Biserica cu Sfinți district of Bucharest, decided to write about the adventures of his life. His memoir, presented in thirty-six pages

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1. Voltaire’s play *Oreste*, translated into Romanian by Alecu Beldiman under the title *Tragedia lui Orest*, published in Buda in 1820.

2. The poem *Erotocritos* by Vincenzo Cornaro had significant circulation and echoes in Romanian culture. See the most recent edition prepared by E. Dima, *Poemul Erotocrit*.

3. Literally “cup-bearer”, a minor official rank open to members of the boyar class.

of manuscript, written in Romanian in the transitional alphabet, but with some dialogues in Greek and Bulgarian, is striking for its humour and irony, and, above all, the unusual stories it contains.

On the last page of the manuscript, the author writes: “20 September 1817. Dumitrache Merișescu, 20 years of age. Dălhăuți.” The inscription might lead us to assume that the text was composed around then, especially as the events narrated are close in time to 1817, but the handwriting points rather towards the middle of the nineteenth century, a period characterized by such literary products. Merișescu’s manuscript is unusual, and may be a retranscription of his initial notes, as in places the writing has been corrected with a chemical pencil or amended with interventions above the line.⁴

My article concentrates on the value of memorialistic writing for knowledge and interpretation of a historical period. Dumitrache gives us a good example of how the literature of the time could impress someone so much that he sat down at his writing desk to recount his own day-to-day life. Orestes, Erotocritos, and perhaps also Telemachus helped him to put his everyday experiences into a literary form, encouraging him to give them meaning, to rewrite his past as a narrative, perhaps with the thought that his memoir would be read by someone. His narrative is no more than a look back on a life spent in the vicinity of the “great ones” of the time and ending somewhere in the margins of anonymity. Following the thread of the story, I have tried to supplement the picture with other documents of the period (private archives, images, memoirs), focusing on the way in which Dumitrache Merișescu constructs an identity for himself, making use of clothes, consumption, education, and manners.

Two circumstances made possible the appearance of a journal like that of Dumitrache Merișescu: the enhanced valuing of education and the birth of a new literary genre. The enhanced valuing of education as a form of social advancement took place around the turn of the century, enabling a considerable number of petty boyars, merchants, and artisans to emerge from the anonymity of the group. The rise of the memoir, a literary genre that had been almost non-existent in the Romanian lands before 1800, coincided with investment in education and gave anonymous individuals

4. The manuscript is preserved in the Central National Historical Archives in Bucharest (Fond Manuscrise, no. 1773), and bears the title *Viața lui Dimitrie Foti Mirișescu de la Colentina, scrisă de el însuși la 1817* [The life of Dimitrie Foti Mirișescu from Colentina, written by himself in 1817].

the courage to believe that their memories would be of use to someone, someday.⁵ We may ask ourselves if Dumitrache Merișescu is a representative individual for his social group, and if he can define "the characteristics of an entire social stratum in a specific historical period."⁶ In other words, can I say that I have discovered a "Menocchio"? It remains to be seen. Dumitrache Merișescu is a "little man" who writes his memoir and leaves notes about his time. But, as I have pointed out, the first half of the nineteenth century saw the birth of a literary movement favourable to memoirs, and which encouraged Teodor Vârnav, Elena Hartulari, Ioan Solomon, and Scarlat Dăscălescu to write theirs.⁷ All these authors belong to the so-called "middle class:" being petty boyars, merchants, or holders of minor positions in the chanceries of the great boyars.

It is his style that differentiates Dumitrache Merișescu from his fellows, because he recounts his memories in a heroic manner, considering that his deeds are worthy of a veritable epic. His writing is nonetheless simple and direct, laced with verses and popular songs that were in circulation at the time.⁸

Such ego-documents appear here and there in the Ottoman and Balkan worlds. They represent inestimable testimonies for the historical reconstruction of processes of identification and representation of a population caught between various ethnic, linguistic, political, and social borders.⁹ Dumitrache Merișescu and his "history" might be part of a wider trend flowing across the Ottoman world, linking him to Osman-Aga of Temeșvar,¹⁰ Hanna Dyâb,¹¹ and Markos Antonios Katsaitis.¹²

5. Note in this connection the importance of memorialistic literature in England and France and the enthusiasm generated around such writers as Menetra, Rétif de la Bretonne, and Samuel Pepys. For the Ottoman Empire, Dana Sajdi has brought the memorialistic genre back into discussion with her recent book: Sajdi, *The Barber of Damascus*, 2013.

6. An allusion to Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*, p. xx.

7. See Vârnav, *Istoria vieții mele*; Hartulari, "Istoria;" Solomon, *Amintirile colonelului Ioan Solomon*; Iorga, "Un cugetător politic."

8. For this type of writing in the Ottoman Empire and the relation between simply people beginning to write and the birth of a literary genre, see also Sajdi, "A Room of His Own."

9. See Göçek, *East Encounters West*; Agai, Akyıldız, Hillebrand (eds.), *Venturing Beyond Borders*.

10. See Hitzel, *Prisonnier des infidèles*.

11. See Dyâb, *D'Alep à Paris*.

12. See Limona, *Markos Antonios Katsaitis*.

Education

The young Dumitrache was educated at the church school of the Biserica cu Sfinți suburb in Bucharest, where he lived. This education reflects a world of ethnic diversity: Dumitrache speaks and understands Romanian, Greek, Bulgarian, and Turkish. His memoir is written in a vernacular Romanian, which would appear to be, more than anything else, a “Balkan” or “Phanariot” language, into which are mixed words and expressions borrowed mostly just as he heard them. Even though he could speak Greek, the Greek dialogues in his memoirs are transliterated using the same Romanian transitional alphabet; he rarely uses Greek script. He may also have been a pupil at the Princely Academy of Saint Sava in Bucharest. A boy named Merișanu is listed in 1812 among the pupils there. His classmates would have included a string of Greeks and Bulgarians who had come to receive an education in the Greek language in Bucharest.¹³ Having attended the Academy might be an explanation both for his linguistic knowledge and for his reading.¹⁴ On the other hand, given his tendency to boast, would Dumitrache Merișescu not have taken care to make at least a passing mention of his time at this prestigious institution?

Erotocritos and Orestes are the two main characters who dominate Wallachian and Moldavian literature of the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, influencing local behaviours and tastes, as well as inspiring poets and minstrels. It was also possible to read of Telemachus and his educational journeys: Fénelon circulated in manuscript, translated and copied countless times in various miscellanies.¹⁵

13. Kitromilides, *The Enlightenment*.

14. Camariano-Cioran, *Academiile Domnești*, p. 281. The Merișanu recorded in 1812 at the Princely Academy in Bucharest could be our Dumitrache, who is able to speak Greek and some Bulgarian. However, he could also be another member of the extended families of Merișescu and Merișanu, which were relatively numerous at the time.

15. See Romanian Academy Library, Fond Manuscrise, MS 342 (hereafter BAR, followed by the pressmark), which contains *Întâmplările lui Telemah, fiul lui Odisseus* [*The Adventures of Telemachus, son of Odysseus*]. Constandin Stănescu writes that he began his transcription of the journeys of Telemachus on June 20 1772 and finished on August 2 1772, “at the urging of and with all expenses paid by” the grand *paharnic* Iordache Darie, at the time *ispravnic* of the land of Neamț. Another note shows the changing ownership of this miscellany, which on 15 October 1778 came into the possession of protopresbyter Enache of Târgul Ocna and his son Ioniță (BAR, Fond Manuscrise, MS 343, f. 2v and f. 106.v). Such notes can be found on other manuscripts of the tales of Telemachus, offering information about the forms of reading in Romanian society before the spread of

And Dumitrache Merișescu underlines the role played by his reading in leading him to write down on paper adventures that he considers equally (or almost equally) spectacular and worthy of being remembered. But this reading came later, when he had already returned from his travels and had made his home in Moldavia, trying to find purpose in his own life.

Who is Dumitrache Merișescu?

The life and career of this Dumitrache Foti Merișescu may be reconstructed with difficulty, after extensive research in the archives of Wallachia and Moldavia. Some details are divulged in his "history:" "I was born in the year 1797, baptized by Ioan Hagi Moscu.¹⁶ My father traded in cattle. In the autumn, he slaughtered them at the shambles in Colentina. He was known as *Cupar*¹⁷ Foti Merișescu." We also learn that he had an uncle, *Paharnic* Manolache; several brothers, Anastasie, Ioan, and Nițu; a number of sisters, one of whom was called Păuna; as well as other uncles, and cousins of both sexes. In the autumn of 1814, when he starts his story, his mother had died and his father had remarried and was on his estate of Dălhăuța, near Focșani, where he owned a vineyard. Manolache, the *paharnic* and *epistat*¹⁸ of meat supplies for the city of Bucharest,¹⁹ seems to have been a man of some wealth, as, according to the manuscript, he had "a threshing mill with hammers in his garden with the wheel turned by the water of the Dâmbovița." Working in the cattle trade, the family of Foti Merișescu was in close clientelary and commercial relations with Ioan-Hagi Moscu. This connection leads me to think that Foti and Manolache had come from south of the Danube, from somewhere in the region of Epirus. They had probably arrived some time in the 1780s, when Ioan Hagi-Moscu first appears in the records in connection with trading deals. They seem to have become acclimatized very quickly, marrying and integrating the local petty boyar class by buying boyar titles: *cupar* and *paharnic*.²⁰ Who is Dumitrache Merișescu? The answer would tell us

printing. The first translation into Romanian (from Italian) of the *Adventures of Telemachus* was printed in 1818, through the efforts of Petru Maior in Buda.

16. In other words, Ioan Hagi Moscu was his godfather.

17. Assistant to a *paharnic*.

18. Administrator, superintendent.

19. Urechia, *Istoria romanilor*, XI, p. 259, 350, 396.

20. *Cupar* and *paharnic* were two lesser boyar ranks, of little importance. Entry into the boyar class brought with it privileges, including access to official posts in the administrative apparatus and exemption from certain taxes.

about an entire category marked by high social mobility and a capacity to adapt according to the changing context. All I can say for now is that our hero, born in Bucharest of Epirot parents, bears the identity of his religious confession: Orthodox Christian.

The context of the narrative

In the first three decades of the nineteenth century, the Romanian lands experienced two major occupations that were of great importance for their history, contributing to the dissolution of the old political system and the promotion of a new generation and of a new institutional structure. The simple people, the populace, the mob were far from the effervescence of these ideas, but rather experienced the occupations with emotion, expressing collective fears. Here is how Tache Merișescu describes the entry of the Russian army in 1806, as he recalls it, having been around ten years old at the time:

In the autumn of 1806 the Muscovites came. There were also Turks in Bucharest, at Radu Vodă [monastery] in the tower were Arnauts and Oltenians²¹ (why I do not know). There was great fear in Bucharet, for the Turks were with the Turkish pasha of Giurgiu. I remember that women with yokes frightened the Turks. They said they fled without saddles and without harness, but we children and the bigger ones among us, we went out by the Street of the Outside Market, just where the Moșilor Market is held. The Muscovites came by the Colentina road. They were in a long line, and it seemed to us that the end would reach as far as Pantelimon. There were Cossacks with long lances, there were dragoons. It seemed to us that they had two heads, they had swords in their broad hands, and on the ground there was a great stream in green coats, up to the horses' heads. And they fired the guns one by one as the line went on to Pantelimon, but something more beautiful had never been heard before... and they beat their drums, the Cossacks sang, the dragoons with trumpets and the chasseurs, slowly, the whole line. Perhaps the whole of Bucharest had come out into the fields, to watch. It was almost night when they entered the city. We boys all went along to the music of the dragoons, because they came into Bucharest. We heard the officers: "*na prava, na leva, cistka*."²²

21. Arnauts, originally Albanian mercenaries, formed the princely guard. The Oltenians referred to here are *panduri*, mercenaries recruited from among the population of Oltenia.

22. More correctly: *Na pravo. Na levo. Za chest'!* (To the left. To the right. For honour!).

The people of Bucharest were impressed by the great parade put on by the Russian army, which was to linger on Wallachian and Moldavian territory for over six years, imposing rules, values, and ways of thinking, more often by force. Only the French threat with Napoleon's advance towards Moscow forced the Russians to make peace with the Ottoman Empire and to leave the Romanian lands, sometimes in great haste, as Dumitrache Merișescu writes:

In 1812, I watched the beyzade Dumitrache Moruzu playing *cirid*²³ with the Turks called *mîrahas*, and Generals Kameski and Sovorofu who drowned at Râmnicu-Sărat... The Russians were returning to go into battle against the French. The women went with them as far as Colentina. Some women were hiding under the bridge. We boys yelled and called to them: "To Colentina, Plumbuita, to the soldiers."²⁴

And so the high Turkish, Greek, and Russian officials spent their time playing *cirid* on the waste ground, waiting for Napoleon. And when he came closer, their differences became easier to resolve. The wars in Europe, and especially the fronts opened up by Napoleon were of interest to everyone. If the deacon Ioan Dobrescu in the Batiștei district of Bucharest could afford to curse the French emperor, categorizing him as "the bad part" (a play on "bon part", "Bonaparte")²⁵, politicians paid good sums of money for any sort of intelligence that would offer them more or less accurate information about the progress of events. For example, in 1812, *The bulletins of the French army regarding the conduct of military operations on the Russian front*, printed in Wilna (Vilnius, 16 July 1812) was in the possession of the French army, arrived in Bucharest.²⁶

When Tsar Alexander I and Sultan Mahmud II arrived at a peace agreement, the president of the Divans Vasilii I. Krasno-Milashevich²⁷ asked the Metropolitans to have bells rung, to summon Christians to church, and to offer prayers of thanks for the end of the war.²⁸ The same day, 10 July 1812, coincidentally or not, a certain Bishop Gherasim wrote to a priest in Bolentin, near Bucharest, to hold a service of blessing in his church,

23. A Turkish game played on horseback and involving throwing and catching a stick like a lance.

24. The Russian soldiers were billeted in the Plumbuita Monastery, in Colentina.

25. Corfus, "Cronica," p. 341.

26. BAR, Fond Documente Istorice, DCII/172, 173, 175, 176, 177.

27. Moldavia and Wallachia were headed by a president of the two Divans, directly appointed by the Tsar.

28. BAR, Fond Documente Istorice, MCCXLII/262, 10 July 1812.

which had been “polluted by the pagans.”²⁹ After six years of Russian occupation, the Russian army that had been received with fear, but also with some hope of salvation from the hands of the “pagan” Turks, was now itself seen “worse than the pagans.” It may be added that all those mentioned by Dumitrache Merișescu in the passage cited above died tragically in the turmoil of the wars: the Russian general Arkadi Sovorov (1784-1811) drowned in April 1811 during the crossing of the River Râmnicul Sărat, and his fellow general Nikolay Mikhailovich Kamesky succumbed to fever, also in April 1811, in Odessa, while the beyzade Demetrios Mourouzis (1768-1812), grand dragoman and negotiator of the Peace of Bucharest, was hanged at Schumla by Ahmed Pasha’s janissaries, on the orders of the Sultan, for his lack of diplomatic ability in the peace negotiations.³⁰

In the shadow of Ioan Hagi Moscu

Dumitrache Merișescu is no more than a minor character in a world of major figures dominating commercial, political, and diplomatic relations. From his backward position, like a veritable puppet-master, Dumitrache brings into story important personalities from his time. Ioan Hagi Moscu, Grigore Brâncoveanu, Grigore Băleanu, John Caradja, Costa Foru, Demetrios Morouzis, Alexander Soutzos, Manouk Bey,³¹ Iancu Jianu all made their mark on the period.³² His life proceeds in the shadows of history, changing direction according to the destinies of the great. As I have already mentioned, his father was a “Greek”³³ or a Vlach from the

29. BAR, Fond Documente Istorice, CMXXII/22.

30. Demetrios Mourouzis was the son of Constantin Mourouzis, Prince of Moldavia (1777-1782), and brother of Alexander Mourouzis, Prince of Moldavia (1792-1793, 1802-1806, 1806-1807) and of Wallachia (1793-1796, 1799-1801). On his activity see Marinescu, *Étude généalogique*, p. 62-69. The episode is also narrated by the Greek historian Dionisie Fotino, *Istoria Generală a Daciei*, p. 225.

31. Manouk Bey was a very active and rich Armenian merchant. He built the Manouk Inn in Bucharest, still standing, where the peace accord was signed on May 16/28 1812. Although he is a “fascinating” figure, his story remains still unknown. See also *Philliou*, *Biography of an Empire*, p. 206 n. 52.

32. Iancu Jianu was a famous brigand (*haiduc*) and boyar from the region of Oltenia.

33. “Greeks” is a generic term, used in the period to denote all Orthodox Christians coming from south of the Danube, from the Ottoman Empire, who monopolized commercial and craft activity in the Romanian lands. Some of them came in the suite of Phanariot princes, and received important offices in the princely divan. In this period it is already possible to detect a hostile attitude towards these Greeks, but this would explode only after 1834. See Cotovanu, “Chasing Away the Greeks.”

Balkan peninsula, who, together with his two brothers, came to Bucharest in the wake of the merchant Ioan Hagi Moscu. In fact, the careers and wealth of the Foti Merișescu brothers flourished (or withered) under the protection of this merchant, who became a high office-holder and later a significant figure in Balkan and South-East European diplomacy.

Right from the beginning, Dumitrache Merișescu makes it clear that he was baptized by Ioan Hagi Moscu, while a few pages later he adds the equally precious information that Anastasie, another brother, "stayed with his godfather and relation Hagi Moscu, also in Bucharest." It was in the autumn of 1814. At that date, Ioan Hagi Moscu was a very important personality in the political life of Wallachia, being in the entourage of John *Vodă* Caradja and temporarily occupying the office of grand *vistier*.³⁴

Ioan Hagi Moscu was an important supplier of information for the Habsburg Empire, while at the same time also supplying significant quantities of hay to the Austrian army. For this reason he was twice involved in litigation on financial and diplomatic matters with the court in Vienna.³⁵ In the Austrian reports, Ioan Hagi Moscu, agent and banker in Vienna for the Phanariot prince Nikolaos Mavrogenis (1786-1790), is portrayed in dark colours as a "*parfaite canaille*", driven only by "*point d'argent*."³⁶ On December 23 1810, the French Consul in Bucharest, Ledoux, writes: "Hagi Moscu, un des principaux boyards de la Valachie, le plus éclairé et le plus considéré [...] est très-dévoué à la France."³⁷ Count Louis Alexandre Andrault de Langeron, general of the Russian army of occupation confirmed the habit of the merchant Hagi Moscu of selling information both to France and to the Ottoman Empire, after he managed to intercept Ledoux's letters. "I had long considered him a traitor," writes Langeron, expressing his desire to arrest him and interrogate him "severely" to find out not only "the secret of his understanding with the Turks and with the French," but also the name of the person who was informing him regarding the Russian army. According to Langeron, General Kutuzov,

34. On 3 July 1813, Ioan Hagi Moscu was appointed grand *vistier* and *epistat* of the Epitropy of Announcements. Two months later, he was "ex" grand *vistier*, but *nazir* of the Office of Streets, in other words, he occupied an equally important position from a financial point of view. In November 1813, he obtained the post of "grand *vornic* of the city", and in June 1814, he was again *epistat*, this time of the salt mines. See Urechia, *Istoria romanilor*, X/1, p. 231, 541, 833 and 1040.

35. See Limona, *Negustorii "greci"*, p. 311-331.

36. Blancard, *Les Mavroyéni*, p. 768.

37. Urechia, *Istoria romanilor*, X/1, p. 5.

the commander of the Russian army, had not had the courage to take such a measure, “for fear of somehow offending Napoleon,” and when General Kamenski dared to arrest him, “he found nothing,” and had to apologize.³⁸

Two levels of clientelary relations may be traced here, and their value may be measured in terms of the “gifts” that passed among the members of each group.³⁹ What Ioan Hagi Moscu offered was important, costly, inestimable, but not at all visible: information. Navigating with ease through empires, thanks to his commercial activity, proficient in the languages practiced in the region, Ioan Hagi Moscu sold, together with fashion and luxury, the latest news from the empire of Vienna or from the Ottoman seas. I have insisted on this figure because he helps us to understand the expeditions and wanderings of his godson and protégé Dumitrache Merișescu through the world of the well born. A first characteristic of this group is the solidarity that is manifested in material and clientelary support. Even if he does not say so explicitly in his memoirs, Dumitrache often talks of interventions in his favour by those who have the same “mobile identity:” Epirots, Greeks, Serbs, Orthodox Christians, always on the move.

Journeys through the deeper reaches of a country

We know little today about the deeper reaches of the world of the past, about the journeys and shared destinies that are lost in the broader history. Dumitrache Merișescu raises the curtain and allows us to penetrate what we may call the banality and promiscuity of daily life. He proves to be an “outsider” discovering with curiosity the world that he meets. His memoirs are constructed as a travel journal,⁴⁰ penetrating through various temporal and social layers, through diverse worlds linked by confessional solidarity and clientelary networks.

38. *Călători străini*, p. 349.

39. For example, a curious transaction in 1815 proves the value of the services offered in the context of these clientelary relationships. On February 17, 1815, Ioan Hagi Moscu sold to Princess Ralu Caradja the estate of Conțești in Dâmbovița county, with stone boyar houses, a walled courtyard, a barn, a wooden church, a mill, and ale-houses, for the sum of 115,000 thalers. A few months later, on August 1, 1815, Princess Ralu Caradja sold the same estate of Conțești in Dâmbovița county back to him, but for 162,500 groschen (ANIC, Fond Documente Munteneste, CLIII/ 14, 15, 16, 17).

40. On the definition of this literary genre, see Drace-Francis, “Towards a Natural History.”

Dumitrache's journeys all start from an apparently convivial meeting that ends badly one autumn day in the open air at Filaret in Bucharest: "One autumn day, we made a decision together. We bought a loaf from Babicu and roast meat from Furnu, and autumn garlic. We went over to Filaret, and we were eating and drinking must." The bitter must goes quickly to the heads of the seventeen-year-olds, who start fighting. After hitting one of his friends on the head with a brick and seeing the blood flowing, Dumitrache takes fright and flees into the unknown, throwing himself, in fact, into an adventure. Heads hanging in a noose, hands, noses, ears cut off, corpses left in full view: these are the images that pursue him, that feed his fears and hasten his steps:

No one chased me, but it seemed to me that they would catch me and take me to Prince Caradja and put me on the stake, because often on Saturdays they put thieves on the stake. I watched and I took fright; on Saturdays, too, in the prison, they cut off the hands of some of the guilty people with a cleaver, they cut off the noses and ears of others; with their hands tied behind them, they could only shake their heads.

Such images imprint themselves in the mind of the traveller, and settle in the memory of an adolescent, setting out on the journey of life. In the same period, Teodor Vârnav, on his arrival in Bucharest, reports: "The first thing that filled me with amazement when I arrived on the edge of Bucharest was this: two people impaled alive on stakes, and likewise another hanged by the neck."⁴¹

This eye-witness report is from May 1813, when the young Teodor Vârnav arrived in Bucharest as a child of twelve to be entrusted for his education to the merchant Constandin Lada. Internal documents confirm the intransigence of the system of justice set in motion by the administrative ability of the Phanariot prince John Caradja, and all the more severe in the circumstances of a plague epidemic.

By jumping over fences and bypassing the alleys of the city, Tache arrives in the fields, beside the Bulgarian carts that were then gradually departing after feeding the people of Bucharest with their vegetables. Slowly but surely we enter another reality that is relatively little documented: that of the Bulgarian vegetable traders brought by the Russians during the occupation of 1806-1812. While some of them made their base in Cioplea-Dudești, others were scattered among the villages around the capital, with

41. Vârnav, *Istoria vieții mele*, p. 34.

the intention of supplying the city with fresh vegetables.⁴² Later, Prince John Caradja renewed their privileges, encouraging them to settle, to build homes, to send their children to school, to learn Romanian, to build churches. It was the children of these Bulgarians that were among Tache's classmates at school. From them he received turnips and learned Bulgarian:

The boys of the Bulgarians were at school. They gave us turnips when they came to school. We asked: "What do you call such and such?" And they told us all [the words], and we showed them the slate because they were wooden-headed.

After all sorts of wanderings among the "ugly" villages of the south, "without gardens or trees," as he writes, he manages to slip into the porch of a Bulgarian house in Oltenița. His first encounter, his first Platonic love, his first insertion into the Bulgarian minority introduce us into the routine of everyday life. It is an opportunity for the author to delve in introspection and above all explore a definition of the "self." It is the first time that this adolescent analyses who he is in relation to those he meets and how he relates to them. The "Bulgarians," and notably the women of the community, enable him to narrate his own identity.

The son of a small merchant turned boyar, Tache speaks from the perspective of a "petty logothete," thus superior from a social point of view, but also from the perspective of the "outsider" in a different hierarchical place from the Bulgarian vegetable sellers, simple people who eat millet polenta with their fingers (and whom, on top of that, he considers to be "wooden-headed"). Such a socially constructed distance is accentuated by the veneer of education that our protagonist has received. Everything differentiates him from those around him. In the first place, he is different by his clothing. Costume is central to the affirmation of one's identity, for the maintenance of social pride and the statement of social distinctions, obvious to a hierarchal society. Tache Merișescu asserts his pre-eminence with the help of his clothes on every possible occasion. And such occasions are numerous in the course of his travels. Describing the wonder and curiosity of the Bulgarian women who surround him one early October morning, in the village of Oltenița, he writes:

42. For the Russian policy of colonization in this period, see Robarts, "Imperial Confrontation."

They all kept looking at me to see what I was. I was dressed in a cotton *anteri*⁴³ with a felt sash, I was wearing a red *çaksır*,⁴⁴ my tall boots were from Tsarigrad, yellow, I had a fez and a cap like a Dacian one and I always wore my *fermene*.⁴⁵ It also had a little bit of wire embroidery on it, and I tied a white neckerchief around my neck.

Next, he stands out through a control of the body, which shows the acquisition of norms for eating at table, integrating the use of the knife and the fork, something quite unknown to peasants, and even to market traders and petty boyars:

Păunica prepared polenta. It was made from millet. She turned it out on the table and cut it in pieces. She also poured the milk that was in the cream dishes. She put cows' cheese too. She said to me: "Eat up, dearie." I answered that I had eaten the bread (*azima*) from the string. I tried the polenta and I could hear it. I wanted to eat, but it really made a grinding noise between my teeth. She put it in milk. She said it was good that way. I tasted it with a wooden spoon, but it stuck to my mouth, as I wasn't used either to millet polenta or to a wooden spoon. At home and in everyone's home there were tin spoons and plates also of tin, ladles and large and small bowls, also of tin. At Easter and Christmas they brought out silver onto the table. There were also porcelain plates, but they weren't used about the house.

The extract highlights two different worlds: the young petty boyar from the urban world of Bucharest, dressed cleanly and according to the boyar fashion, with carefully studied manners and for whom millet polenta smells of poverty, of provincialism, of vulgarity (in the older sense of pertaining to the masses, to the common people).⁴⁶

These two elements, clothes and good manners, characteristic of a certain social stratum, recur in the narrative and are amplified when the author comes into the presence of people who are his superiors from a social point of view.

43. Long, sleeved robe.

44. Wide trousers.

45. Short jacket worn over the *anteri*.

46. A series of rules of good behaviour circulated in the period, addressed principally to the middle category in society, as Anton Pann argues, probably influenced by Dimitrie Țichindeal or Dositej Obradović. Until discovering this journal, I had not found any information about their impact on society. We know only that *Școala Moralului* (*The school of morals*), reworked by Anton Pann, went through numerous editions, the first being printed in 1830. (See Vintilă-Ghițulescu, *Patimă și desfătare*, p. 123-170.) It remains likely that the rules of good behaviour in the booklets reworked by Dimitrie Țichindeal after Dositej Obradović were read and assimilated. For Dositej Obradović, see Fischer, "Dositej Obradović", p. 217-230.

Journeys into the feminine universe and the mysteries of love

His stay in the village of Oltenița, with its largely Bulgarian population, is his first initiation into the feminine universe and the mysteries of love.⁴⁷ Dumitrache Merișescu, the seventeen-year-old adolescent, penetrates the world of flirtation through the intermediary of play: blind-man's-buff and the *corăbiască* (a slow dance in which the dancers join hands in a circle). These games are his first initiation into the mysteries of love. Although he claims, as does Eufrosin Poteca in his memoirs,⁴⁸ to have had experience with girls through his sisters and cousins, embraces, caresses, risqué talk, and sexual allusions scare him, excite him, and arouse him, so that "Platonic love" turns to "fire". This "Platonic love", as he characterizes it, contains a considerable dose of fear, due to loss in translation and in the assimilation and processing of information. The girls speak to each other in Bulgarian, and when one of them, "a plump⁴⁹ girl," comes out with: "We'll have to work on this lad before he understands us,"⁵⁰ the young man finds all his senses reactivated: "I fell silent for fear after what the Bulgarian girl had said." Without giving away the fact that he understands Bulgarian, Dumitrache joins in the game, while the girls make risqué jokes at his expense – "Hey, where did you find him, sister? Give him to me!" They ask him for money, stare constantly at him, pick him to pieces with their words and threaten him – "Guard the lad, girls, because our Bulgarian men have a devilish temper." The "fire" turns into a terrifying blaze when the girls start to sing: "Hurry, Iană, to the clearing / Let's dig up a plant / The poppy plant / To give it to the man / For him to go to the devil."

Over and above these scenes of passing flirtation, Dumitrache describes the bucolic love he experiences at the side of the peasant woman Păuna among the haystacks and grapes of autumn.

47. Similar episodes occur in the memoirs of Osman-Ağa of Temesvar. See Hitzel, *Prisonnier des infidèles*, p. 81-82.

48. Eufrosin Poteca was a monk who studied in Paris and Pisa in the years 1826-1828. For a time he taught philosophy at the Princely Academy in Bucharest, before ending up as archimandrite of the Motru monastery. His memoirs are constructed around his condition as a monk, often finding it impossible to overcome his passions. See Poteca, *Scrieri filosofice*, p. 106; On this topic see Vintilă-Ghițulescu, "L'amour interdit."

49. In original *dolfan*, with connotations also of prosperity.

50. In Dumitrache Merișescu's rendering of the Bulgarian: "*Ima malcu da rabota a da icdim.*"

"Where are you this evening, my dear? A god or a wencher?" Love in a time of plague

The events of Dumitrache Merișescu's narrative take place in the years of the terrible plague, whose arrival coincided with that of the Phanariot prince John *Vodă* Caradja. While Ioan Dobrescu describes the ravages of the plague that descended over Wallachia, and especially over Bucharest, as a punishment for the sinful Christians who had come to be "worse than the pagans,"⁵¹ taking delight in Voltaire and the French language, Tache describes it from the perspective of a wandering adolescent:

I left the village [of Oltenița], but not by the road, because there was a guard because of the plague. There was smoke and rubbish around the houses. If by chance someone lost something on the road, no one would take it, and there weren't even thieves. On the one hand fear of falling ill, and on the other the severity of Prince Caradja: the stake, the gallows, cutting off of hands, cutting off of nose and ears, nailing of ears, even for petty boyars. I saw even the *sameș*⁵² of Craiova displayed at the gate of the courtyard. They had dressed him in boyar clothes [but] he was only in his indoor slippers and condemned for fraud.⁵³

The fear was recurrent and any "sign" turned into a hysteria, which moreover was fed by the images encountered in the visible zones of the community. Another episode shows us how fragile was the stability of this world and what terror could be induced by any kind of epidemic:

On Friday morning the overseer left me in the house. There was a bottle of raki, there was salmon and roe. He ate and said that he hadn't got ill. I took the bottle, I drank the raki. I ate the roe too; as I was unaccustomed, I got dizzy. I started to vomit. The Gypsy went upstairs and said that I was stricken. There was a great uproar. They heard that I was at home and that perhaps I had taken ill. There was fear in the whole courtyard. The boyar, in the end, prepared his horses and went to the princely court. He was the *vistiernic*.⁵⁴ He ordered the gates to be kept shut and guarded by a Gypsy. The overseer did not enter the house.

51. Corfus, "Cronica," p. 341.

52. Tax collector.

53. A reversal of the usual custom: condemned boyars normally had first to be deprived of their rank and dressed in humble peasant clothes before their sentence was carried out. *Vodă* Caradja lets the condemned man's rank remain visible, thus reinforcing the message that even a boyar is subject to punishment if he commits a crime.

54. Dumitrache Merișescu has wrongly identified Grigore Băleanu's office: he was actually grand *vornic* (justice minister), not *vistiernic* (finance minister). Christine Philliou

The episode takes place in the house of the great boyar Grigore Băleanu, where Dumitrache Merișescu, godson, client, and protégé of the grand *vistier* Ioan Hagi Moscu, had become a houseboy, responsible for the cage of canaries. The unruly servant helps himself to the bottle of raki, to the roe and salmon, while the household overseer is not around; “unaccustomed”, as he puts it by way of excuse, he vomits, and scares everyone around him. The alarm is given, the gates of the mansion are locked, the “stricken” person is isolated, the servants and the ladies of the house wait, petrified, on the lookout “like mice” to see if it is time to flee. Only Dumitrache, once recovered, resumes his walk along the veranda “to see what had happened.”

The Băleanus are one of the most important boyar families of the period. Grigore Băleanu holds the office of grand *vornic*, and stays constantly in the company of *Vodă* Caradja.⁵⁵ Madame Băleanu⁵⁶ spends her time with Lady Caradja, keeping her company in the quiet of their country house in Băneasa. In the presence of the *vodă*, these boyars, high office-holders, are obliged, for reasons of prestige, to display a degree of luxury at least equal to that displayed by the prince and his court. Dumitrache Merișescu enters into the world of this noble boyar, he is accepted within the intimacy of the private quarters because he carries with him the name of his protector Ioan Hagi Moscu. Moreover, Dumitrache finds another protector in the person of the nanny, Kyra Fotini, a “Greek” and a “Tsarigrad woman” as he describes her. In other words, this constitutes another link in a network that connects those pervade a “mobile identity.”

Here, the young merchant’s son has the occasion to undergo a new initiation into the mysteries of love, which he will then describe under the influence of *Erotocritos*. The stage set this time is quite different: the mansion in the centre of the city houses a young lady, “beautiful as the

describes him as a boyar of Armenian origin (Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, p. 17). In fact, the Băleanu family took its name from the village of Băleni in Dâmbovița county, the principle residence of the lineage. In the 17th century, when family names became stabilized, the boyars of Băleni turned their place of residence into a name, as in the cases of other boyar families. For example, the Brâncoveanu family, who are also mentioned in this study, took their name from the village of Brâncoveni in Olt county.

55. Grigore Băleanu held the office of grand *vornic* (and sometimes grand logothete) throughout the reign of Ioan Vodă Caradja (Urechia, *Istoria romanilor*, X/1, p. 35, 42, 262, 308 and 432).

56. Maria Brâncoveanu, the daughter of Emanoil Brâncoveanu and Zoe Sturdza, married to Grigore Băleanu.

wick of a candle," as he says when he meets her for the first time. But before entering upon the mysteries of love, it is only right to offer some information about the young lady who lets herself be courted by an ordinary adolescent, far below her in the social hierarchy.

Zoe Băleanu's destiny was that of the majority of the daughters of great boyars, important playing pieces in matrimonial strategies directed by the heads of their families. Married in 1811-1812 to beyzade Matei Ghica, son of the *ban* Costache Ghica, Zoe was quickly deserted by her husband. Suffering from tuberculosis, young Matei set out in search of health, following his father, who was in the service of the Ottoman Empire, now to Vienna, now to Istanbul. After waiting for three years, Zoe Băleanu, accompanied by her grandmother, Zoe Brâncoveanu, applied for and, after many petitions and hearings, obtained a separation.⁵⁷ The divorce trial is a very curious one: her application was rejected in the first instance by Prince Caradja, who "ripped up" the Metropolitan's report, but was approved several weeks later. The British Consul in Bucharest, William Wilkinson (1813-1816), writes that it was only a divorce of convenience because the girl's father, Grigore Băleanu, had found a better match: "Her father, who was the chief instigator of her sudden resolution, had negotiated the second marriage, because it suited his own interests."⁵⁸ This assertion by Wilkinson, who describes the divorce trial from the perspective of an Englishman shocked by the libertinage of the Romanians, comes in support of the narrative of young Dumitrache Merișescu.

Nanny Fotini pulls all the strings of this story played out in great secret, behind locked doors and under cover of darkness.⁵⁹ Under various pretexts, Dumitrache is called to keep the young lady company, although the boyar Băleanu had fired him after his first day of work, categorizing him as a "bungler." While every morning he leaves by the garden gate, hidden from the gaze of others, into the light of day, nanny Fotini strives to find various roles in which to bring him back to the mansion: nephew,

57. The divorce proceedings took place between May 15 and June 2 1815, the application being signed by Zoe Băleanu and her grandmother, Zoe Brâncoveanu. If we start from the hypothesis that Dumitrache Merișescu indeed spent some time in the house of grand *vornic* Grigore Băleanu in the company of the latter's daughter, then this must have taken place not in October 1814, but in October 1815, when she was divorced and free. (Urechia, *Istoria romanilor*, X/2, p. 259-262).

58. Wilkinson, *Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia*, p. 148-149.

59. Here nanny Fotini departs considerably from the model of the nurse Frusina in *Erotocritos*, who is very close to the principle character Aretusa (Dima, *Poemul Erotocrit*, p. 7-25).

passing Leipzig merchant, servant from the palace. Any hesitation on the part of the young man results in his being severely berated by the nanny with: "*Ghiezi, gide, pusti!*" – in other words he is told that he must be a leper, a goat, or a sodomite not to like such a beautiful young lady.⁶⁰

The evenings are whiled away in games of cards for kisses or blind-man's-buff, sweetened by pastries and various conserves, triggered by the darkness, ending under the covers:

The boyar stayed for dinner at court. The mistress had been at Băneasa with Lady Caradja for about four days. Evening came. I kissed the nanny's hands and asked what I was to do. She said: "*sopa, pidi mu.*"⁶¹ She showed me which way to go, "*is to anangeo.*"⁶² She lit lights all around. In our room it was dark. The young lady found me even in the dark... We started playing, playing... I had got the hang of it like a bear at the honey trough. The nanny came with candles. She said: "*ti canite esis?*"⁶³ We burst out laughing. The nanny pretended she didn't understand. She said: "*Pinases.*"⁶⁴ I answered: "*Den pino.*" "*Catalava esi, cori, pinases.*"⁶⁵ She answered: "*Ohi.*"⁶⁶ We got back to our games. I was about the same age as the young lady. Out into the yard. She didn't know where I was because she asked me: "*Pu tha kimithisi?*"⁶⁷ I shook my head. "*Cathise edo eos aurion chi aurion.*"⁶⁸ I answered with silence. Miss Zoița said to the nanny: "*Nene, ela na se filiso,*"⁶⁹ approaching to kiss her. The nanny said to me: "Why don't you kiss her?" I took her hands and I kissed them. The nanny had things to do outside. She came and went. It was late, but I didn't feel it, I didn't think of anything. She gave me the young lady's indoor slippers, we ate pastries and laughed. The nanny went outside and opening the door she said: "*Ela agligora!*"⁷⁰ As she went out I heard her locking the door with a key from outside. I went to bed with my clothes on, because I was in a trap. Thinking, I fell asleep. It was late when nanny Fotini came. The candle was running out. She said to me: "*Plai su cala en ia su.*"⁷¹ I kept quiet and undressed, but the covers were

60. Gr.: "Gehazi, goat, sodomite"! Gehazi is a Biblical character who becomes a leper (2 Kings 5: 20-27). His name was often invoked in formulaic curses. "*Pusti*" was a current term of invective directed at a man, its primary sense being that of "sodomite". I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Lidia Cotovanu for her kind assistance with the translation of the Greek dialogues into Romanian.

61. "Quiet, my dear!"

62. "For a necessity."

63. "What are you [plural] doing?"

64. "Are you hungry?"

65. "I'm not hungry. I understand. Are you hungry, girl?"

66. "No."

67. "Where will you sleep?"

68. "Stay here till morning."

69. "Come and let me kiss you, nanny."

70. "Come on quickly!"

71. "[It's] good with you, may you be healthy."

not for the likes of me, because my feet were unwashed and my stockings torn. I said [to myself]: "*Nene catarisi ta ciorapia ti hali ehon.*"⁷² I heard: "*Enoia sou pidi mu.*"⁷³ I thought that Kyra Fotini was going to bed too, because the quilt was of cotton with long pillows and three small ones. I crossed myself and got into bed. She took the candle; she went and locked the door from outside. Late. In the dark, the nanny came and got under the covers. For a moment I thought that it was Kyra Fotini. "*To hava su, nene Tachi.*"⁷⁴ It was morning when we heard the door opening. When we saw the nanny we pulled the quilt over our heads, but Kyra Fotini said: "*Sicothite, agligora.*"⁷⁵ Zoița left. She was in a dressing gown. I pulled on my *çaksır*, I got my boots onto my feet. She invited me to leave by the garden gate and to come in by the [main] gate, to go straight to the overseer. If he asked me, (she told me) to say I was coming from home: "I'll be there too, so you don't make a fool of yourself."

I went out, she locked the little gate. It wasn't yet fully day. I went round to come in at the [main] gate. I didn't meet anyone I knew. The gate was half unlocked, because the butler had gone to the market. I went straight to the overseer. Kyra Fotini was waiting. Since I had just come, I bid good morning.⁷⁶ I kissed the hand of Kyra Fotini. She said: "*Pou ise pidi mu apo[p]se? Thios iti porni?*"⁷⁷

While he spends his nights by the side of Zoe Băleanu, during the day, Dumitrache wanders the alleys of Bucharest, meeting friends, eating pies (*boğaç*) and rolls (*simit*), frequenting the house of a famous courtesan, Marghiola, going to the service at the Metropolitan Cathedral on Saint Demetrius's day, bathing in the public baths, going on various errands for the young lady, dropping in at home only to change his shirt.

A princely wedding

Young Dumitrache's job as a houseboy provides the reader with the opportunity to enter the house of a great boyar with a position at the princely court. It is an eyewitness report from inside, laying bare the foundations of the sumptuous lives of the nobility. The early years of the nineteenth century saw the decline of some important boyar families, who met their end in the defiant aura of appearances. The occasion of a wedding was

72. "Mister, clean your stockings. They're pitiful."

73. "No worry, my dear."

74. "No problem, Mr Tache."

75. "Get up [plural], quickly!"

76. In the original, "Am calimeritu", making a Romanian verb from the Greek "*kalimera*," "Good morning."

77. "Where are you, my dear, this evening? A god or a wencher?"

used to highlight the prestige of the family through the intermediary of luxury. The planned marriage between the daughter of the grand *vornic* Grigore Băleanu and one of the numerous beyzades in the entourage of Vodă Caradja – perhaps even one of the prince’s own sons – provides us with an opportunity to observe close-up the fever of purchases that were indeed significant from a financial point of view.

The “supplier” of the Băleanu family is Constantin Costa Foru, a “Leipzig merchant” with an important place in the luxury market of Bucharest.⁷⁸ We may imagine him arriving at the mansion in Băneasa accompanied by his journeymen Gheorghe Furculiță and Dumitrache Merișescu, with a cart loaded with boxes. With quill and inkwell hanging from his belt, with his ledger prepared for the entry of goods bought on credit, for the addition of more and more merchandise, the desired lace and other trimmings, with his *brașoveancă* carriage ready to dash back to the shop for unexpected requests, Costa Foru skilfully directs the transaction... The scene is inspired by the account offered by Tache Merișescu, journeyman for a day:

They all went to the shop and began to choose stuff: lace, trimmings, and so on. I watched. They loaded us up with boxes and packages. We went home and they placed them in a carriage sent from Băneasa. We made a big parcel and climbed into the carriage. We carried the boxes into a salon. They annouced us and Kyra Fotini came out with Mistress Zoița [...] They chose, they put aside. They said to bring such and such too.

Costa Foru, following the instructions of the future bride and of nanny Fotini, returns to his shop to bring even more goods. Dumitrache, turned into a Leipzig merchant for the day, continues his account: “He filled the salon with merchandise. A large number of ladies came out; it might have been a fair. They chose; they bargained. I, the Leipzig merchant, moved boxes with and without purpose. Only Gheorghe Furculiță could stop me, because he was older in the shop.”

Judging by ledgers of merchandise and ladies’ correspondence, the fashion was relatively mixed in the autumn of 1815. A predilection for French style, as regards to the form of garments, combined with a preference for precious Oriental fabrics. In the salon of the Băleanu house in

78. He is a Greek, referred to as a “Leipzig merchant” (*lipscan*) because of his economic connections with the German town. On material culture and circulation of goods see Faroqhi, “Moving Goods Around;” Quataert, *Consumption Studies*; Faroqhi, “The Material Culture.”

Băneasa, the boxes that the Leipzig merchant Costa Foru unpacked contain shawls and Lahore headscarfs (one alone cost around 600 Groschen),⁷⁹ lace, Holland linen, satins, English cloth, *conduras* (shoes) and *çaksırs*, brocade and damask, earrings with rubies and emeralds, diamond rings, floral brooches and aigrettes, clasps and slippers, bonnets and ribbons, *anteris* embroidered with wire, *fermenes* trimmed with ermine, *ibrişim* thread, kerchiefs, sashes, fezzes and salwars. Merchandise brought from India, Damascus, Moscow, Livorno, Vienna, Paris, London, and Venice dresses the bride from the banks of the Dâmbovița. Luxury is the bridge that connects merchants, princes and boyars, kings, chancellors, emperors, and viziers. The petty artisans work from dawn to dusk in their various workshops in order to satisfy this young lady and to keep themselves alive from day to day.

We do not know how Zoe Băleanu looked as a bride when, in the Advent fast of 1815, she was married to beyzade Demetrios Caradja. Dumitrache Merișescu simply notes: "The wedding was splendid. The prince himself with the princess were their godparents."

For the poor Leipzig merchant, the young lady's wedding meant only "bitterness". Intruding into the intimacy of the Băleanu family's mansion, Tache Merișescu had made so naive as to believe in the phantasms of *Erotocritos*, falling "head over heels" in love with the young mistress Zoe Băleanu. "*Zoi mu*," "*pidimu*," "beautiful as the wick of a candle," the poor adolescent never comes to the end of his compliments addressed to the young lady who accepts him in her company only "because she was bored of being shut indoors." And then, when for reasons of policy she has to marry, she has no backward glance to spare for the young man who had kept her company at night, kissing her hands, pampering her, caressing her, singing to her now in Greek, now in Bulgarian, giving her lace trimmings and many, many "tearful sighs."

On the road to Tsarigrad

When Mistress Zoe and Demetrios Caradja have to leave for Tsarigrad, where he is to occupy the post of *kapıkâhaya* (diplomatic representative of the prince of Wallachia), Dumitrache Merișescu has a place in their

79. See the correspondence between two "Greek" merchants concerning the sale of these shawls in Bucharest and Moscow (ANIC, Fond Documente Muntenești, LXXVII/7, 9/17 December 1813).

suite. Thanks to the intervention of nanny Fotini, Dumitrache is appointed page (*yedecli*) in the beyzade's court. For all the goodwill shown by the merchant Costa Foru, the adolescent is considered far too old to start an apprenticeship. His new job makes the boy arrogant and full of himself beyond all limits: "I went about like a spinning top; I went in and out without a care. I was unstoppable, of course, as the beyzade's page." And when he receives his livery too, he becomes full of himself to the point of paroxysm:

The head tailor of the palace came. He made me two suits of clothes, two page's caftans and a *cüppe*⁸⁰ and *biniş*,⁸¹ shoes with *meşti*.⁸² He brought two *donlucs*⁸³ to tie round my head. When I was dressed, I was full of myself. [...] He also gave me the khanjar of a big boss. Hey, Dimitri. That's what he called me. It seemed to me that I was as grand as the beyzade.

His arrogance lasts until the cold of the Christmas fast. Under pressure from the Porte, Vodă Caradja sends this beyzade, his son or close relative, away to Constantinople, where he is to be *kapıkâhaya* and guarantor, as was the usual practice:

With a suite of Arnauts, we set out with the beyzade's carriage. They were all mountain ponies. Arnauts before and behind. Boyars and the *Vodă*, with beating of drums and with their suite, took us out on the Mogoşoia Road. We were in a cart, sitting in disorder. It was in the Christmas fast. There was a cover over us. We threw ourselves into the bottom of the cart. After escorting us as far as Colentina, the beyzade went on faster.

The journey to Tsarigrad was made along the post roads, in convoy, or by other well-known roads in order to avoid any highway robbery, prevalent in the period. Moreover, the plague was still lurking, and lazarettoes were more than obligatory.⁸⁴ And so Dumitrache bumps along in post carts, keeping Kyra Fotini, the native of Tsarigrad, company, passing through Brăila, Măcin, and Hârşova, met by pashas, smoked and aired so as not to take the plague back to where it came from. At Hârşova, the young mistress feels more and more ill, so "the lady came to bring her medicine." Since her state of health worsens, or perhaps as the consequence of a

80. Long felt jacket.

81. Sleeveless mantle.

82. Leather slippers for indoor wear.

83. Cotton cloths.

84. On the plague and the sanitary measures in the Ottoman Empire see Panzac, "Politique sanitaire." See also Panzac, *La peste*.

political plan carefully laid by *Vodă* Caradja, so as not to leave his "children" in the hands of the Turks, the young mistress and the beyzade return to Bucharest. However, the convoy, "with Turkish guarantees," goes on to Varna and Mesembria (Nesebar), and from there they are loaded onto boats and escorted to Caradja's houses in Therapia, to the recurrent and prolonged sighs of Kyra Fotini, who repeats fearfully: "Ah, my dear, my dear, whatever anyone says, what do we care?"

Fotini's worries are only too real in an Empire in which suspicion and fear occupy a central place. Those generally known by the name of "Phanariots" have the most vulnerable position, living in grandeur or squalor, always in fear of losing their own and their families' heads. Nikolaos Soutzos, another beyzade, attentive to expectations and diplomatic games in Arnatvutköy, on the shores of the Bosphorus, notes: "God only knows how much caution was needed even about children's amusements in the harsh and bloody time of the reign of Sultan Mahmud." He then tells how, while improvising a dance in the dark and without music, he was seen by the *bostancı-başı* (chief of police), who was passing by sea, and summoned to the chancery of the police in Istanbul. Or how young Aleco Vlahuți came to lose his head because he was seen in the window of a house in Therapia with a shawl wound around his head, not knowing that the turban had just been banned.⁸⁵ The research conducted by Matthew Elliot and Maurits H. van den Boogert⁸⁶ backs up what Nikolaos Soutzos observes with regard to the codes of dress and behaviour that were obligatory in the Ottoman Empire and especially in Istanbul. An additional factor was the insecure status of these Phanariots, who were made use of and rapidly eliminated as soon as a question mark arose concerning their loyalty.⁸⁷ There were moments when Prince Caradja's prospects hung in the balance, and these can be glimpsed in Merișescu's memoirs, when fears turn into rumours that smother the truth.

Kyra Fotini has experience of princes and sultans, but Dumitrache is far too young to sigh or to be paralysed by fear. Under the protection of his *yedecli* clothing, and "not guarded by anyone," as he writes, he slips through the alleyways of the city. One day, he meets a Serbian cloth-merchant whom he knows from Bucharest, who advises him to leave

85. Suțu, *Memoriile*, p. 55-59.

86. Elliot, "Dress Codes;" van den Boogert, "Intermediaries par excellence?"

87. On this topic see Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, p. 18-21.

Therapia as “envoys have been sent to Bucharest because the *Vodă* has not paid the tribute for five years and the Turks will slaughter you.” The information scares the young *yedecli*, and if until then he has sometimes sighed in expectation of seeing the young mistress, the prospect of his head being cut off prompts him to give up love for more practical concerns.

The Sümbüllü Khan (*Zumbul han*) is where Christian merchants from the Balkans, merchants from the Romanian lands, and “Braşov merchants” stay.⁸⁸ According to Merişescu the khan appears to be a veritable fortification, which closes its gates during the night. The rooms have “two rows of beds” one on top of the other, so that the resident has to “climb up stairs” in order to get into bed. The rent is not too high, and for this reason “many merchants stay there” and all the rooms are occupied. Another important reason is that it is largely inhabited by “German protégés (*sudîți*),” under the protection of the Habsburg Empire or of Prussia, and benefitting from the intervention of these two consulates in the interests of the safety of their merchants. Indeed the Serbian merchant who helps Tache is just such a “German protégé.” He advises him to quickly change his clothes and to obtain documents in order to be able to survive in Istanbul.⁸⁹ Shutting himself inside the khan for fear, Tache emerges only when he has changed his appearance: “he made me German clothes, he bought me a hat and gave me a German passport, to show to the Turks if they asked me.”

What sort of identity did Dumitrache Merişescu buy for himself? What did this “German passport” look like? Dumitrache does not offer any kind of information, but we may note his passage from the status of “Homo Ottomanicus” to that of “German,” in other words, “Frank.”⁹⁰ Moreover, Dumitrache never pronounces the names of his encounters. What name does this Serbian merchant bear? And what of the uncle whom he will meet a few pages further on? Or the other members of the group of merchants “hidden” in the Sümbüllü (*Zumbul*) Khan? Who were they? What languages did they speak? How did they manage to understand each other? Was there a common language specific to merchants?

88. On this khan see Laiou, “The Ottoman Greek ‘Merchants of Europa’,” p. 327.

89. See the measures taken by Sultan Selim III regarding the security of city, after the Aysofya Mosque incident, on December 17, 1791. For more details see Başaran, *Selim III*, p. 2-3.

90. For the definition of what an Ottoman subject was considered to be, see van den Boogert, “Resurrecting Homo Ottomanicus,” p. 9-10. See also Yeşil, “How to be(come) an Ottoman.”

These are questions that remain unanswered as we read the narrative of Dumitrache Merișescu.

With his new appearance, Dumitrache steps out on a new journey through the passages of the Bezisten in search of cheap merchandise, following and helping the merchant in order to repay his "debt:" "Wherever he went, I [went] with him too and carried a box containing silk thread, woven silk, and whatever he bought for Bucharest."

In the evening, after the gates of the khan had shut and the nightwatchmen had set out on their rounds, the merchants would gather in a coffee-house to pick up useful information, watch the *karagözlük*,⁹¹ take coffee and tobacco, and forget the terrors of their journeys. The coffee-house (like the inn) was one of the most important places of socialization, where information, gossip, and rumours spread and were shared. Here Dumitrache finds out that *Vodă* Caradja has "fled to the German land of Beci [Vienna]," that the suite and baggage of the *kapıkâhaya* from "Bogdania" have been taken by the vizier, and that the young page has been declared missing and is being searched for. In the coffee-house the merchants tell jokes, they make comments, they pass on stories. Here, one of the merchants has a laugh at the expense of the "pretty" page taken by the Turks to be their "boy." And the merchant adds: "Damned be the Turks!" There is a widespread folklore around the theme of the Turks' being sodomites, so it is not difficult for poor Dumitrache to imagine himself caught in the embrace of a janissary and to take fear: "I kept quiet and listened."⁹²

"Turks" is a generic name, as Palmira Brummett shows in her study of travel narratives.⁹³ Dumitrache does not stop to offer details, but merely expresses succinctly what other travellers say about the "Turks." The "Turks" encountered by Dumitrache are aggressive and capricious (*belâli*), ferocious, "accursed," sodomites.⁹⁴ Thus he categorizes a group

91. The *karagözlük* (romanianized as "Caraghioslăc") was much enjoyed in Wallachia too. It was performed as shadow theatre at the princely court and in great boyar households, but, together with the *maskaralk*, it was equally appreciated by the common people, and was performed as a puppet show in the open air in alleyways or at fairs. Because of its obscene language, the *karagözlük* was frequently banned in the early 19th century (See Vintilă-Ghițulescu, *Patimă și desfătare*, p. 384-385). For the popularity of the *karagözlük* in the Ottoman Empire, see Sajdi, *The Barber of Damascus*, p. 162-165.

92. Iordache Golescu (1768-1848) frequently makes reference in his plays to this practice. It is probably a legend arising from fear of the Turks, who were both in both ethnic and confessional terms "other". (Golescu, *Scrisori alese*, p. 31-32, 308).

93. Brummett, "Travel Narratives of the Ottoman Empire."

94. See also Firmin Didot, *Notes d'un voyage*.

without pausing to consider individuals, whom he avoids. Indeed, interaction between the two worlds were almost non-existent: Tache observes from a distance the nightwatchmen (*kulluk*) crossing the city, the “capricious” janissaries ready to start a fight, the crowds in the alleyways, but he never approaches, out of fear, out of lack of knowledge.⁹⁵

However, the coffee-house is also the crossroads where different travellers’ journeys intersect with one another. Being a place of meeting and socializing, one day the coffee-house brings together Tache and one of his uncles, a brother who had remained in the Ottoman Empire while Fotache sought his fortune beyond the Danube. And so a new adventure begins, and a new identity is proposed: “The next day, I crossed to Pera, to the monastery administrator (*dikios*), and he got for me a passport as a German protégé.” His apprenticeship in the cotton trade now begins. For a year and a half, he travels to well-known and less well-known places, from Smyrna to Venice, from Ostrov to Salonica, from Mount Athos to Jerusalem, with boxes containing cotton, lining material, *castambol*, *alaca*, and silk thread. The adventure ends in Alexandria, when his uncle dies unexpectedly of the plague, leaving a ship loaded with stacks of cotton and a helpless nephew in the hands of the consulate. The consulate intervenes by virtue of the right it held over its subjects, the protégés, and confiscates the entire cargo, giving Tache 700 lei and sending him to Galați on board of the galleon Altar Saneli. He disembarks in the Moldavian port after being away for almost two years, with a knapsack containing prayer beads, musk, rose butter, Turkish delight, and Indian carobs.

The last sentence of the memoir is a sort of profession of faith: “Consequently I believe in stories.” In other words, if all these things happened to me, a mere mortal, then all stories ought to contain a grain of truth. Except that the adventures of Dumitrache Merișescu do not end here.

Post-journey destinies

Dumitrache Merișescu wrote down only a part of his life experiences in the manuscript. It is possible that there are other manuscripts that I have not yet found. In the absence of a sufficiently informative catalogue, research in the Romanian archives is largely a matter of luck and perseverance. As soon as I began to read the memoirs of this young man,

95. Eldem, “Foreigners.”

I embarked on a search for any traces of him that might remain in the archives. More adventurous than practical-minded, Dumitrache drifted between Galați and Focșani, working as a *cavaf*, in other words, making and selling cheap shoes. Later, he connected himself to the beyzades Alecu and Iorga Sturdza (1822), just when their father Ioniță Sandu Sturdza became prince of Moldavia (1822-1828). For a time he was *becer* at the princely court, holding an official position with responsibility for supervising the palace kitchen. Vodă Ioniță Sandu Sturdza raised him to the rank of *paharnic*, and at the same time offered him the hand of a young girl from the princess's entourage.⁹⁶ The rank did not bring him any great wealth. Most likely *paharnic* Dumitrache Merișescu was not as good at exploiting the privileges that his rank offered as he had been at adventurously pushing himself into various clientelary networks. In 1829, Dumitrache is reported in the *vidomostia* (listing) of the boyars of Moldavia to be poor, without an estate, living in Târgul Petrii (today's Piatra Neamț).⁹⁷ However, later, in the middle of the nineteenth century, *paharnic* Dumitrache Merișescu appears to have been a wealthy local boyar with close connections to the educated Moldavian elite.⁹⁸

Nor did Zoe Băleanu have a very happy destiny, although at least she was never to experience poverty. Her marriage to beyzade Demetrios Caradja lasted till 1818, when Prince John Caradja took refuge in Pisa, accompanied by a numerous suite of clients and beyzades, after first taking care to see that his accumulated wealth was stowed in safety, mainly in banks in Western Europe. The princely flight must have come as a heavy blow to grand *vornic* Grigore Băleanu, but he got over it quickly, finding perhaps the best match and solution: Ștefan Hagi Moscu, the son of the rich boyar, merchant, and banker Ioan Hagi Moscu.

Conclusion

As Maurits H. van den Boogert has shown, "the complex nature of *homo ottomanicus*" contains several constants and a series of variables.⁹⁹ I enumerate them here in order to see whether Dumitrache Merișescu

96. Sion, *Arhondologia Moldovei*, p. 167-168. He was married with Smaranda Manoliu having as "god-parents" the princely family. See Urechia, *Din tainele vieței*, p. 4, 14 and 27.

97. Perietzianu-Buzău, "Vidomostie de boierii," p. 277.

98. Urechia, *Din tainele vieței*, p. 27; See also ANIC, Fond Achiziții Noi, MMCCCXLVII/1, October 10, 1856.

99. Van den Boogert, "Resurrecting Homo Ottomanicus," p. 18.

could be integrated in the “species” of *homo ottomanicus*, together with the other candidates analysed by Maurits H. Van den Boogert, and in the volume coordinated by Meropi Anastassiadou and Bernard Heyberger and dedicated to this subject.¹⁰⁰ Born in the Ottoman Empire, of Orthodox Christian parents, Dumitrache is an Ottoman subject, and it is as such that he sets out on the roads of the Empire. As part of the social group of merchants, Dumitrache speaks Romanian, Bulgarian, Greek, and Turkish, an essential ability for any merchant in the exercise of his occupation. Similarly, he is well integrated both in the urban network and in the Balkan commercial network, which facilitates his access to information and connections. In other words, he may be considered a true candidate to be what has generally been defined as *homo ottomanicus*. But if in retrospect, Dumitrache Merișescu speaks of himself as being a “Christian,” born in Bucharest, of Christian parents, payers of taxes to the Phanariot prince Caradja, and thus to the Grand Signor, others attribute more precise identities to him. For example, ten years later, in the listing compiled by the Moldavian authorities (1829), Dumitrache is recorded as the son of “Fotachi Merișescu the Greek.”¹⁰¹ In the middle of the nineteenth century, his Balkan origins had not yet been omitted, despite his integration in the network of the local Moldavian boyar class. Constantin Sion writes, in his 1856 registry of the boyars of Moldavia, that Dumitrache is a “Bulgarian shoemaker” who has “settled in Moldavia with the help of the Sturdza family.”¹⁰²

Dumitrache Merișescu’s destiny is, however, much closer to that of the figures studied by Christine Philliou: Dionisyos Photeinos or Stephanos Vogorides, for example, without, of course, attaining their degree of visibility. Belonging to a family of “Balkan” merchants who had taken refuge for various reasons in Wallachia, Merișescu may be numbered among those “entering the service and culture of phanariots.”¹⁰³ Dumitrache begins his career under the protective wing of his patron, the Phanariot Ioan Hagi Moscu. When this patron is no longer there, he tries to find a place in another clientelary network under the patronage of another influential Phanariot family: Sturdza. His entire career in the administration of Wallachia or Moldavia is connected to the progress through time of his chosen patrons, and he advances, or falls behind, along with them.

100. Ibid., p. 16-17; See also Anastassiadou, Heyberger, *Figures anonymes*.

101. See Perietzianu-Buzău, “Vidomostie de boierii,” p. 277.

102. Sion, *Arhondologia Moldovei*, p. 167-168

103. Philliou, *Biography of an Empire*, p. 39.

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Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, "I believe in stories": The journey of a young boyar, from Bucharest to Istanbul, in the early nineteenth century

The paper is about the memoirs of Dumitrache Merișescu, a young merchant/boyar born in Colentina (a suburb of Bucharest) of 'Greek' parents, who travelled from Bucharest to Constantinople in various guises. The study first explores this young man's initiation into both amorous and commercial liaisons, and second, the manner in which he reinvents himself in the course of his journey, adopting new clothes and learning new languages. Two important hypotheses emerge from the analysis of these memoirs unpublished and hitherto unknown to historians. The first hypothesis concerns the memoirs themselves, which are constructed in a different way from others in style, language, and behaviour. The memoirs are the first testimony to the language and languages spoken in different social strata, and point to an active presence of 'Greeks' in the modelling of an education and a culture. With the help of language, Dumitrache Merișescu constructs a 'mobile' identity, maintained by a certain type of behaviour and costume. The second hypothesis takes shape around the clientelary relations that connect this group, dominated by the figure of the merchant Ioan Hagi Moscu. Mobile due to the activities they pursue – as merchants, artisans, nannies – the 'Greeks' are bound together by a distinctive sort of solidarity. Travelling through the Ottoman Empire and its periphery (Wallachia and Moldavia), Dumitrache always encounters Greeks, Bulgarians, and Serbs who are ready to help him. Their identity combines three elements: a common confession, a common language, and mobility.

Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, « Je crois aux histoires » Le voyage d'un jeune boyard/marchand de Bucarest à Istanbul, au début du XIX^e siècle

L'article explore les mémoires d'un jeune boyard/marchand, né à Colentina (près de Bucarest) de parents « grecs » (ou vlaques), qui voyage à l'intérieur du pays, puis vers Istanbul. L'étude analyse d'abord l'initiation de ce jeune homme

à travers ses liaisons amoureuses et ses relations commerciales, puis la manière dont il se révèle à lui-même à travers ses voyages, en revêtant de nouveaux habits et en maîtrisant de nouvelles langues. Deux importantes hypothèses émergent de la lecture de ses mémoires, encore inédits et inconnus des chercheurs. La première hypothèse met en évidence la construction spécifique de ses mémoires par leur style, la langue et le comportement relaté qui les distinguent d'autres mémoires rédigés à la même époque. Ces mémoires sont un témoignage de première main sur la langue et les langages parlés par les différentes couches sociales et donnent à voir une présence active des « Grecs » dans le façonnage d'une éducation, d'une culture. À l'aide de ce langage, Dumitrache Merișescu se fabrique une « identité mobile », complétée par un comportement et un costume spécifiques. La deuxième hypothèse se construit autour de réseaux et relations de clientèle édifiées par un certain groupe et dominées par la personnalité du marchand Ioan Hagi Moscu. Mobiles par leurs activités – marchands, artisans, nourrices – « les Grecs » sont liés par une solidarité particulière. Voyageant à travers l'Empire ottoman et ses périphéries (Valachie et Moldavie), Dumitrache rencontre des Grecs, des Bulgares, des Serbes, des Valaques toujours prêts à l'aider. Leur identité réunit trois éléments communs : la confession, la langue, la mobilité.

WORLDS OF (DIS)ORDER:

OTTOMAN REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SPHERES (17TH–18TH CENTURIES)

FELIX KONRAD

INTRODUCTION

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Ottomans witnessed profound transformations in both socio-political structures and practices. They were faced with increasing social mobility and fluctuating social boundaries,¹ new modes of socio-political interaction and altering positions of various socio-political groups. The political order was threatened by conflicts, rebellions in the provinces and revolts in the capital, many of them forceful enough to overthrow grand viziers and sultans. From the late seventeenth century onward, external threats were added to internal ones. The expanding neighboring empires exerted increasing pressure on the Ottomans who suffered military defeats and territorial losses.² In this context, foreign and domestic problems were often intertwined, reinforcing each other.

The articles in this dossier originated in a panel at the *Turkologentag* in Hamburg in September 2016 as well as in an international workshop, funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation, at the University of Basel in May 2017. Both occasions were organized by Felix Konrad, and the authors express their gratitude to all participants for their valuable input and their discussions. Special thanks are due to Denise Klein (Mainz) and Henning Sievert (Heidelberg) who presented papers on both occasions, Maurus Reinkowski (Basel) and Alp Yenen (Leiden) who chaired the workshop, Tobias Heinzelmann (Zurich) who participated as a discussant and to the *Turcica* publishers and anonymous reviewers, all of whom made insightful and constructive comments.

1. Yılmaz Diko, “Blurred Boundaries.”

2. Quataert, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 37.

It is true that socio-political and socio-economic transformations began in the late sixteenth century and never stopped until the empire's dissolution in the wake of the First World War. Although there were intermediate periods in which unchecked change seemed to give way to political stability and firm control of socio-political dissent – such as the reign of Murād IV (1623–40) and the era of the Köprülü grand viziers (1656–83) –, internal tension and friction remained endemic. In the first half of the seventeenth century, far-reaching transformation resulted in a series of internal crises, among them the regicides of 1622 and 1648.³ In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, conflict and instability resumed, as evidenced by the revolts of 1687, 1703 and 1730, which on each occasion resulted in the overthrow of the reigning sultan. These revolts and the ensuing disturbances are a clear indication of the destabilizing potential of internal tensions; nevertheless, competing groups of players frequently managed to balance their interests to some extent, thus stabilizing what a scholar labeled the “Second Ottoman Empire”.⁴ The disastrous war against Russia between 1768 and 1774, the economic problems, but also the reform efforts entailed by this and other “wars of contraction”, mark yet another period of crisis, which culminated in a cycle of revolts and regicides in 1807 and 1808.⁵

From the late sixteenth century onward, Ottoman observers expressed dismay at the changes which they witnessed and suffered. They felt that the political and social order was in jeopardy. In spite of the fact that the empire constantly, and for the most part successfully, adjusted to new realities, they tended to interpret change as “decline”, or else as “corruption” of a previously ideal order.⁶ Responding to “decline” and “corruption” in writing, not only did they complain about changes and instability in the structures of governance, but also about moral failings of office-holders and rulers, about incompetence and venality, erosion of hierarchies and blurred social boundaries. Many writers who analyzed the causes and

3. For the political significance of the dethronement and murder of Sultan ‘Osmān II (r. 1618–22) see Tezcan, *Second Ottoman Empire*; for an analysis of the historiography of his downfall see Piterberg, *Ottoman Tragedy*; cf. Vatin, Veinstein, *Le Sérail ébranlé*, p. 60–63, 221–240. For the dethronement and execution of Sultan İbrāhīm (r. 1640–48) see *ibid.*, p. 195–204.

4. Tezcan, *Second Ottoman Empire*.

5. Quataert, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 37–53.

6. Ferguson, “Genres of Power;” Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*; Howard, “Ottoman Historiography and the Literature of ‘Decline’;” Kafadar, “Question of Ottoman Decline.”

effects of these grievances urged restoration of an idealized old order; other, later writers, advocated reform and innovation. The experience of change also affected their notions of political and social order. Likewise, the validity of hitherto firmly established systems of ideas, norms, and beliefs was challenged under the pressure of change.

Historiographical and political writings, two closely interrelated literary fields in the early modern Ottoman Empire,⁷ reveal both perceptions and interpretations of change. Authors who worked in these fields dwelled on perceived dysfunctions of the socio-political system and, in doing so, reflected tensions between different groups of players or individuals and their interests. Yet, neither chronicles nor political treatises are objective accounts of events and their underlying causes, conditions, and circumstances. Rather, they imply moral judgments, which support hegemonic discourses of power or convey normative statements about how things ought, or ought not, to be. Thus, historiographical and political writings contain sometimes competing, sometimes concordant representations of events, actors, and conditions. As a means by which various groups tried to enforce their views of the social sphere, their values, and their claims to status and power, representations are instrumental in political and social communication.

This dossier focuses on the social and political spheres of the early modern Ottoman Empire as it was represented in political and historiographical texts from the mid-seventeenth through the late-eighteenth century. It contains four original contributions that delve into texts by Ottoman writers who – in one way or another – responded to situations of social and political change. Firmly rooted in current research trends on Ottoman political and historiographical writing, these contributions address – from various perspectives – the question of how specific writers discuss and represent social and political order or disorder, as the case may be.

The first contribution by Florian Zemmin on the eminent Ottoman intellectual Kātib Çelebi (1609-57) is written with a theoretical interest in conceptual shifts within the socio-political vocabularies of Near Eastern languages. Engaging with current research, Zemmin analyses the ways Kātib Çelebi used concepts of collectivity, most prominently among them the terms *devlet* and *cem'iyet*. He shows that in Kātib Çelebi's usage, *devlet* referred to the socio-political collectivity and thus came to encompass a

7. Hagen, Menchinger, "Ottoman Historical Thought," p. 92-93.

sense which it had not had before. Yet, in Kâtib Çelebi's writings, this novel conceptualization went hand in hand with well-established meanings of *devlet* ranging from "power" to "dynasty". On that basis, Zemmin argues that Kâtib Çelebi's "Janus-faced" use of socio-political terminology is evidence of the transitional state of his thinking, which was simultaneously facing back to the past and, unintentionally, forward to the future. Furthermore, Kâtib Çelebi's ambivalent use of terms mirrors semantic transformations in European languages during the same period which, as Zemmin contends, is an indication of convergences in the development of modern socio-political concepts.

Linda Darling's contribution concentrates on late seventeenth-century *ḳānūnnāmes* as a subgenre of Ottoman political literature as well as on the contexts of their genesis and functions. Unlike earlier political treatises (*naṣīḥatnāme*), which aimed at advising rulers on how to order and control different social groups, these works were meant to regulate the elite by defining their proper conditions and behaviors; more specifically, they regulated ceremonies as a means of creating and maintaining (elite) order and hierarchy. Thus, Darling argues that the *ḳānūnnāmes* represent elite relationships rather than elite-subject relations, and therefore power structures rather than the power of the empire. They also reflect a preoccupation with order, a key feature not only of late seventeenth-century political Ottoman thinking, but also of the empire at large. Moreover, Darling's analysis of the *ḳānūnnāmes* indicates that they were the product of an equally elitist and conservative era, in which orientation toward traditional practices and stable hierarchies prevailed.

Furthermore, the *ḳānūnnāmes* bear witness to the fact that the Köprülü grand viziers had effectively subordinated lower-ranking civil servants and the military, among them the Janissaries. In the wake of the failed siege of Vienna – only a few years after the compilation of the *ḳānūnnāmes* – this situation changed dramatically. If centralization of power and effective control had curbed political participation under the Körpülüs, now there was a wide array of groups and individuals who raised political claims and competed for power. This is the subject of Felix Konrad's contribution on historiographical representations of the crisis that ensued from military disaster in the war with Austria and the downfall of Sultan Mehmed IV in 1687. Since the chroniclers of the time concur with one another that internal order was seriously disrupted, the issue of this article is not so much order, but rather disorder. Drawing on contemporary Ottoman advice literature (*naṣīḥatnāme*) and chronicles, Konrad finds that the chroniclers relied heavily on an interpretative framework

that was shaped by normative statements formulated in advice treatises. This framework helped them judge individual as well as collective behavior and produced representations of low-status insurgents that were overwhelmingly negative. The crucial role of these normative statements also shows in their evaluation of the ways elite figures behaved and acted during the crisis. In contrast to the chroniclers' largely uniform representations of low-status people, however, their assessment of elite members, grand viziers in particular, differed significantly. On the one hand, this is evidence of a shared set of social and political norms and ideas of order, on the other, it reveals that shared values and norms could easily be exploited in different ways.

The closing contribution by Hakan Karateke resumes the subject of perceptions and interpretations of disorder. Tapping into a unique, hitherto unexplored manuscript, Karateke explores the "vocabulary of disorder" of a late eighteenth-century civil servant named Nihālî. In his treatise *Mir'âtü'd-devle*, Nihālî presents a rather conservative diagnosis of dysfunction within Ottoman government and society. Though postulating that it was the disregard of time-honored ways of doing things that caused disorder, there are also original perspectives in his interpretation of late eighteenth-century Ottoman realities, which Karateke analyses via Nihālî's vocabulary and the context of his writing. This vocabulary not only reveals the author's concerns with social disarray, caused by injustice, a concern that was shared by many Ottoman observers of the time, but also specific concepts of disorder expressed in a bureaucratic language, which are in several respects similar to those revealed in Konrad's contribution. Karateke's article includes a detailed summary of Nihālî's *Mir'âtü'd-devle* that will make it more accessible for further research.

Though the contributions in this dossier frequently refer to one another, they may also be read independently. Taken as a whole, they show that early modern Ottoman representations of the socio-political spheres as well as their underlying concepts of order and disorder responded to situations of fluid social and political conditions; they also reveal the extent to which these representations changed in the course of a century and a half.

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FLORIAN ZEMMIN

THE JANUS FACE OF KĀTĪB ÇELEBİ: REFLECTING ON THE OTTOMAN SADDLE PERIOD

The old is passing away, but the new has not yet been formed.

Modernity, Concepts, and Saddle Periods: Central Tasks and Interdisciplinary Potentials of Near Eastern Studies

The demise of the standard model of modernity, as epitomized by the West, and concomitantly of the classical narrative of modernization as Westernization, has produced two central and equally concomitant tasks for Near Eastern Studies: firstly, to discern Near Eastern variations of modernity, concerning both institutional arrangements and self-understandings; secondly, to try to establish a new genealogy of modernity in what was to become the Near East.¹ While the old narrative of Ottoman or Islamic decline prior to the impact of European modernity has been firmly disproved, no new narrative has yet been formed.² These central tasks have tremendous potential to integrate Near Eastern Studies with broader theoretical debates and historiographical research on the constituents, variations, and genealogies of modernity. As a promising means of fulfilling

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1. Obviously, the Near East is itself a modern concept, constituting the endpoint of this genealogy but not possibly its beginning.

2. In this regard, Dror Ze'evi's diagnosis still holds true: see Ze'evi, "Back to Napoleon?"

this potential, I suggest focusing on basic concepts of modernity – that is, discerning the conceptualization of the modern order and self-understanding in Near Eastern languages and, again concomitantly, establishing a conceptual history of the socio-political concepts identified in this process.

More specifically, this paper suggests focusing on the history of the emic terms used to conceptualize the basic concepts of modernity, rather than employing the latter as primary units of analysis. Thus, for example, the focus is on the meanings of the Ottoman-Turkish term *devlet*, which came to conceptualize the state in its modern sense, rather than using ‘the state’ as an analytical category. While one has to decide on one of these two starting points in any given project,³ this is notably a choice between two complementary rather than contradictory approaches. My choice in this paper follows from an interest in emic conceptualizations of basic concepts of modernity and their genealogies, an interest that itself is sparked by insights into the historicity and normativity of modern basic concepts, including those that have come to be used as theoretical and analytical categories in the social sciences and cultural studies. Moreover, since the aim here is primarily a theoretical one, I rely on historiographical research that I could not possibly have undertaken myself, and it should be clear that it is with great esteem for this historiographical research that this paper critically interrogates its hermeneutical and theoretical premises.

It is under this overarching aim and from this perspective that I attend to the conceptions of collective life and of history originated by the famous Ottoman polymath Kātib Çelebi (1609-1657). I selectively draw on the writings of this exceptional early modern figure in order to highlight the promises and pitfalls of researching concepts in another language and from another epoch from within hegemonic modernity. More specifically, I will show that central concepts of collective life and history in Kātib Çelebi’s usage appear Janus-faced, looking back to the past and, unintentionally, facing forward toward the future. It will be up to future research to establish whether the semantic transformations visible in Kātib Çelebi’s work form part of a broader transformative period, and if so, in which ways this period is related to modernity.

A useful heuristic device for establishing the *longue durées* of semantic transformations is the metaphor of the saddle period (*Sattelzeit*), coined

3. Cf. Dutt, “Nachwort,” p. 534f.

by the towering figure of German conceptual history, Reinhart Koselleck. At the same time, the metaphor of the saddle period – as the transitional period connecting but also separating the pre-modern and the modern worlds – illustrates the tremendous difficulty of rendering concepts from before that period intelligible. This is even more true when it comes to research on another language. I will address these hermeneutic difficulties after introducing the saddle period and its usefulness for Near Eastern Studies. I will then analyze relevant semantic transformations in the writings of Kâtib Çelebi and conclude with a discussion of the implications of these semantic transformations for the Ottoman saddle period.

Establishing Genealogies of Modernity: The Promises of Conceptual History

In his 1972 introduction to the monumental project *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, Reinhart Koselleck, the towering figure of German conceptual history, coined the metaphor of the saddle period (*Sattelzeit*) in order to depict an assumed transitional period in which the basic concepts of modern social and political thought were formed.⁴ Koselleck notably used the term *Schwelldenzeit* synonymously with *Sattelzeit*,⁵ and in the English translation, both terms are rendered as “threshold period.”⁶ However, I deem it useful to distinguish between the two terms. After all, although Koselleck was interested in the saddle period as the threshold of modernity, he did mention earlier threshold periods as well. According to him, these had similar characteristics, even though the pace of the modern transformation might have been exceptional.⁷ Thus, I will use “threshold period” to refer to the common characteristics of transitional periods and “saddle period” to designate the transition to modernity specifically.

A threshold period is always constituted by change in the order of collective life *as well as* its representation and conceptualization. During a threshold period, the semantic range of concepts is contested, as is demonstrated by the fact that a variety of terms are used to render a concept; this period then comes to an end when central concepts crystallize in particular terms. In this manner, a concept attains the status of a “basic concept” (*Grundbegriff*), an indispensable part of the socio-political

4. Koselleck, “Einleitung,” p. 2.

5. Later, Koselleck contemplated whether the *Schwelldenzeit* metaphor might actually be more adequate than the *Sattelzeit* (Koselleck, “A Response,” p. 69).

6. Koselleck, Richter, “Introduction and Prefaces.”

7. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

vocabulary. To those living after that period, the meaning of that term will be seemingly intuitively understandable, whereas it would have been almost incomprehensible to those living before that period. In other words, during a threshold period, the old is passing away, and the new is about to be formed.

As Koselleck puts it, in the saddle period – again, the threshold period of modernity – “the past was gradually transformed into the present. Concepts registering this change became ‘Janus-faced’: facing backwards, they pointed to social and political realities no longer intelligible to us without critical commentary; facing forward to our own time, concepts have taken on meanings that may not need further explication to be directly intelligible to us. From this point on, we understand and conceptualize simultaneously.”⁸ In the *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* project, Koselleck was interested in the German saddle period, and he dated this period roughly between 1750 and 1850. For France, this crucial period, however difficult to date precisely, was suspected to have taken place between 1680 and 1820; concerning England, J. G. A. Pocock suggested the period between 1500 and 1800.⁹ This points to the multiple trajectories of modernity, also among European languages, and to the productive extensibility of the metaphor of the saddle period.

Before analyzing the hermeneutical difficulties indicated by but also inherent to the saddle period in the following section, let us focus on its major assets, of which I see two: First, the saddle period is a useful heuristic tool for organizing and making intelligible *longue durées* of semantic and intellectual transformations, and thus genealogies of modernity. In identifying threshold periods, conceptual history notably also points to broader historical ruptures and connections, and thereby facilitates the identification, or rather the establishment, of historical periods. In general, “[t]he purpose and aim of studies of conceptual history consists of providing an independent contribution to the understanding of historical contexts through the analysis of meanings, connections of meanings, and transformations of meanings.”¹⁰ Conceptual history thus not only depends

8. Koselleck, Richter, “Introduction and Prefaces,” p. 9.

9. Leonhard, “Erfahrungsgeschichten,” p. 426f. In a more general sense, without focusing on one particular language, Jürgen Osterhammel dated the saddle period in global history between 1770 and 1830, while stressing the fundamental ruptures of the last decades of the nineteenth century (Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt*, p. 102–116).

10. Geulen, “Plädoyer,” p. 94, trans. F.Z.

on the insights of social, cultural, or political history, but can also inform other historical studies. This links to the second major asset of conceptual history, namely its ability to connect fields of research across disciplines. The saddle period is a powerful metaphor in this regard, not least because it is somewhat vague. After all, despite scholarly skepticism regarding establishing new master narratives, individual findings have to be given meaning by linking them to broader trends and, in fact, to our present.

These two assets certainly played into the fruitful reception of Koselleck's saddle period, which, since its original coinage, and along with the general approach of German conceptual history, has been expanded in usage, not least concerning the range of languages to which it has been applied.¹¹ In recent years, attention to conceptual analysis has been facilitated by the increasing digitization of large text *corpora* and by new tools for mining and analyzing them. While technical means also shape the formulation of research projects and their findings, the interest in non-European concepts seems fundamentally due to an increasing awareness of the normativity of hegemonic modern concepts, as well as of the entangled histories that produced them.

Most recently, conceptual history has been fruitfully combined with an entangled histories approach in two publications: a reader and a collected volume, both entitled *Global Conceptual History*.¹² The contributors to the collected volume date the transformation to modernity in "Asian languages" between 1860 and 1940, focusing specifically on the appropriation of European concepts of society and economy.¹³ This timespan has also been identified as the saddle period in Arabic and other Near Eastern languages. Thus Ilham Khuri-Makdisi, within the framework of the aforementioned volume, has analyzed Arabic conceptualizations of the social.¹⁴ Furthermore, a project at the University of Bonn devoted to digitizing Arabic, Turkish, and Persian sources identifies the years between 1860 and 1945 as constituting an Asian and Near Eastern saddle period.¹⁵

11. Richter, *The History* introduced the German school of conceptual history to an English-speaking public. For the "career" of the saddle period as well as a critical discussion, see Fulda, "Sattelzeit."

12. Schulz-Forberg, *A Global Conceptual History of Asia*; Pernau, Sachsenmaier, *Global Conceptual History*. See also the programmatic article by Pernau, "Whither Conceptual History?"

13. Schulz-Forberg, "Introduction."

14. Khuri-Makdisi, "The Conceptualization of the Social."

15. <https://www.translatio.uni-bonn.de/arabische-persische-und-osmanisch-tuerkische-zeitschriften> (last accessed May 12, 2017).

While the dating of saddle periods is generally contested, this holds especially true for Near Eastern languages, concerning which research on socio-political concepts – and especially conceptual history – is only beginning to be established as a proper field.¹⁶

Despite the great potential for future research, it is certain that in both Turkish and Arabic, conceptual changes in the transformation to modernity were crucially shaped by hegemonic European concepts that inevitably had to be engaged. Integrating these modern European concepts into Turkish and Arabic implied the appropriation and resemantization of classical terms. However, the fact that this occurred under the colonial influence of hegemonic European concepts does not preclude the possibility that resemantizations had already taken place before the colonial encounter, one effect of which might have been to facilitate the appropriation of European concepts.

Thus, only by attending to pre-colonial usages of those Arabic and Turkish terms that came to render the modern concepts of socio-political order can we assess the extent to which the conceptualization of the modern order was sparked and shaped by hegemonic European modernity as well as the degree to which it drew on previous semantic usages and continued earlier transformations. Koselleck also stressed the necessity of attending to previous usages in assessing the peculiar modernity of present meanings, asserting that the *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* project “explores how modern and old words began to overlap and shift their meanings. This investigation necessitated reaching back to classical antiquity, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the Reformation, and humanism, insofar as the history of the concepts included in this lexicon can be traced to these periods.”¹⁷ Can we, then, identify semantic transformations that bespeak an early non-colonial modernity that interacted with, and was partially superseded by, colonial modernity?

16. The only monographs on conceptual transformations in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Arabic, following the outdated paradigm of modernization as Westernization: Ayalon, *Language and Change*; Rebhan, *Geschichte und Funktion*; and, more recently published but quite different in their premises and arguments: Abu-‘Uksa, *Freedom in the Arab World*; and Zemmin, *Modernity in Islamic Tradition*. For transformations in Ottoman Turkish of this period, see Reinkowski, *Die Dinge der Ordnung*; Doganalp-Votzi, Römer, *Herrschaft und Staat*; Sakaoğlu, *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Tarih Sözlüğü*; Kieser, *Aspects of the Political Language*; Wigen, “Ottoman Concepts of Empire;” id., “The Education of Ottoman Man;” Topal, “Against Influence;” Sönmez, “From Kanun-ı Kadim.”

17. Koselleck, Richter, “Introduction and Prefaces,” p. 8.

Concerning the Ottoman Empire of the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and especially its Turkish-speaking component and administrative center, research refuting the decline paradigm has established socio-political transformations that merit speaking of an “early modernity.” Of course, many of the details of these transformations still need to be explored, and their naming also remains highly contested, not least because the designation “early modernity” obviously occurs in hindsight, looking back from modernity, and thus entails the danger of projecting modern characteristics backward in a teleological manner.¹⁸ Still, the state of research concerning the socio-political level is more advanced than that exploring the intellectual level.¹⁹ This facilitates and lends importance to research on conceptual history, which has to rely on knowledge about socio-political transformations in order to illuminate conceptual and thus intellectual transformations. Pioneering research on early modern (Ottoman-)Turkish concepts, also in the writings of Kâtib Çelebi, has been undertaken by Marinos Sariyannis²⁰ and Nikos Sigalas,²¹ and I will draw on their work in the following discussion of Kâtib Çelebi’s conception of collective life and historical time.

First, however, I ought to address the hermeneutical pitfalls of undertaking this study in English and employing concepts of hegemonic modernity.

Hegemonic Modernity: The Pitfalls of Conceptual History

The metaphor of the saddle period brings out the hermeneutical difficulty entailed in efforts by those of us living after that period to adequately grasp earlier concepts of collective life. After all, according to Koselleck, the modern meaning of socio-political concepts is intuitively understandable to modern men and women, whereas it was almost inconceivable for men and women before the saddle period, whose

18. See, for example, the usage of “democratization” and “constitutionalism” in Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*. On the notion of early modernity and its problems in the Ottoman-Turkish context, see Markiewicz, “Review Article;” and Sariyannis, “‘Temporal Modernization’.”

19. Virginia Aksan, in her (admittedly not comprehensive) overview of Ottoman Studies, did not even include the history of ideas as a subfield; see Aksan, “What’s Up in Ottoman Studies?” For a critique, see Toledano, “A Comment.”

20. Sariyannis, “‘Mob,’ ‘Scamps’ and Rebels;” id., “Ottoman Critics;” id., “Ruler and State;” id., “Ottoman Ideas.”

21. Sigalas, “Devlet et État;” id., “Des histoires.”

alternative conceptions and meanings we, in turn, struggle to make sense of. If a threshold period also implies a certain continuity in that it links the past to the present, Koselleck stresses ruptures over continuities and links the saddle period more to modernity than to the preceding era.²² Thus, viewed critically, the saddle period, formulated in 1972, functions as yet another means by which modernity asserts itself as a new era, with its own peculiarity and consistency, directed toward the future and breaking with tradition.

In general, this rupture between tradition and modernity is formulated from within modernity. If we consider this obvious today, it is because we are living after the high point of modernity. However, while post-modernity may be able to deconstruct modernity, it has not yet constructed an alternative order or conceptual apparatus. Today, we might be more aware of the normativity and particularity of modern concepts and might not even understand them as intuitively anymore.²³ And yet, we still operate with the normative social and political concepts of modernity in our attempts at discerning earlier conceptions of collective life. This calls for an explication of the normativity of these concepts and, turning a problem into a topic, for treating them not as descriptive or analytical categories, but as normative and historical ones, and furthermore for researching their evolution in different languages.

Even explicit attempts at avoiding hegemonic modern concepts in writing non-European histories by attending to emic or “indigenous” concepts still employ modern concepts of socio-political order. Such an attempt informs, for example, Linda Darling’s history of the Circle of Justice, which is presented as the story of the “Near Eastern concept of state.”²⁴ While one can only be impressed by the breadth of knowledge that informs Darling’s story, and while she does achieve her aim of decentering Islam in Near Eastern political history, her approach differs from my own on two counts: Firstly, the “indigenous” trope of the Circle of Justice is subsumed under the modern concept of the state. Since ‘the state’ is a basic concept of modernity, when one reads the term, its modern meanings are instantly present. Secondly, while Darling demonstrates transformations in the meanings and usages of the Circle of Justice, she

22. See Motzkin, “On the Notion of Historical (Dis)Continuity.”

23. Christian Geulen has suggested that our present is separated from the high point of modernity by yet another saddle period; see Geulen, “Plädoyer.”

24. Darling, *A History of Social Justice*, p. 2f., *passim*.

accords primacy to cultural continuities and particularities by portraying the Circle of Justice as “the Near Eastern concept of state.”²⁵

Ultimately, we obviously need language, and as stressed above, my focus on emic terms in this paper ought to be seen as complementary to those approaches that use modern basic concepts as analytical categories. Thus, in the example here, one may of course identify individual aspects or functions that came to be expressed in modernity by the concept of ‘the state’ in a period when the modern terms used to conceptualize the state were not yet operative. Still, the concept of ‘the state’ also includes some aspects, and a normative dimension, that were not yet conceivable prior to modernity. Thus, based on the post-modern awareness of the historicity and normativity of modern concepts, an approach using these concepts as analytical units can no longer take their meanings for granted and should therefore explicitly define criteria for applying these concepts.

In researching concepts in a language other than the language we write our research in, hermeneutical difficulties are enhanced by a basic problem of translation. When translating a word, we inevitably subsume it under the meanings of the target word we choose to represent it. One may of course deal with this subsumption reflectively and soften its effects somewhat by stating the original term or by circumscribing it, for example. It also holds true that the word translated may affect the semantic range of the term it was translated into. However, the basic issue remains. In fact, when reading a word in another language, we make sense of it via terms and categories of meaning from our own language. This basic aspect of translation becomes crucial when it involves central concepts of modern interpretations and representations of the world. It is therefore inevitable to reflectively depart from concepts in one’s own language, used in secular academic discourse, in order to identify terms in another language that came to be used to render socio-political concepts of modernity.

The Janus Face of Kâtîb Çelebi: Society, State, and History

Kâtîb Çelebi and his times

Kâtîb Çelebi was born in 1609 and thus in the formative years of what Baki Tezcan has depicted as the Second Ottoman Empire.²⁶ According

25. In other works, Darling does in fact foreground commonalities across discursive traditions; see Darling, “Another Look at Periodization;” id., “Mirrors for Princes.”

26. Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*.

to Tezcan, this formative period, which lasted until 1703, was constituted by an expansion of the political realm beyond the ruler and his household to include an increasing number of actors, who ascended to important positions as a result of their economic standing and interests. This led to a contestation over the nature of sovereignty and the increasing need for the sultan to ensure popular support for his rule. For Tezcan, the murder of ʿOsmān II in 1622 signifies another fissure in the concept of power, insofar as the (power of the) ruler was no longer identified with (the power of) God. Relatedly, Tezcan considers the chronicles of the seventeenth century as indicating a desacralization of historical time, which was no longer bound to the duration of the reign of a particular ruler, but thought to flow continuously and endlessly. Tezcan boldly underlines his argument for the Second Ottoman Empire as preparing the structure of the modern political order by identifying processes of secularization and democratization.

While this teleological reading does not correspond with contemporaneous representations and conceptualizations of collective order, for our purposes it helpfully brings to light the fundamental changes in socio-political structures that Kātib Çelebi witnessed during his life. Notably, politicization and democratization are two foundational characteristics of the saddle period identified by Koselleck, both resting on the basis of the secularization of historical time.²⁷ Contemporaneous conceptions of collective life and of historical time might give us further insight into how foundational the changes Tezcan highlighted actually were. Could contemporaneous observers still make sense of what they observed – for example, the ascent of new actors to the ruling sphere – by employing existing concepts, or did these concepts no longer make sense? If the latter was the case, did observers then already bring forward new concepts? Kātib Çelebi's Janus face indeed indicates that significant conceptual transformations accompanied the socio-political changes sketched above.

While it will be up to future research to explore the extent to which these conceptual transformations were shared and extended beyond Kātib Çelebi, I shall offer a few hints in this regard by including references to two equally well-known Ottoman intellectuals, namely Muṣṭafā Naʿīmā (1655-1716) and İbrāhīm Müteferriḳa (1674/5-1745). For now, however, let us return to our central figure, Kātib Çelebi.

27. Koselleck, Richter, "Introduction and Prefaces," p. 15.

Kâtib Çelebi's biography is a good illustration of the aforementioned greater social mobility and the expansion of the political arena.²⁸ It was probably not least the need, or wish, to justify his commentary on religious disputes and issues of collective order that prompted him to add an extensive autobiography to his last work, *Mizânü l-ḥaḳḳ*,²⁹ written in 1656, a year before he died. In addition to this autobiography, it is mainly thanks to the work of Gottfried Hagen³⁰ that we are rather well informed about the life of Kâtib Çelebi, which I will summarize here very briefly.³¹

Born in Istanbul in 1609, at the age of fourteen Kâtib Çelebi took up, as was usual at the time, the same positions as his father, namely as a scribe (*kâtib*) in the financial administration and a soldier in the Porte cavalry.³² During the military campaigns in which he participated, he was already collecting material for what was to become his main encyclopedic work, *Kashf al-Zunûn*.³³ Also while still serving in the cavalry, Kâtib Çelebi took lessons with the (in)famous preacher Ḳāḏîzāde Mehmed (1582-1635),³⁴ whom he would eventually criticize in *Mizânü l-ḥaḳḳ* for being overzealous in demanding the implementation of religious norms. In 1635, Kâtib Çelebi took part in his last military campaign; from then on, he fully embarked on his quest for knowledge and immersed himself in writing, which he described as moving "from the lesser struggle to the greater" (*min al-jihād al-aşğar ilā al-jihād al-akbar*).³⁵

In the remaining 22 years of his life, supported by two inheritances, Kâtib Çelebi spent minimal time as a financial scribe and dedicated his

28. Kâtib Çelebi mentioned the widening of the circle of power as a sign of the declining phase of human collectivities (Kâtib Çelebi, "Düstürü l-'amel," p. 134).

29. Kâtib Çelebi, *Mizânü l-ḥaḳḳ*; id., *The Balance of Truth*. For an analysis of this work, see Zemmin, *Islamische Verantwortungsethik*, esp. p. 118-147 and 198-206. On Kâtib Çelebi's motive for adding this autobiography, see also Hagen, *Ein osmanischer Geograph*, p. 182f.

30. Hagen, *Ein osmanischer Geograph*; id., "Kâtib Çelebi."

31. For the sake of this brief depiction, I will refer to my own previous summary of Kâtib Çelebi's life and works, which is mainly based on Hagen's work and on Kâtib Çelebi's autobiography, in Zemmin, *Islamische Verantwortungsethik*, p. 24-59. In addition to Hagen's work, noteworthy literature on Kâtib Çelebi consists of two collected volumes: *Kâtib Çelebi*; and Gökçe et al., *Uluslararası Kâtib Çelebi Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildirileri*.

32. Zemmin, *Islamische Verantwortungsethik*, p. 51f.

33. Kâtib Çelebi, *Kashf al-Zunûn*; id., *Lexikon bibliographicum*; Zemmin, *Islamische Verantwortungsethik*, p. 26-29.

34. Zemmin, *Islamische Verantwortungsethik*, p. 52f.

35. Kâtib Çelebi, *Mizânü l-ḥaḳḳ*, p. 133; id., *The Balance of Truth*, p. 137f.; Zemmin, *Islamische Verantwortungsethik*, p. 53-57.

efforts to reading and writing books, producing an exceptionally broad oeuvre and earning both the recognition of scholars, among whom he was known as Ḥaccī Ḥalīfe, and the attention of high-ranking officials at court.³⁶ His main encyclopedic work, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, written in Arabic, aimed at nothing less than listing all the branches of knowledge and books known at the time. The geographic-historical work *Cihānnümā*, which appeared in various versions,³⁷ was also part of “his encyclopedic project,” as Hagen has fittingly dubbed it.³⁸ Kātib Çelebi’s chronicles include the Arabic *Fadhlakat aqwāl al-akhyār*, presenting the dynasties from the time of creation until the year 1592, the year 1000 according to the Islamic calendar. More influential than this work was the Turkish *Fezleke-i tevārīḥ*, which presents Ottoman history from the year 1592 until Kātib Çelebi’s own time. Although it remained unfinished, it became part of the official narrative via its continuation by the great historian of the empire, Muṣṭafā Naʿīmā.³⁹ In his works *İrşādu l-ḥayārā ilā taʾrīḥi l-Yunān ve-r-Rūm ve-n-Naṣārā* and *Tārīḥ-i Konṣtanṭīniye ve Kayāşire*, Kātib Çelebi also engages with the histories of Christian denominations and dynasties. Alongside the aforementioned works, which formed his encyclopedic project, Kātib Çelebi also composed several texts characterized by Hagen as “didactic and entertaining,” which are hitherto unexplored.⁴⁰ Another three manuscripts seem to be lost.⁴¹ Moreover, toward the end of his life, Kātib Çelebi wrote two treatises commenting on the perceived disruption of the order of collective life and formulating recommendations on how to restore order, namely the above-mentioned *Mizānū l-ḥaḳḳ* and *Düstürü l-ʿamel*, on which the following section is based.

Kātib Çelebi’s conceptualization of collective life: Transformations of devlet

In 1653, Kātib Çelebi composed a treatise entitled *Düstürü l-ʿamel li-ıṣlāḥi l-ḥalel* (“Rules of Procedure for Remediating the Defects”) to advise the rulers on how to remedy the present imbalance in the structure

36. Zemmin, *Islamische Verantwortungsethik*, p. 57ff.

37. For an exhaustive description of these editions, see Hagen, *Ein osmanischer Geograph*; for a short summary of Hagen’s description, see Zemmin, *Islamische Verantwortungsethik*, p. 29ff.

38. Hagen, “Kātib Çelebi,” p. 4.

39. See the literature mentioned in Zemmin, *Islamische Verantwortungsethik*, p. 32.

40. Hagen, “Kātib Çelebi,” p. 10f.

41. See the literature mentioned in Zemmin, *Islamische Verantwortungsethik*, p. 25n45.

of collective life, particularly the dynasty's treasury deficit.⁴² This treatise, however, is more than a piece of advice literature:⁴³ Kâtib Çelebi undergirded his practical suggestions for reform with a theoretical model of collective life, which he conceived of organically as a collective body in analogy to the human body.⁴⁴ Moreover, to the best of our knowledge, he initiated the Ottoman reception of Ibn Khaldūn's cyclical view of the rise, peak, and decline of dynastic power (*devlet*, Arabic: *dawla*).⁴⁵ Kâtib Çelebi pragmatically appropriated this cyclical view for the purposes of his treatise in a manner that foreshadows a new understanding of history, as we shall see in the following section. Here, I focus on his conceptualization of the human collectivity, and especially on his usage of the term *devlet*, which signifies a fundamental semantic transformation.

This point has been most convincingly argued by Nikos Sigalas, who also helpfully summarizes the classical meanings of *dawla/devlet* prior to that semantic transformation. Briefly, the term had connoted the meanings of good fortune, power, succession, and dynasty.⁴⁶ Power was bestowed by God on the supreme ruler and his household, and was strictly confined to them. Somewhat diverging from Sigalas, Andreas Tietze has argued that the possibility of delegating the power of the *devlet* had already existed prior to the seventeenth century.⁴⁷ Linda Darling and Felix Konrad, in their contributions to this issue, also address this question of the distribution of power,⁴⁸ which indeed merits further research. To grasp the basic transformations at hand, let us return with Sigalas to the conception of *devlet* as a metaphysical concept of power: *dawla/devlet* was understood as an intermediary space between humans and God, inhabited and represented by the ruling dynasty.⁴⁹ Moreover, the dynasty was simultaneously the

42. Kâtib Çelebi, "Düstürü l-'amel;" Behnauer, "Hâgî Chalfa's Dustûrû'l-'amel."

43. On advice literature with further references, see in this issue the contributions by Darling (esp. p. 358f.) and Konrad (esp. p. 390-393, 408).

44. On Kâtib Çelebi's organic model, his diagnosis of defects, and his suggestions for a remedy, see Zemmin, *Islamische Verantwortungsethik*, p. 98-108.

45. For less comprehensive and particularly less prominent earlier receptions, see Fleischer, "Royal Authority."

46. Sigalas, "Devlet et État," p. 387-398.

47. Tietze included the possible delegation of power in his definition of *devlet* in the seventeenth century, an idea that was taken up by Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State*, p. 19; and by Sariyannis, "Ruler and State," p. 96. Sigalas argues that the possibility of delegating power was still absent in the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth centuries – at least, it did not figure in the concept of *devlet* (Sigalas, "Devlet et État," p. 392-396).

48. See, in this issue, Darling, p. 369, 375-378; Konrad, p. 386, 406.

49. Sigalas, "Devlet et État," p. 389.

exclusive subject and the object of this power, the goal of which was self-perpetuation.⁵⁰ The ruler, in the role of the shepherd, had to protect (and not oppress) his flock (*re'āyā*), and in that sense, his power was dependent on the condition of his flock, as illustrated by the circle of justice⁵¹. However, advising the ruler on *umūr-ı mülk* or *mühimmāt-i devlet* was primarily intended to ensure his transcendent position of power rather than to formulate demands emanating from the needs of 'the people,'⁵² a later meaning of *re'āyā*, which in our context here can more meaningfully be rendered as 'the flock'. Referring primarily to the power bestowed on the ruling household by God (whether distributable or not), the term *devlet* thus did not yet convey the modern meanings of 'the state' in the seventeenth century.

It is really at the beginning of the eighteenth century that Sigalas locates fundamental semantic transformations in the concept of *devlet*, which mirror transformations in the concept of 'the state' or *l'État* – namely, particularization, desacralization, and expansion. These transformations are very much interconnected: the concept of *devlet* is particularized by referring to forms of power other than the house of 'Osmān, such as the *devlet-i Nemçe* or *devlet-i Fransa*.⁵³ It was the official chronicler of the Ottoman Empire, Na'imā, in his 1704 history, who first employed the plural *devletler*.⁵⁴ This plural enables the subsumption and subsequent comparison of different articulations of power under the collective singular of *devlet*. Acknowledging the existence of different articulations of power and their particularity undermines the universal concept of power as bestowed by God. The concept of *devlet* is thereby desacralized,⁵⁵ and the vertical dimension of *devlet* as the mediating locus between God and humans is weakened. At the same time, the horizontal dimension is strengthened, insofar as the concept of *devlet* expands to include an increasing number

50. Sigalas, "Devlet et État," p. 397-398.

51. Darling, *A History of Social Justice*.

52. Sigalas, "Devlet et État," p. 398-399.

53. Ibid., p. 399.

54. Ibid., p. 400.

55. Note that Vatin and Veinstein (*Le Sérail ébranlé*, p. 218-250) use "desacralization" in a somewhat different but perceptibly related sense. Namely, they refer to the desacralization of the figure of the sultan rather than of the *devlet*. It is worth investigating whether the loss of the sacral image and standing of the sultan, identified by Vatin and Veinstein as beginning in the first decades of the seventeenth century and manifesting itself more strongly in the deposition and execution of Sultan İbrāhīm in 1648 (p. 247f.), fed into the conceptual transformations highlighted by Sigalas.

of people. This shifted the source of sovereignty from God to human beings. In fact, in the early eighteenth century, the term *devlet* often designated the whole socio-political collectivity and was thus almost synonymous with 'the nation' or 'the commonwealth.' Sigalas takes care to point out that the semantic range of *devlet* in the eighteenth century is comparable to that of *l'État* in its early modern usages from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and not at all to its present meanings, which imply not least a distinction between 'the state' and 'society.'⁵⁶

Marinos Sariyannis has confirmed and expanded on Sigalas's findings, but opted for a more generic employment of the concepts of 'the state' and 'society' rather than highlighting their normative connotations and historical contingency, as I choose to do here.⁵⁷ While finding that "the notion of 'state' seems to be absent in Ottoman literature until at least the late sixteenth century,"⁵⁸ Sariyannis actually uses 'the state' as an analytical or descriptive category when he says that "in fifteenth-century texts 'state' (in our sense of the word) is usually rendered as *saltanat*, and always with a highly personal connotation, as identified with the ruler's household and palace,"⁵⁹ or when he explains that "in the traditional political theory, what can be described as 'state' was divided among the 'men of the pen', the ulema, and the 'men of the sword'."⁶⁰ Moreover, "a perception of society," according to Sariyannis, "was of course always present, and it would be highly interesting to study what was its relation to the ruler."⁶¹ To employ modern concepts in such a universal manner clearly represents a different line of inquiry than the one pursued here, and might also make it harder to convey crucial semantic transformations.⁶²

56. Sigalas, "Devlet et État," p. 386-387.

57. It should be clear that the following critical discussion is meant to heighten awareness of employing normative concepts of the modern order and to elucidate my own approach, and that Sariyannis's work lends itself to that purpose precisely because it is a pioneering work in analyzing early modern Ottoman concepts. See also my remarks above on the general complementarity of the two approaches.

58. Sariyannis, "Ruler and State," p. 104. Sariyannis points out individual usages of *devlet* from the sixteenth century, which he tentatively considers as already conveying the meaning of 'state' (p. 97-99).

59. Sariyannis, "Ruler and State," p. 97.

60. Ibid., p. 116.

61. Ibid., p. 104f.

62. Sariyannis only briefly mentions a certain "confusion" as natural when translating into European languages (ibid., p. 103).

If Ottoman writers of the seventeenth century did not neatly follow the distinction between the twinned concepts of society and the state, this was not because they shifted between the two meanings, as Sariyannis suggests,⁶³ but rather because neither category was yet conceptualized in its present sense. Sariyannis's usage of 'society,' 'the state,' and also 'community' as seemingly merely descriptive or analytical concepts is also evident in his analysis of *Düstürü l'-amel*⁶⁴ – and with this I end my critical remarks on Sariyannis's pioneering and impressive research, remarks which are meant to further awareness in employing the normative concepts of the modern order and thereby to highlight the particular angle and focus of my own work.

Sariyannis and Sigalas agree on the fact that in *Düstürü l'-amel*, Kâtib Çelebi had already indicated the above-mentioned semantic transformations in the concept of *devlet* that became more visible at the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁶⁵ Most significant in this regard is the treatise's very first sentence (after the preface stating its occasion and aim): "It is known that [the term] *devlet* in its meaning of rule (*salṭanat*) and power (*mülk*) according to a particular view is an expression of [or: identical with] the human collectivity (*ictimā'-i beşerîyeden 'ibāretidir*)."⁶⁶ To the best of our knowledge, it was Kâtib Çelebi who coined this expression,⁶⁷ which was then perpetuated by the chronicler Na'imā as well as by İbrāhīm Müteferriḳa,⁶⁸ the founder of the first printing press in the Ottoman Empire, which also issued works by Kâtib Çelebi and Na'imā. One could consider whether Kâtib Çelebi's definition implicitly refers to Ibn Khaldūn, for whom organized collective life was only possible through, and in fact emanated from, the *dawla*.⁶⁹ In this light, the identification of the *devlet* with

63. For examples from *Düstürü l'-amel*, see the following note and, more generally, Sariyannis, "Ruler and State," p. 124f.

64. For example: "Katib Çelebi explicitly uses the term [*devlet*] in his new definition, as 'society' or 'community'" (ibid., p. 102); and: "the metaphor of the state or more correctly society ('heyet-i ictimaiyye-i beşeriye')" (p. 108). Elsewhere, Sariyannis writes that, in *Düstürü l'-amel*, Kâtib Çelebi exposed his "sociological ideas, which include a novel medical simile of human society [and] a pioneering definition of state" (Sariyannis, *Ottoman Political Thought up to the Tanzimat*, p. 125).

65. Sigalas, "Devlet et État," p. 400; Sariyannis, "Ruler and State," p. 101.

66. Kâtib Çelebi, "Düstürü l'-amel," p. 122. Compare the translations in: Sigalas, "Devlet et État," p. 401; Sariyannis, "Ruler and State," p. 101; Behrner, "Ḥāḡī Chalfā's *Dustûru'l'-amel*," p. 118.

67. Sariyannis, "Kâtib Çelebi's Position," p. 24.

68. Sigalas, "Des histoires," p. 113.

69. See: al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldūn*, p. 27f.

the whole human collectivity would appear less innovative than suggested.⁷⁰ Then again, if there is a representational relationship between *devlet* and human collectivity in the above quotation, it is the reverse of the relation tentatively discernible in Ibn Khaldūn, since it is the *devlet* that would represent the human collectivity. Such analytical attempts at systematization seem futile, however, since there is no demonstrated relation of distinct socio-political concepts at work here.

Rather, Kâtib Çelebi plainly and repeatedly uses the concepts of *devlet*, *hey'et-i ictimā'īye*, and *cem'iyet* interchangeably. In his conceptualization of human collectivity as a collective body in analogy to the physical body of a human being, Kâtib Çelebi employs all three of these terms, as well as occasionally – if less synonymously – *ictimā'*.⁷¹ At one point, he also reverses his initial definition of *devlet*, thereby supporting the argument that there is no representational relationship at work here: Kâtib Çelebi writes that, in distinction from the individual state (in the sense of 'condition') of human beings, the collective state of humanity is another expression for *devlet* (*insānî devletden 'ibāret olan ictimā'-i hāli*).⁷² The novelty of Kâtib Çelebi's conceptualization lies precisely in this synonymous usage of *devlet* alongside other terms referring to the whole human collectivity; this suggests that power was no longer the self-perpetuating property of the ruler, but rather was reified – notably via the ruler – in the whole human collectivity. With Nikos Sigalas, we sense how this reification of power in the whole collectivity indeed contributes to shifting the source of legitimacy from God to human beings.

However, there was still a long way to go from here to the explicit conceptualization of 'the people' as the source of legitimacy who, on this basis, could voice their demands to the ruler or the government. In this regard, the term *cumhūr* indeed merits further research. Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein have highlighted the double sense of *cumhūr* in Kâtib Çelebi's work: the term could refer both to the elite members of the dynasty and to the overall collectivity they claimed to represent and in whose name they

70. Cf. Sigalas, "Devlet et État," p. 403; id., "Des histoires," p. 115.

71. For a pertinent example, see Kâtib Çelebi, "Düstürü l-'amel," p. 129f. Kâtib Çelebi first draws an analogy between *bedn* and *hey'et-i ictimā'īye*, then he speaks of *ķivām-i bedn*, *ķivām-i devlet*, *bedn* and *nizām-i ictimā'*. On the next page, it is *bedn* and *nizām-ı cem'iyet*.

72. Ibid., p. 123. Compare the translations in: Sigalas, "Devlet et État," p. 401; Behmauer, "Hâgî Chalfa's Düstürü l-'amel," p. 118. Sariyannis's translation as "the present community of men, which consists of the state" misses the point here (Sariyannis, "Ruler and State," p. 101n35).

deliberated about the legitimacy of the sultan, thereby conveying a “quasi-democratic” notion of legitimacy, as Vatin and Veinstein argue.⁷³ Still, the whole collectivity, which the notion of *cumhūr* refers to in *Düstürü l-‘amel*, seems more adequately grasped in the concept of ‘the commonwealth,’ rather than that of ‘the people.’⁷⁴ And while recently a reference to democratic forms of government, previously attributed to Müteferrika, has been identified as stemming from a manuscript by Kâtib Çelebi, this seems to be a translation that did not impact his own views.⁷⁵ After all, at the end of *Düstürü l-‘amel*, he considers a “man of the sword” as the most appropriate means to put the commonwealth back in order. The fact that Kâtib Çelebi here also reminds those in charge that the ultimate proprietor of the commonwealth is God⁷⁶ underlines, on the one hand, that legitimacy and power were not explicitly grounded in human beings. On the other hand, linking the power of God to the whole commonwealth, rather than to the ruler alone, might have turned out precisely as a – notably unintended – transitional move in that direction. In this sense, Kâtib Çelebi’s usage of concepts of collective life is indeed Janus-faced, looking back to the past and, unintentionally, facing forward toward the future.

It is also only in hindsight that one may perceive the concept of *hey’et-i ictimā’iye* as coming to denote the whole social collectivity in distinction from the political sphere. Kâtib Çelebi, while repeatedly using *hey’et-i ictimā’iye* and *devlet* interchangeably, does indeed portray the sultan as above the collective body, guiding it via the nobles (*‘ayān*), in the same manner as the wise soul (*nefs-i nāṭiqa*) guides the human body.⁷⁷ Taking up the title of this dossier, one may thus in hindsight distinguish between “the social and the political spheres” in *Düstürü l-‘amel*, but its author did not conceptualize this distinction in his representation of collective life.

What remains most significant is Kâtib Çelebi’s novel employment of *devlet* as indicating the early modern expansion and desacralization of power. The latter aspect is closely connected to the desacralization of

73. Vatin, Veinstein, *Le Sérail ébranlé*, p. 198; for this double sense of *cumhūr* in Kâtib Çelebi’s contemporaries, cf. p. 208.

74. Kâtib Çelebi, “Düstürü l-‘amel,” p. 123; cf. the translations in Sigalas, “Devlet et État,” p. 402; Sariyannis, “Ottoman Ideas,” p. 47.

75. Sariyannis, “Ottoman Ideas,” p. 48f.

76. Kâtib Çelebi, “Düstürü l-‘amel,” p. 126f. For a similar argument made by Kâtib Çelebi’s contemporaries, cf. Vatin, Veinstein, *Le Sérail ébranlé*, p. 201.

77. Kâtib Çelebi, “Düstürü l-‘amel,” p. 124, cf. p. 133.

history, a central characteristic underlying Koselleck's saddle period, concerning which, in the Ottoman context, Kâtib Çelebi again played a pioneering role, as the following section shows.

From cyclical sacral histories to linear desacralized history

The collective singular of 'history,' in its most fundamental sense, expresses the idea of a secular world, the ends of which are located within this world.⁷⁸ It is the basis for the "introduction of a temporal dimension" (*Verzeitlichung*),⁷⁹ one of the four characteristics of the saddle period, according to Koselleck. *Verzeitlichung* indicates the progressive nature of concepts articulating historical time, such as 'development' or 'progress.' To be clear, although the modern notion of progress is not remotely identifiable in Kâtib Çelebi's texts,⁸⁰ his work nevertheless – again in a Janus-faced manner – (1) signifies the beginning of the underlying transition from cyclical, sacral histories to linear, desacralized history and (2) validates adaptation, innovation, and thus tentatively immanent development, insofar as he demands a certain flexibility in the previously timeless model of collective order.

The desacralization of histories (see point 1 above) is most intrinsically connected to the desacralization of the concept of *devlet*, as has been shown by Nikos Sigalas. If Ottoman chroniclers structured their chronicles according to the succession of rulers until the turn to the eighteenth century, this was because there was no history outside of these individual rulers. History was contained in the *devlet* or *salṭanat*, with which it came to an end, and then it had to be reinstituted by the succeeding *devlet*. Hence the collective singular of history was absent, and one could only write sequences of the histories of successive rulers.⁸¹ The *devlet*, which temporarily represented the power of God in this world, could not become the object of a continuous history, since it was rather the subject of successive histories. The understanding of one continuous history containing the histories of particular dynasties as its objects presupposes a continuous historical subject in the world. This historical subject, according to

78. Koselleck, *Futures Past*, p. 93-104.

79. Koselleck, Richter, "Introduction and Prefaces," p. 11; Koselleck, *Einleitung*, p. xvi-xvii.

80. For the evolution of progress in the Ottoman-Turkish context and previous notions of reform, see Topal, *From Decline to Progress*.

81. Sigalas, "Des histoires," p. 104-108.

Sigalas, came to be conceived by the desacralization of *devlet* and its reference to the whole human collectivity,⁸² as shown in the previous section.

Along with the transformations in the concept of *devlet*, Sigalas dates the evolution of history as a collective singular to the first half of the eighteenth century, again naming Kâtib Çelebi as a singular exception in the preceding century.⁸³ Later, the collective singular of history becomes more discernible in the writings of Na'imā and İbrāhīm Müteferriḳa. These two authors notably went beyond Kâtib Çelebi in that they particularized the concept of *devlet* by employing it in the plural and applying it simultaneously to non-Muslim nations.⁸⁴ Placing different nations next to each other within the same desacralized, linear-historical time period enabled this comparison. It also suggests that the foundations of socio-political order, as well as the causes of and remedies for disorder, ought to be understood in comparison with other nations and via the discernment of universal, autonomous, immanent laws of collective life. This understanding, expressed by Müteferriḳa and other Ottoman writers of the eighteenth century,⁸⁵ is not yet discernible in Kâtib Çelebi, who, however, in addition to expanding and desacralizing the concept of *devlet*, was nevertheless the first to present a “unified chronology of historical events” that “made the synchronicity of many parallel historical developments visible.”⁸⁶

It is well known (see point 2 above) that Kâtib Çelebi, as the first prominent Ottoman recipient of Ibn Khaldūn's cyclic view of dynasties, introduced a certain flexibility into Ibn Khaldūn's scheme. In its original version, the three stages of a dynasty's lifespan – rise, peak, and decline – follow upon each other in a deterministic and unalterable manner. Since Kâtib Çelebi's advice treatise *Düstürü l-'amel* aimed at remedying the current crisis and reestablishing order,⁸⁷ he suggested that these three phases – particularly the supposedly current phase of decline – were less than inevitable. In a pragmatic manner, together with later recipients of

82. Sigalas, “Des histoires,” p. 109.

83. Ibid., p. 114.

84. Ibid., p. 119-124; Sigalas, “Devlet et État,” p. 400.

85. Sigalas, “Des histoires,” p. 118. Recently, the novel modes of thinking discernible in Müteferriḳa and his “intellectual landscape” have been aligned with Enlightenment thought; see Erginbaş, “Enlightenment in the Ottoman Context.”

86. Hagen, Menchinger, “Ottoman Historical Thought,” p. 94.

87. In his *Takvīm-ü Tevāriḥ*, Kâtib Çelebi rendered Ibn Khaldūn's model more comprehensively and faithfully (Sariyannis, “Kâtib Çelebi's Position,” p. 26).

Ibn Khaldūn, Kâtib Çelebi thus combined a cyclical model of histories with an ideal of lasting order.⁸⁸ In a sense, he thereby placed the slowing or even the reversal of decline, and thus the course of history, into the hands of the guardian and the nobles, who, as we have seen, in a sense represented the whole human collectivity. Since human beings have the capacity to influence and shape the course of events, Kâtib Çelebi's ethics of responsibility considers them to be responsible both before God and before history.⁸⁹

After all, Kâtib Çelebi did not plainly identify the order to be attained with a pre-existing order that must be restored, and unlike some of his contemporaries, he did not call for a wholesale return to a golden past. Instead, he suggested adaptations in view of the current situation. Sariyannis considers the "defense of innovation, of the notion that different times need different policies," as "the greatest difference between Kâtib Çelebi and his predecessors."⁹⁰ Furthermore, Sariyannis maintains: "If there is an element from Kâtib Çelebi's writings that passed almost immediately to his contemporaries' work, this must have been his sense of innovation; more particularly, his argument that every kind (or stage) of society (or state) needs different measures, and thus that the potential reformer should adopt a problem-oriented policy rather than revert to some idealized constitutions of the past."⁹¹ Previously, Gottfried Hagen has been critical of my portrayal of Kâtib Çelebi as aspiring to shape the order of collective life and the course of history,⁹² and he estimated that a sense of innovation only arose after the early eighteenth century.⁹³ More recently, however, Hagen regards Kâtib Çelebi's and Na'imā's pragmatic usage of Ibn Khaldūn's cyclical model "as an illustration in what is ultimately a political argument, a plea for radical reform."⁹⁴ I would not go so far as to characterize the measures advocated by Kâtib Çelebi as "a plea for radical reform"; rather, in combining images of an ideal, stable, and universal order (*kānūn-ı kadīm, niẓām-ı 'ālem*) with notions of human agency and of linear historical time, Kâtib Çelebi again displays his Janus face.

88. See Zemmin, *Islamische Verantwortungsethik*, p. 97, for further literature.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 203f.

90. Sariyannis, "Kâtib Çelebi's Position," p. 26.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 27; see also: Sariyannis, "Ottoman Critics," p. 142.

92. Hagen, "[Review of:] Florian Zemmin, *Islamische Verantwortungsethik*," p. 483 and 486; for a response, see Zemmin, "Was hat Max Weber mit Kâtib Çelebi zu tun?"

93. Hagen, "Legitimacy and World Order," p. 81.

94. Hagen, Menchinger, "Ottoman Historical Thought," p. 100.

Kâtib Çelebi, Early Modern Conceptual Transformations, and the Ottoman Saddle Period

Could we then say that modernity was the future that Kâtib Çelebi's Janus face unintentionally looked forward to? One could of course take the semantic transformations outlined above simply for what they are. Following what Oliver Bouquet has dubbed the paradigm of "transformationism,"⁹⁵ this would be another testimony against the obsolete paradigm of decline, and would also avoid the teleological traps inherent in the paradigm of modernization. However, the question of the genealogy of the modern conceptual order not only constitutes the starting point for this article, it also remains on the table – that is, on many research desks. Thus, I shall conclude by discussing – briefly and in a decidedly hypothetical manner – the significance of the conceptual transformations visible in Kâtib Çelebi's work for the Ottoman saddle period, and hence for modernity.

To begin with, let us recall that Kâtib Çelebi was an exceptional but not an insular figure.⁹⁶ After all, his pioneering intellectual and conceptual transformations were extended and elaborated on by later Ottoman intellectuals, such as Na'imā.⁹⁷ Moreover, the conceptual transformations highlighted in this article mirrored those in early modern European languages in important ways. It also seems that crucial analogous semantic transformations were prompted by similar events and socio-political circumstances. Thus, it was five years after the treaty of Karlowitz that Na'imā first employed the concept of *devlet* in the plural, recognizing a plurality of nations. And if the encounter and comparison with other particularized

95. Bouquet, "Du déclin à la transformation," p. 136.

96. A future investigation into the exceptionality of Kâtib Çelebi might consider the following factors: Kâtib Çelebi displayed an unusual interest in foreign sciences and regions, and also perceived inferiority in comparison with "Western sciences" (Hagen, "Überzeitlichkeit und Geschichte," p. 4). Then again, Kâtib Çelebi was part of a wider circle interested in foreign regions and also in personal contact with Europeans (see the literature in Zemmin, *Islamische Verantwortungsethik*, p. 57f.). His precise relationships to leading 'ulemā or members of the ruling household, however, have not been adequately explored (p. 59), nor has his affiliation with the philosophy of illumination (*hikmet-i isrāk*), which he declared in an autobiographical interjection (p. 62). What is certain is that Kâtib Çelebi's thought is difficult to categorize, a fact which also shows in his being the only figure whom Sariyannis includes in both of the two trends he identifies in his overview of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Ottoman political thought (Sariyannis, "Ottoman Critics," p. 141f.).

97. Sariyannis, "Kâtib Çelebi's Position," p. 28.

nations within the same linear history prompts the search for universal laws of socio-political order, this supposedly applies to all the parties involved in the encounter. This points to the desideratum of comparative studies – to discern the underlying conditions of and the factors contributing to analogous semantic transformations.

Of course, much more detailed research is required to verify or falsify the possible links between early modern conceptual transformations (discernible in the works of a few intellectuals) and later Ottoman-Turkish conceptualizations of the modern order (broadly shared by the educated public, and later also by the general populace). Locating the beginnings of the Ottoman saddle period in Kâtib Çelebi highlights a continuity on some basic epistemic levels. Yet given the current state of research, such a conclusion would not only be premature, but would also downplay the impact of European colonial hegemony. Plainly attributing the beginning of the Ottoman saddle period to the influence of colonial Europe, in turn, and thereby stressing rupture on the level of socio-political discourses, also misses an important part of the picture. Thus, any future research on the Ottoman or Near Eastern saddle period will have to take into account both ruptures and continuities on different levels.

For now – “[r]emember[ing] that all models are wrong; the practical question is how wrong do they have to be to not be useful”⁹⁸ – the findings of this article suggest a model of convergence of discursive traditions in modernity, rather than a model of the mere diffusion of European concepts. While the modern conceptual order in Near Eastern languages was elaborated and expanded under colonial hegemony, pre-colonial conceptual transformations seem to have facilitated creative appropriations of European concepts.

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98. Box, *Response Surfaces*, p. 63.

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Florian Zemmin, *The Janus Face of Kātib Čelebi: Reflecting on the Ottoman Saddle Period*

With an interest in genealogies of modernity, this article analyzes Kātib Čelebi's usage of concepts of collective life and history, highlighting their Janus-faced nature, which can moreover indicate conceptual transformations with potential significance for the Ottoman saddle period. I first introduce the metaphor of the saddle period, coined by Reinhart Koselleck to depict the transitional period between premodernity and modernity. Furthermore, I substantiate the productive potential of conceptual histories of Near Eastern languages, but also point to the hermeneutical pitfalls inherent in this avenue of research. Building on extant research, I then show the sense in which Kātib Čelebi pioneered a novel employment of *devlet* as referring to the whole social collectivity and also foreshadowed the collective singularity of history, with its desacralizing implications. On this basis, I suggest it is worthwhile to further explore the possibility that conceptual transformations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries later facilitated the conceptualization of the modern order under the influence of European hegemony.

Florian Zemmin, *Les deux faces de Kātib Čelebi. Réflexions sur la période de seuil ottomane*

Partant d'un intérêt théorique pour les généalogies de la modernité, cet article analyse l'usage par Kātib Čelebi des concepts de vie collective et d'histoire, soulignant la nature janusienne de ces concepts. Après avoir présenté la métaphore de période de seuil conceptuel, forgée par Reinhart Koselleck, je plaide pour l'intérêt de l'histoire conceptuelle des langues du Proche-Orient, tout en préconisant la circonspection face aux pièges herméneutiques que cette direction de recherche peut comporter. J'examine ensuite, en prenant appui sur des recherches existantes, comment Kātib Čelebi introduit un nouvel emploi de *devlet*, se référant à l'ensemble de la collectivité sociale, en même temps qu'il préfigure le singulier collectif d'histoire, avec ses dimensions de désacralisation. Je suggère ainsi qu'il serait utile de prendre en compte la possibilité de l'existence, au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècle, des transformations conceptuelles, qui ont facilité la conceptualisation ultérieure de l'ordre moderne, sous l'influence de l'hégémonie européenne.

LINDA T. DARLING

ORDERING THE OTTOMAN ELITE: CEREMONIAL LAWCODES OF THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, after a hundred-year hiatus, the Ottoman Empire began to produce ceremonial lawcodes, *teşrîfât kânûnnâmes*, whose purpose was the control and ordering of the elite, the prescription of their ranks and ceremonies.¹ There are three well-known and closely-related works, all designated as “lawcodes” or *kânûnnâmes*, that appeared in quick succession in the 1670s and 1680s. The *kânûnnâme* was in general one of the most powerful instruments of order in the Ottoman Empire. In the “classical age,” until the end of the sixteenth century, the *kânûnnâmes* of taxation and revenue allocation amounted almost to a constitution for the empire, ordering its military, political, economic, and social relations over several centuries.² Commerce, military organization, and governmental personnel were also governed

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2. İnalçık, *Classical Age*. See Fatih Sultan Mehmed, *Kanunnâme-i Âl-i Osman*; Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, “Kanunname Sultan Mehmeds des Eroberers;” Anhegger, İnalçık, *Kânunnâme-i Sultânî ber Mûceb-i Örf-i ‘Osmânî*; Beldiceanu, *Code des lois coutumières de Mehmed II*. For an overview see Howard, “Historical Scholarship;” Gürbüz, XV-XVI. *Yüzyıl Osmanlı Sancak Çalışmaları*.

by *ḳānūns*. Contemporaries understood the breakdown of the social order shaped by *ḳānūn* in the late sixteenth–early seventeenth centuries as the decline of the empire itself.³ Among the manifestations of this breakdown were military transformation, economic and fiscal crisis, political and social chaos, and factional infighting among the elite. The *naṣīḥatnāmes*, works of political advice for rulers that proliferated in that period, cite the violation of *ḳānūn* as the central problem of their society.

The advent of the Köprülü grand viziers in 1656 is usually characterized as the restoration of order, halting the empire's decline. Ottoman histories then and now emphasize how the Köprülü reestablished control and revived the empire's strength through the dismissal and execution of members of the elite and their successful prosecution of warfare against the European "infidels." *Ḳānūnnāmes* can be understood as further manifestations of the Köprülü agenda of control. Unlike the taxation *ḳānūnnāmes*, which largely governed the *re'āyā*, the *teṣrīfāt ḳānūnnāmes* were concerned with the regulation of elite status and behavior, the proper ordering of governmental personnel, and the composition and ceremonial of official bodies. Admittedly, ceremonies are enacted before an audience and are expected to have an effect on that audience, but many of the ceremonies described in the *ḳānūnnāmes* were viewed only or mainly by palace or governmental elites. One older *teṣrīfāt ḳānūnnāmesi* exists that bore the name of Mehmed II, although the oldest extant version comes from the late sixteenth century; a comparison with the *ḳānūnnāme* of 1676 reveals changes in Ottoman authority structures and ceremonial since earlier times.⁴

This paper addresses the questions of how and why the seventeenth-century texts appeared; who was to be controlled, that is, to whom the *ḳānūnnāmes* were addressed; and what principles of order seem to have governed their prescriptions. What effect might the protocols they mandated have had on participants or observers? Can they be considered as a group, did they share an agenda, or were they separate endeavors with different aims? What do their provisions and their nearly simultaneous production imply about Ottoman political thought in the era in which they emerged? Some of the answers to these questions remain inconclusive at

3. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual*; Abou-El-Haj, "Power and Social Order;" Howard, "Ottoman Historiography."

4. Röhrborn, "Die Emanzipation der Finanzbürokratie." The increased attention to ceremonial and protocol after 1676 generated or enhanced the status of a protocol office within the government and multiplied the registers of ceremonies and elite ranking; see, for example, Karateke, *An Ottoman Protocol Register*.

this stage, but attempting to answer them serves to illuminate the Köprülü era's concern for order, the particular order mandated by these texts, and their reception among some members of the elite.

The three *teşrifât kânûnnâmes* covered official ceremonial and protocol. *Teşrifât*, "ceremonial," refers to the ceremonies of courtiers and officials surrounding the sultan, such as enthronements, circumcisions, meetings with ambassadors, or the convocation of the *dīvân*, and all three codes describe how such ceremonies were regulated in the late seventeenth century. They can be divided into two groups. One, the only one actually labeled "*teşrifât kânûnnâmesi*," was prepared by Tevki'î 'Abdurrahmân Paşa, the imperial *nişancı*, or upper secretary and legal expert, and issued in 1676 as a sultanic edict.⁵ Thus, it was an official lawcode of the empire, prescribing elite ceremonies at the Porte, mainly but not exclusively having to do with meetings of the *dīvân*. The other two are also works of the late seventeenth century, also aiming at ordering the elite, their ceremonies and their protocol, but prepared by individuals rather than being issued by the sultan; thus, they were not laws *per se* but lists and descriptions of the laws on the ceremonies and protocol of the elite. One, nonetheless labeled *kânûnnâme* (lawcode), is the so-called *Ķânûnnâme* of Eyyübî Efendi; this title was not his own but was given later, based on the wording at the beginning of the text. The other, labeled an explanatory summary (*telhîşü'l-beyân*) of the laws, is Hüseyn Hezârfen's *Telhîş'ül-Beyân fî Ķavânîn-i Âl-i 'Osmân* (Explanatory Summary of the Regulations of the House of Osman).⁶ Both these works, although unofficial as lawcodes, should not be seen as the product of personal whim, as Barkan implied when he cited Hezârfen's book as an example of unofficial legal works written by private individuals.⁷ As they were compiled by state officials who used existing lawcodes and registers as sources, they theoretically reflect the legal conditions of the time.⁸

5. Tevki'î, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Teşrifat*. The *nişancı* was the sole person allowed to validate Ottoman edicts by tracing the sultan's *tuğra* or official signature on them. The ceremonial "*Ķânûnnâme* of Meḥmed II" was similarly promulgated as a *fermân* of the sultan; Fatih Sultan Mehmed, *Kanunnâme-i Âl-i Osman*. From his nickname, 'Abdî, it is deduced that Tevki'î 'Abdurrahmân Paşa was a *devşirme* boy; he entered the palace service in 1648 and served as *nişancı* under the Köprülü grand viziers Fâzıl Aḥmed and Ķara Muştafâ from 1668 to 1678 before being promoted to the vizierate.

6. Eyyubî, *Eyyubî Efendi Kanunnâmesi*; Hezârfen, *Telhîş'ül-Beyân*.

7. Barkan, "Osmanlı Kanunnameleri," p. 508.

8. A document in a similar style from about this period, transliterated by İpşirli, *Kavânîn-i Osmanî ve Râbita-ı Âsitâne*, begins identically to the text of Hezârfen but immediately

All these works form a contrast with the advice literature (*naṣīḥatnāmes*) of the previous hundred years, which was concerned with advising the rulers of problems in governance and society and their possible solutions.⁹ These three works are aimed at regulation rather than advice and are addressed not to the ruler but to the upper levels of the ruled, with the purpose of prescribing the organization of the Ottoman elite, its proper conditions and behavior. At times they draw on the advice works to describe contemporary conditions, but their goal is not to advise the sultan; rather, it is to regulate and control the governmental personnel. Their vocabulary is traditional, but their organization and the ways they seek to regulate the elite appear to be new. As the first and most comprehensive works of their kind for a century, they invite an investigation of how they represent the elite and elite control.

Origins of the *Ḳānūnnāmes*

The three *ḳānūn* works emerged deep in the reign of Sultan Meḥmed IV (r. 1648-1687), after the successful campaign of Crete (1645-1669) and during or after the campaign in Poland (1672-1676). We cannot suppose, however, that Meḥmed IV had anything personally to do with their emergence, as he spent much of his time in Edirne on hunting and other pursuits, leaving the minutiae of government to his viziers. The Köprülü viziers may well have played a role; as is well known, Meḥmed Köprülü had become grand vizier in 1656 because he had the experience and the ruthlessness to bring under control an elite and society deeply divided by factional warfare, under siege by foreign powers (Venice and Iran), and suffering from climate-induced famine and war-induced inflation. After a long career in government service, he notoriously ended the factional warfare of the early seventeenth century and gained control of his peers

diverges from it to focus on the lower ranks of the elite; İpşirli, "Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilâtına Dair Bir Eser." Another text, *El-fethü'l-rahmānī fī ʿirz-i Devletü'l-'Osmānī*, written by Ebü Bekr Dimişki sometime prior to its copy date of 1689, contains a section describing governmental organization as a prelude to a geographical description of the empire; Dorogi, Hazai, "Zum Werk von Ebü Bekr b. Bahram Dimişki;" Hagen, "Afterword," p. 232. These texts will not be discussed here.

9. Anhegger, "Mülâhazaları," compares Hezârfen's book to earlier advice works by Kâtib Çelebi, Koçu Bey, Lütîfî Paşa, and 'Ayn 'Alî, and since his time many scholars have treated it as an advice work. However, while parts of its contents may be the same, its organization, purpose, and audience were quite different from those of the *naṣīḥat-nāmeler*.

by dismissing or executing large numbers of the elite.¹⁰ He restored order in the capital and brought the treasury into balance, ending the succession of advice works offering remedies for the empire's ills. He was succeeded in 1661 by his son Köprülüzâde Fâzıl Aḥmed, who enhanced the power of the grand vizierial office.¹¹ The first of the three *ḵānūnnāmes*, the official one, appeared a few months after Fâzıl Aḥmed's death in 1676, during the vizierate of his brother-in-law Merzifonlu Ḳara Muṣṭafâ Paşa (gv. 1676-1683). It may have been already in preparation during Fâzıl Aḥmed's grand vizierate, or it may have been put together by an ambitious Ḳara Muṣṭafâ, perhaps in the wake of questions over his fitness to succeed to the position.¹²

Hezârîfen's and Eyyübî's unofficial *ḵānūn* works appeared slightly later than the official *ḵānūnnāme* of 1676, but they do not appear to depend on it. Both extended their purview deeper into the elite ranks than the official *ḵānūnnāme*, ordering the lesser elite as well as the highest officials. The first, Hezârîfen's *Telhîşü'l-Beyân*, claimed to be an explication of existing laws, although it does not reflect the mandates of the 1676 *ḵānūnnāme* but rather those of an earlier time. The second, by Eyyübî Efendi, was actually a copy of parts of Hezârîfen's work. He wrote no introduction for it, suggesting that he produced it not for an audience but for his own purposes, since he copied only the material that might be useful for a government scribe.¹³

10. The figure of 10,000 is frequently cited, although Creasy exaggeratedly says 36,000: Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks*, p. 31. On the manhunt in the capital see 'Abdurrahmân 'Abdî Paşa, *Abdurrahman Abdî Paşa Vekâyi'nâme'si*, p. 101-103, cited in Yılmaz, "The Road to Vienna," p. 102; on executions in Anatolia see Yılmaz, "The Road to Vienna," p. 105; and on dismissals in the provinces see Ze'evi, *An Ottoman Century*, p. 35-62.

11. Yılmaz, "The Road to Vienna," p. 109, 126.

12. The available biographical and historical detail on the Köprülü of that period is insufficient to identify a specific reason for their issuance of the *ḵānūnnāme* at that exact time, one generation after the last of the advice works and the coming of Köprülü Mehmed. Ahmet Refik's *Köprülüler* of 1915, compiled from chronicles, focuses on their role in warfare and governance and excludes details of their personal lives and the socioeconomic and political context. Aside from one study by Yılmaz, "Grand Vizierial Authority Revisited," the most recent general publications on Köprülü politics are the encyclopedia articles in Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. There are also several articles and unpublished theses detailing aspects of the Köprülü's impact, particularly their pious foundations and their intellectual patronage, rather than their political lives.

13. About Eyyübî Efendi himself nothing is known; his name indicates that he came from Eyüp, and he is thought to have been in the scribal service. Of his work there appears to be only a single manuscript: İstanbul Üniversitesi MS. TY 734. See Eyyübî, *Eyyübî Efendi Kanûnnâmesi*, p. 13-14. For Hezârîfen, see n. 19.

The exact dates when these two works appeared are not known. Eyyübî Efendi's *kānūnnāme* is undated, but it had to have been written after Hezārîfen's, since it was derived from that work, and before 8 November 1687, the date of deposition of Mehmed IV, the last sultan it mentions. As for Hezārîfen, he tells us in his introduction that his book was commissioned by 'İzzetî Efendi, then the *kāz'asker* of Anadolu,¹⁴ at a *meclis*, an intellectual circle, held in his house. Behind this statement lies a larger cultural history of this period that has only begun to be researched.¹⁵ Among the members of 'İzzetî Efendi's circle were officials and authors, including Ottoman Muslims like Hezārîfen interested in foreign lands, converts, and foreign diplomats and travelers, particularly the French.¹⁶ The request for Hezārîfen's composition was made in 1083/1672-73, upon his presenting to 'İzzetî Efendi a copy of his world history, which he completed in that year.¹⁷ The world history covered the empires of Asia and the laws of Chingîz Khān. According to Hezārîfen's report, 'İzzetî Efendi acknowledged that those empires were ended but maintained that "the laws of the Ottoman sultans, because they were laid down with the *şerī'at* of Muḥammad and judicial and reasoned regulations and with sagacity and experience, are higher in honor and more authoritative in majesty and firmness than other laws of kings."¹⁸ Consequently, he prevailed upon Hezārîfen to write a book that would explicate the authoritative Ottoman laws. The work soon grew beyond a summary of the law. Hezārîfen tells us he consulted existing *kānūnnāmes*, histories, old and new *defters*, the basic or constitutive regulations of the *dīvān* and the established and undecided orders to the treasury found in the bureaus of the *dīvān*, the monthly and quarterly salary registers of the Porte, the payment registers of finance officials and the expenses of the provincial governors, *tīmār* registers and other documents.¹⁹ These sources covered far more than the

14. 'Îsâ-zâde, *'Îsâ-zâde Târîhi*, p. 105; 'İzzetî Efendi held that office from 1080/1669-70 to 1087/1676-77.

15. See, for example, Çalıŝır, *A Virtuous Grand Vizier*.

16. Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Hezârîfenn*, p. 36-71, 167. Wurm is unclear whether these contacts took place in Istanbul, Edirne, or both.

17. On this unpublished work, entitled *Tenķihü't-Tevârîh-i Mülûk*, see Yurdaydın, "Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi Eserleri."

18. Hezârîfen, *Telhîsü'l-Beyân*, p. 37.

19. Hezârîfen, *Telhîsü'l-Beyân*, p. 38. Because of his access to these materials, and because his patron was a vizier, it is thought that Hezârîfen was a scribe of the *dīvān*. His book extends beyond *teşrîfât* or ceremonial to cover finances, military organization, lists of officials, and other matters.

top elites; the resulting book was a *telhîş* or memorandum presenting to one of its high-ranking officials a detailed picture of the current state of Ottoman military and civilian administration and the regulations applied to it.

Since Hezârfen finished his history in three years, he could have completed the *Telhîş* by 1675 or 1676.²⁰ The most commonly accepted date for the work's completion is 1675, and most of it was probably written by that date. Tülay Artan, however, noted that the text includes dates as late as 1097/1686, the appointment of the *şeyhülislâm* Ankaravî Mehemmed Efendi.²¹ Did Hezârfen work on the manuscript all that time? Its transcription into Latin letters by Antoine Galland occurred in 1686, suggesting the answer yes, but already in 1680 it was translated by Count Luigi Marsigli and Abraham Gabai, so the bulk of it must have been written before that year.²² Besides the 1097/1686 date mentioned by Artan, the list of viziers includes the year 1094/1683, in which Kâra İbrâhîm Paşa was appointed, while the *nakîbü'l-eşraf* list ends with Es'ad Efendi's appointment in 1085/1674.²³ This variety of dates suggests that Hezârfen had written most of the text by 1680 but continued to update it, finishing different sections at different times. Some sections appear to have remained unfinished, such as a section on Arabic scribes of the *dîvân* that has a title but no text.²⁴ These circumstances militate against the book's having been written or completed for a specific occasion.

Neither Hezârfen's work nor that of Eyyübî Efendi appears to have been generated by any particular event. Rather, a combination of circumstances might have made the production of all three lawcodes desirable in the decade or so after 1675. Since at their coming the Köprülü viziers replaced the old uncontrollable elites with their own people, they may also have introduced changes in the elite authority structure and practices,

20. Hammer-Purgstall dated Hezârfen's text to 1669, but that date is disproven if Hezârfen did not begin the work until after the completion of his history in 1672 or 1673; see Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte*, vol. 6, p. viii.

21. Artan, "Royal Weddings," p. 352, n. 28; see Hezârfen, *Telhîsü'l-Beyân*, p. 195. Wurm sees 1686 as the date of composition: Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Hezârfenn*, p. 83, n. 1.

22. Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Hezârfenn*, p. 104; Marsigli, *Stato Militare*, I, p. 69. A French translation was made in 1734 by Thomas Rocques: Hezârfen, "Canons ou réglemens concernans tant les officiers du sérail du Grand Seigneur." Its European audience saw the work as representing the Ottomans' actual administrative order, and perhaps holding the keys to Ottoman success or failure in this period.

23. Hezârfen, *Telhîsü'l-Beyân*, p. 192, 196.

24. Hezârfen, *Telhîsü'l-Beyân*, p. 73.

or such changes may have accumulated over time, necessitating a restatement of the regulations. This subject would not have been discussed in the chronicles, but administrative documents may yield clues to it. It is less probable that these *ḡānūnnāmes* resulted from a deliberate legal reform on the part of the Köprülü; having come to power in 1656, surely they would not have waited until 1676 to introduce such a reform, although an attribution solely to ẖara Muṣṭafā is possible. Further, the 1676 *ḡānūnnāme* cannot be considered a regulatory partner to the “*Ḡānūn-ı Cedīd* of 1673,” as the *Ḡānūn-ı Cedīd* has now been shown to be a product of the eighteenth century, only its final element bearing the date of 1673.²⁵ Malissa Taylor, who studied all its manuscripts, writes that the *fetvās* composing the *Ḡānūn-ı Cedīd* are dated or credited mostly to the years 1540 to 1655, and are thus pre-Köprülü, only the last one being dated 1673 or, in some copies 1717. All copies of the manuscript are dated between 1733 and 1820, with a concentration in the 1760s and 1770s; the compilation thus dates most probably to the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The need to regulate the elite may nonetheless have been a response to problems arising out of renewed competition in their ranks, competition that may have become visible during the circumcision ceremonies of 1675. If we cannot connect the *ḡānūnnāmes* directly to a causal event, their purpose may still be clarified by seeing the identities of the officials affected by them and the author’s intentions regarding those people.

Addressees of the *Ḡānūnnāmes*

Identifying the persons to whom these *ḡānūnnāmes* applied addresses the question of who was to be controlled by them, and the prescriptions applied to these personnel reveal something about the intentions behind the text. The *fermān* containing the *teṣrifāt ḡānūnnāmesi* was technically addressed to everybody, the entire Ottoman populace, but it was of special concern to officialdom and particularly to the men at the topmost levels, whose behaviors were regulated by it: viziers, *defterdārs*, leaders of the military and naval forces, and the upper ulema. In view of its strictures on those groups, its purpose was clear and straightforward: to define the relative power and authority of the men at the top, to mandate their behavior and dress at various ceremonies, and to say something about their promotion patterns and what they were due from others. This audience

25. Taylor, *Fragrant Gardens*, p. 79-81, 104, and n. 216 and n. 300.

constitutes a restriction in scope from the earlier *ḳānūnnāme* known as “The *Ḳānūnnāme* of Mehmed II,” which also addressed lower-level officials such as *çavūşes*, scribes, and *oda oğlans*. Compared to the earlier *ḳānūnnāme*, the one from 1676 pays less attention to their duties and promotion patterns, to none in fact except those of the grand vizier. It is prescriptive of externals, dress and behavior, and for *sancaḳbeyis* and above.

Hezārfe’s work is quite different, but not necessarily consistent within itself. Although he wrote it initially as a sequel to his world history and the laws of Chingīz Khān, the purpose and thrust of the *Telhīş’ül-Beyān* appear to have changed more than once over the long years of its composition. The work begins as a sort of dynastic panegyric, with a brief history of the Ottoman sultans down to Mehmed IV (39-44) and chapters praising their construction and reconstruction of Constantinople/Istanbul and the structures funded by the sultans, officials, and palace women. The construction of the palace also garners praise, and is accompanied by lists of occupations both inside and outside the palace and an alphabetical list of crafts (45-55). The listing of the palace servants seems to have prompted a change of focus toward an enumeration of all the elites, their duties, salaries, promotions, and other conditions (55-207). This section, drawn from administrative documents, clearly moves away from the panegyric toward the regulatory; while it continues to reveal the grandeur of the regime, it also serves to set the numbers of officials and limit the extension of patronage. This section lists in meticulous detail the palace elite, the bureaucracy, the military, and the ulema. It shows some concern for the cost of the governing elite by including a “budget,” a summary of the income of each bureau and the expenses for salaries and purchases for the empire for the year 1071/1660-61 and other information on finances (86-139). It also includes regulations for the campaign (169-185), and lists by name the top personnel of the empire below the sultan, with dates of appointment and dismissal. Here Hezārfe has left behind the purpose of panegyric or any comparison with the laws of Chingīz Khān, as well as the taxation codes that made the fame of the Ottoman *ḳānūn*. This section, which appears at first glance to be merely descriptive, actually functions to regulate the numbers of the elite and to prescribe their salaries, promotion patterns, and work at every level, from viziers to the least harem slave, scribe, or *tīmār* holder. In recording the structure of the Ottoman elite, it serves to some extent to fix that structure. It is not advice, but the law.

The next section of the text addresses the ceremonies celebrated by the governing elite (207-246), performing both celebratory and regulatory functions. This section justifies classifying this work as a *teşrîfât kânûnnâmesi*. Regulations for the circumcision festival return to the descriptive, telling who attended and what occurred on each day of the festival in the reigns of various sultans and detailing the appropriate gifts from and to each rank of official. This part was doubtless composed shortly after the 1675 circumcision festivities, since it contains a description of them. While he is at it, Hezârfen includes the gifts given on the occasion of an enthronement, but there is no indication that he foresees such an occasion in the immediate future (246-247). A section on fixed prices is followed by regulations, amounts spent, and prices for various food producers and commodities, along with regulations for mining, salt mines, and fishing, and for commercial taxes (248-263). These last regulations appear to be added in imitation of the earlier ceremonial code, as they bear little or no relation to the parts that precede them. At the end, the *Ķânûnnâme* of Meḥmed II and the *Âşâfnâme* of Lûtfî Pâşâ are copied into the text, presumably for comparative purposes (263-274). The presence of the *Âşâfnâme* and the use of data from advice works have inclined scholars to treat Hezârfen's work, as well as Eyyübî's, as a *naşîḥatnâme*, but the copying of the "*Ķânûnnâme* of Meḥmed II" reinforces the purpose of regulation rather than advice.

The aim of Eyyübî Efendi's work must similarly be deduced from its contents, as he wrote no introduction to explain his goals. His text begins abruptly a short way into Hezârfen's third chapter on the palace servants with the section on *bevvâbân*, doorkeepers, their numbers and salaries (21). Skipping over the part about the building of Topkapı Palace, it lists the personnel of the palace's third court, minus the staff of the inner treasury and the stables (22-27). It then describes the meetings of the *dīvân*; most of this section is word-for-word a copy of Hezârfen (27-30), but both are out of date with respect to the *ķânûnnâme* of 1676 (see below), raising the questions of why or perhaps when it was included and why it was not revised. A brief section on the *müteferriķas* precedes, as it does in Hezârfen, the "budget" of 1071/1660-61 (30-40). A considerable section follows on the military forces and the Crimean Khan (40-56). Then comes a section on enthronements, copying the segment at the end of the section in Hezârfen on the circumcision ceremony; it details the amounts of the gifts given to the various men of state on the occasion of Meḥmed IV's enthronement in 1648 (56-58). And here Eyyübî Efendi's treatise ends, with the word *temmet*, "it ends." It looks as if it is some kind of treasury

guide for the expenses of the next enthronement in 1687, although the list of gift recipients does not quite match the list of officials discussed in the earlier parts, and it does not mention current conditions or Mehmed IV's successor. But it certainly appears to be, not a law, or an advice work, or a work written to curry favor, but a work of practical utility, designed not so much to regulate people and affairs but to aid those who had to do so. Although all three works purport to describe and prescribe the conditions of the elite in the late seventeenth century, they differ considerably in purpose and direction. Moreover, the information in the two unofficial works is outdated in comparison to that in the official *teşrifât kânûnnâmesi*, even though it appears to have been issued before they were completed.

The 1675 Circumcision Ceremony

The issuance of the 1676 *teşrifât kânûnnâmesi* so soon after the circumcision and wedding ceremonies of 1675 suggests an additional hypothesis concerning its purpose, that the ceremonies raised questions of elite status and protocol that needed to be addressed. The circumcision ceremonies held in Edirne in May 1675/Rebî'ü'l-Evvel 1086 for the princes Muştafâ and Aḥmed and the wedding of the princess Ḥadîce in June were major ceremonial events for the imperial elite. The *teşrifât kânûnnâmesi* does not treat circumcision ceremonies, although Hezârfen's work does. The ceremonies were therefore not directly responsible for its creation, but they may have provided an impetus through the decision-making processes they generated.

The 1675 ceremonies have been examined by scholars, but less extensively than the more famous ones occurring in 1582 and 1720 because no illustrated depiction was made. Unanswered questions persist, especially regarding the disputes and decision-making lying behind the choices made at the time. Ottoman observers described the ceremonies several times: Hezârfen in his *Telhîş* (this chapter must have been written after they took place); 'Abdî Çelebi in a *sûrnâme* or Book of Ceremonies, a copy of which Hammer-Purgstall had in his possession and used in his history; the poet Nâbî in a versified *sûrnâme*; an anonymous author in a *sûrnâme* translated by a Frenchman named Roboly; and Defterdâr Şarî Mehmed Pâşâ in his history *Zübde-i Vekâyi'ât* (The Cream of Events).²⁶ One of the few

26. Hezârfen, *Telhîsü'l-Beyân*, p. 207-248; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte* VI, p. vi, 307-319; Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, p. 58-68. See Arslan, *Türk Edebiyatında Manzum*

non-military events of this period recorded in detail, the ceremony involved all the groups of court officials, the military, and the populace of the city, as well as the foreign ambassadors. The various descriptions detailed, day by day, the activities and entertainments taking place – the banquets, fireworks, performances, displays of horsemanship, clowns, guild parades – and enumerated the officials who were invited each day, their seating order at feasts and entertainments, the roles of members of the royal family, and what gifts they received and distributed. The planning for all this celebration, and disputes over precedence that may have arisen during the festivities, may have raised questions that a *tegrîfât kânûnnâmesi* could answer, such as the number of personnel in each category of the elite, the precise status relationships between the categories, and the promotions and compensation of their members.

Ottoman circumcision ceremonies have been studied using a variety of approaches, but not yet with a focus on their effect on elite organization. Metin And first studied them as *şenlik*, festivities,²⁷ after which the illustrated *sûrnâmes* drew the attention of art historians such as Esin Atıl and Nurhan Atasoy.²⁸ Özdemir Nutku and Derin Terzioğlu studied the ceremonies as forms of entertainment,²⁹ while Terzioğlu, together with Stéphane Yerasimos, Suraiya Faroqhi, and Fariba Zarinebaf, characterized them as depictions of social and international hierarchies and their contestation.³⁰ Like Rhoads Murphey and Zeynep Yelçe, however, I see them as occasions of affirmation and contestation of political hierarchies,³¹ and I argue further that the political hierarchies involved were not only those involving the sultan and the royal family but also those of the various

Surnâmeler; and Sevinçli, “Festivals and Their Documentation.” There are also several descriptions by foreign observers, such as Dr. John Covel in Bent, *Early Voyages and Travels*, p. 198-241.

27. And, *Kırk Gün, Kırk Gece*. For recent scholarship and extensive bibliography see Faroqhi, Öztürkmen, *Celebration*.

28. Stout, *The Sûr-i Hümayûn*; Atıl, *Surname-i Vehbi*; Atıl, “Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival;” Atıl, *Levni and the Surname*; Atasoy, *1582 Surname-i Hümayun*.

29. Nutku, *IV. Mehmed’in Edirne Şenliği*; Terzioğlu, “The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582.”

30. Terzioğlu, “The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582;” Yerasimos, “The Imperial Procession;” Faroqhi, “Negotiating a Festivity;” Zarinebaf, “Asserting Military Power.” See also Reindl-Kiel, “Audiences, Banquets, Garments and Kisses,” on the ceremonies of audience with the sultan.

31. Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty*, p. 175-197, which focuses on dynastic legitimacy; and Yelçe, “Evaluating Three Imperial Festivals,” on symbols of power and governance, as well as central-provincial integration.

elite groups that participated in and observed the festivities.³² Yelçe maintains that the ceremonies were directed first of all to the elite and secondarily to the common people.³³ While the elite were recipients of messages regarding the sultan's authority contained in the staging of the ceremony, they may also have been the target of messages about their own hierarchies, conveyed in the ceremony and reiterated in the *ḵānūnnāme*.

In addition, these were occasions when the elite paraded their status and jostled for preferment. Their attendance and behavior during the ceremonies were prescribed according to rank, as well as the gifts they gave and received and the extent of their participation in banquets and mock battles. These celebrations, and the positions of various people in them or with respect to them, established or altered their prestige and rank order and may have formed subjects for negotiation and competition behind the scenes. Throughout Europe, in fact, "differentiation within the upper stratum of noble society was one of the driving forces of ceremony from the later middle ages into the seventeenth century."³⁴ One's ceremonial behavior had its repercussions later in favors, influence, trade concessions, or opportunities for profit and/or glory, and this was just as true for Ottoman courtiers as for foreign ambassadors and merchants.³⁵ For the 1675 celebration, this impact has yet to be fully studied, although Hedda Reindl-Kiel has already identified a relaxation, compared to 1582, of the rules linking gift-giving with social rank.³⁶ Thus, a degree of interest, perhaps of controversy, over the numbers and status of the elite at these ceremonies may have been at work in shaping the official *teşrîfât ḵānūnnāmesi*, and Hezārfe's book as well. This hypothesis demands further investigation; but if the status of the elites was not a significant question, why would Hezārfe's response to 'İzzetî Efendi's request for a compilation of high and authoritative Ottoman laws have subordinated the *tīmār*, taxation, and criminal laws, which had authoritatively shaped and characterized the empire in the past, in favor of the ceremonial laws regulating the

32. Artan's study of the eighteenth-century wedding ceremonies of the Ottoman princesses, particularly the ceremonies of 1724 and 1728, focused on their political ramifications; Artan, "Royal Weddings."

33. Yelçe, "Evaluating Three Imperial Festivals," p. 88.

34. Duindam, "Ceremonial Staffs," p. 381.

35. Faroqi, "Negotiating a Festivity," p. 282-283; Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission," p. 69-71.

36. Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission," p. 69. Mehmet Arslan's collected articles on the circumcision and wedding ceremonies were not available to me; Arslan, *Osmanlı Edebiyat-Tarih-Kültür Makaleleri*.

elite? More may have been involved in 'İzzetî Efendi's request than Hezârfen reported in his introduction. Hezârfen continued to work on his book for the next decade, however, adding appointments and dismissals as they occurred, so that could not have been his only motive for writing it.

If we cannot yet fully answer the question of when or why these works were produced, we can see in them how the governance of the elite had been transformed between the sixteenth and the late seventeenth centuries. We can begin this process of discovery by comparing the 1676 *teşrîfât kânûnnâmesi* (TK) with the "*Ḳânûnnâme* of Meḥmed II" (KM), the only earlier example of such a code.

Comparison of Two *Teşrîfât Ḳânûnnâmes*

The "*Ḳânûnnâme* of Meḥmed II" must be surrounded by quotation marks, because its date too is contested. Although scholars often treat it as if it came directly from the late fifteenth century, Konrad Dilger identified certain anachronisms in the existing text that caused him to consider it a forgery from the years after 1574.³⁷ These details included an ornate preamble to the simply worded text, the existence of two *ḳāz'askers* and three *defterdârs*, and a mention of the *medrese* of İç İl, founded in 1571. I see other elements in the text, however, that are consistent with a fifteenth-century document heavily revised in the sixteenth century, for example the absence of mention of any other *medrese* than İç İl (there is no list of *medreses*, so İç İl appears to be a later insert), or the mention of a single *mîrahôr* followed by the sentence "Now there are two *mîrahôrs*." It is therefore preferable to treat the *ḳânûnnâme* as originally a fifteenth-century text that was extensively rewritten in the late sixteenth century. As to what would trigger such a radical alteration of a historic text, I suggest investigating the circumcision ceremony of 1582, which, like its later counterpart, may have raised status issues among the elite. By 1676, however, Meḥmed's *ḳânûnnâme* may have been so far out of date that the composition of a new code was preferred to retaining one, even vastly amended, that was linked to a now very distant forebear.³⁸

37. Dilger, *Untersuchungen*, Röhrborn, "Die Emanzipation der Finanzbürokratie." See also Akpınar, "Fatihin Teşkilat Kanunnamesinin Mevsutkiyetinden Şüpheler."

38. Subsequent to the promulgation of the 1676 *teşrîfât kânûnnâmesi*, we start hearing more about the *teşrîfât kâlemi* (protocol bureau) and its *teşrîfât defteri* (protocol register), and protocol became a much more important, or at least a more comprehensively regulated,

The lawcode of 1676 conceived of a superlative degree of order among the highest-ranking Ottoman officials. Its differences from the “*Ḳānūnnāme* of Meḥmed II” suggest ways in which power had shifted and the expected behavior of the Ottoman upper ranks had changed over the previous one or two centuries. A comparison of the two ceremonial codes sheds light on such changes in the relationships and duties of the upper elite since the late sixteenth century. Ahmet Akgündüz, who included KM in his collection of *ḳānūnnāmes*, apparently believed that the two texts were 90 percent the same, and according to Rhoads Murphey the later text “should be characterized not as revision but rather as renewal of long-standing principles in an amplified, expanded and elaborated form.”³⁹ A rough count of the clauses shows that they differ by something like 75 percent, however, and as we shall see, the relationships among the officials regulated by this code had altered considerably since the early days. The overall organization of the codes is similar: both *ḳānūnnāmes* begin with sections on the high officials of the state, the middle part of both addresses the workings of the *ḍivān*, and the *ḳānūnnāmes* both end with provisions for fines and monetary matters. Beyond the similarity in overall organization, however, they part company; TK’s next level of organization appears fairly rational, while KM has no subordinate subdivisions at all. Moreover, the *ḳānūnnāmes* differ in their inclusion of the high officials of the state. TK is directed to the highest officials and ignores those of lower status. Separate sections contain regulations devoted to the grand vizier, the rest of the viziers, the *nişāncı*, the *defterdārs*, the *reʿisülküttāb*, the *ḳāʾimmaḳām*, the *āğāyān-ı rikāb-ı hümayūn*, the *beylerbeyis*, the *sancaḳbeyis*, the ulema, the *ḳāzʿasker*, and the *ḳapūdān paşa*. In contrast, KM treats not only all the viziers, the *şeyhülislām*, the *defterdārs*, the Janissary *ağa*, but also a number of lesser officials such as the *mīrahōr*, the *çavuşbaşı*, the *cebecibaşı*, and the *helvācibaşı* in the same section. One reason that TK divides its regulations into separate sections is that it takes greater care than KM to define its terms. Another is that in TK the number of regulations had proliferated; the section devoted to the grand vizier alone is four pages long (3-7), as

aspect of court life; Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. “teşrifat;” Murphey, “The Ottomans.” The Ottomans anticipated the French in establishing a grand master of ceremonies, a register of ceremonial ranks, and a volume on solemn assemblies, while Vienna lagged behind both the French and the Ottomans in this respect; Duindam, “Ceremonial Staffs,” p. 372-375.

39. Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnāmeleri* I, p. 311-345; Tevkiʿî, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Teşrifat*, p. xiv; Murphey, *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty*, p. 326.

opposed to a couple of lines in KM.⁴⁰ Thirdly, the number of officials had also increased, so that the term “high official” had a more restricted meaning in 1676 than in the past. The lowest officials in KM were deleted from the new lawcode and more space was devoted to the highest officials.

Hezārfe (and with him Eyyübî Efendi) pays far more attention to the lesser officials in the palace than TK. His description of the *divân* ceremony includes personnel whose roles the *kanûnnâme* does not discuss: scribes, *emîns*, lower military officers, and various *ağas* and *iç oğlâns*. This emphasis doubtless stems from Hezārfe’s purpose of explicating the Ottoman administration in full, but his status as one of those lesser officials makes it still more understandable. He also puts much more stress on religious observances during the state ceremonies, although it is difficult to tell whether he was actually more interested in religion or was using religion as a subtle way to rebuke the author of the *kanûnnâme*.⁴¹

On topics other than personnel, the differences between the two official *kanûnnâmes* are more pronounced. The treatment of meetings of the imperial *divân* is quite different in the two texts. TK has separate sections for the meetings of the *divân* on Friday for the reading of petitions (7-8, 15-16), on Wednesday for the judging of cases (8-10), and on Thursday, which seems to have been for internal or military affairs (10-15). This appears to be a change from earlier in the century, when *divân* days were Saturday, Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, with ambassadors received on Sunday and Tuesday.⁴² KM also has the *divân* meeting four days a week but does not describe or differentiate the sessions (15); perhaps they grew more specialized in the later years. TK’s *kanûn* for the Friday *divân* specifies what each official wears, the seating order, and the order of business. “On the right sits the *kâz’asker* of Rumeli and on the left sits the *kâz’asker* of Anadolu” (7). Who sits and who stands, on which side, and how close to the door, are all specified. The earlier *kanûnnâme* prescribes only the kissing of hands (16-17). The later *kanûnnâme* also prescribes what they eat and how much. When invited to do so, the participants eat and then

40. Page numbers refer to the Özcan and Bilge editions of the respective texts, KM and TK.

41. Hezārfe, *Telhîsü’l-Beyân*, p. 74-77.

42. Bon, *The Sultan’s Seraglio*, p. 33, written in 1607. The unofficial texts all have this arrangement of *divân* meetings, suggesting either that they were written before the *kanûnnâme* was promulgated, that their authors were ignorant of it, that they considered the old arrangement to be more canonical than the new, or that the new *kanûnnâme* could not be implemented.

go home, unless there are lawsuits, which they handle after eating. Another difference between TK's description and that of KM is one of perspective; KM describes the seating order in vertical terms ("under him sit...") while TK describes it in horizontal terms (to the right, to the left). KM pays no attention to the clothing worn by the participants, but in TK each official's dress and decorations are specified. The picture in 1676 is very static, as if the lawcode were describing a painted miniature of the *dīvān*. The *dīvān* appears to be a much more ceremonial occasion than earlier, much less devoted to the actual business of government.

The Wednesday *dīvān* in TK appears at first more businesslike; this day is for the *ḳāḍīs* of Istanbul, Galata, Üsküdar, and Eyüp to deal with legal issues. After they eat, the *beylerbeyis* and *beys* come in, and finally the Janissary *ağa* (8). Then the grand vizier goes out on horseback (wearing a smooth turban and brocaded fur, with *dīvān* horse trappings) to inspect local conditions; he is accompanied by the *şubaşı* in a *perişānī* headdress and the *ases başı* wearing a brush, the trade *çorbacısı* also in a brush and the city *ḳāḍī*'s *kethüdā* in a *perişānī*, then the *çavuşbaşı* in a *selīmī* and *dīvān* harness, and so on. These fantastical headdresses appear in miniatures and costume books of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and were designed solely to impress the onlookers, the urban population. The entire group, lined up in order, goes to Unkapanı, the entry point and customs scale for wheat, to inspect the grain coming into the city, and then to several bread ovens to inspect the quality of the bread (9). If the bread is deficient, the baker is punished by the grand vizier, but if he is a Janissary, his superior officer punishes him. From Unkapanı they parade down the *Dīvān Yölü* (hence its name), questioning the *ḳāḍī* and the Janissary *ağa*, who do not respond. The *ḳānūnnāme* specifies that nobody else should say a word; thus, the questioning is merely formal. When they reach the chief spy, the tour is over. This description implies that all these activities took place in Istanbul; whether or how similar ceremonies were carried out in Edirne is unknown.

Additional sections in TK treat the ceremonies of petitioning (15-16), salary payments (16-17), the reception of ambassadors (17-18), and the conferring of robes of honor (18), none of which are mentioned in KM. Then TK has sections for other ceremonial occasions, such as the *İd* or *Bayram* (21-25), the Prophet's birthday (37-38), the reception of new Muslim converts (44), and the setting out of the army on campaign (33-37), on all of which except the last KM is silent. Circumcision ceremonies are not mentioned in either text, but clearly the scope of ceremonial to

be regulated in TK is much broader than in KM. Moreover, TK's various sections specify who is present, what they wear, where they stand or sit, and how they behave, but say little or nothing about the purpose of the ceremony. Some sections specifically address issues of ranking, such as the number of horsetails officials could use (32-33), a rank list of provinces (and thus *beylerbeyis*) (32), or a rank list of ulema offices (41); again, KM is silent on all but the last of these topics. Finally, separate sections deal with urban affairs: the setting of prices, fees and procedures for marriages and the division of inheritances, judges' fees, and the assessment of taxes (43-44), each of which KM mentions but does not discuss separately. The 1676 *ḡānūnnāme* is considerably longer and more differentiated than Mehmed's *ḡānūnnāme*, including more occasions and organizing its regulations in separate sections by topic; many of the topics it covers are not addressed in the earlier *ḡānūnnāme*. Thus, as far as ceremonial coverage is concerned, there is a considerable difference between the two documents.

The most telling differences, however, are the aspects of each topic that the *ḡānūnnāme* chooses to regulate. TK spends a great deal of time defining the relationship between the grand vizier and the other viziers, as the gap between them in the Köprülü period was much greater than it had been in the past, when any vizier could expect to become grand vizier in time. Interestingly, Hezār fen begins his consideration on the grand vizier by discussing the relationship he maintains with the sultan, emphasizing his proximity to the sovereign, as if the grand vizier were still the sultan's assistant rather than his replacement.⁴³ He does not deny the grand vizier's high rank or independence, but he draws attention, in subtle ways, to his subordination to the sultan and his responsibility for the condition of the rest of the palace staff. He also includes a section on the inception of the grand vizierate with a list of every Ottoman grand vizier (the Köprülü included), his dates of accession and dismissal, and his burial place – another subtle hint? This issue may bring us to another reason for the issuance of the *ḡānūnnāme*; at the death of Fāzıl Ahmed Köprülü in 1676, there may have been some dissension among officials over raising yet another Köprülü family member, one not even related by blood to the founder of the line, to the highest office in the realm.

43. Hezār fen, *Telhîsü'l-Beyân*, p. 73, 83-85, 185-192.

KM designates the affairs of the sultanate as the deliberations of “the grand vizier with the other viziers and the *defterdârs*” (9), gives the *defterdârs* authority over the money (*mâlimun vekîlleridir*), and assigns them to hire and fire the treasury scribes (9). TK, on the other hand, establishes the grand vizier’s superiority from the start, exalting him over the other viziers and *beys* (3-4). In both texts the grand vizier is *vekîl-i muṭlaḳ*, bearing absolute authority as the sultan’s agent; in KM this authority is over affairs, while in TK his authority appears to extend over people as well, particularly their appointments, dismissals, and punishments, all spelled out in detail. However, although the text states that the grand vizier has governorship over all the people, his authority is chiefly exercised over the personnel of the state, military, civilian, and religious. In TK the grand vizier alone speaks directly to the sultan, and the sultan’s other servants present their petitions to him (4); but in KM viziers, *ḳāẓ’askers*, and *defterdârs* petition the sultan themselves (7). In both he is the keeper of the sultan’s seal, which opens and closes the treasury (and authenticates documents; TK 4; KM 18). However, in TK, in addition to worldly affairs, the grand vizier is involved with *‘ibādullāh*, or *ṣer’ī* legal affairs (5), while in KM he controls only worldly affairs, as financial affairs belong to the *defterdâr* and *ṣer’ī* affairs to the *ḳāẓ’asker* (9). Thus, by 1676 the grand vizier had assimilated the powers formerly exercised by other members of the *dīvān* – the other viziers, the *defterdârs*, and the *ḳāẓ’askers*. On days other than Tuesday and Thursday he holds the *dīvān* in his own residence (TK 5). If he leaves the palace to command an expedition, he wears a smooth turban and a short jacket with short sleeves, brocade trimmed with fur, and red velvet pants. The sultan gives him two jeweled aigrettes and two robes of honor, one furred and one plain, hands him a banner, and says a prayer for him (5).

The later *ḳānūnnāme* makes a distinction between viziers of the dome (those who belong to the sultan’s *dīvān*) and other officials with the rank of vizier (5); in the fifteenth century this distinction did not exist, and in the late sixteenth century it was just beginning to appear. In TK the viziers rank in order of age rather than date of appointment (5); the date of appointment has become meaningless, since they will never attain the grand vizierate themselves, unlike earlier viziers, who were appointed in order of their time in office. The later viziers are not independent; they must attend the grand vizier at least once every two weeks (6). If they serve as *ḳā’immaḳām* (locum tenens) or *serdâr* (commander), they have the same

privileges and duties as the grand vizier, but if not, they merely attend the sessions of the *dīvān* and carry out the grand vizier's instructions (5). When the grand viziers go on campaign they wear the ceremonial turban and the official fur coat on the road and gird themselves with swords and put on their horses the horsecloth in daily use, but on parade days they wear armor with a brocade caftan over it, and *şalvār*, and carry bows and arrows (6). And if the sultan goes out to Friday prayer with a troop, the *ḵānūnnāme* specifies what the viziers wear, and what their horses wear, and what officials of other ranks have to wear. On days other than *dīvān* days, if they are in company with the sultan they wear the smooth turban and the brocade caftan, but if they go to put out a fire, they wear the turban in daily use. As far as officials other than the grand vizier are concerned, the main concern of TK seems to be their clothing, which was not even discussed in KM; TK's *ḵānūn* for each official specifies, not his duties, but what he should wear and what materials it should be made of.

A separate *ḵānūn* in TK describes how the officials arrive at the *dīvān*. The Janissary *ağa* advances his horse a little forward to greet each vizier, and each entering vizier salutes the one who comes after him, suggesting that they arrive in reverse order of status (11). Then the gate is opened, and the other officials enter in a group. The *ḵāẓ'askers* and *defterdārs*, after entering the gate, do not immediately enter the *dīvān* room but sit next to the *re'īsülküttāb*, who is seated outside the door of the *dīvān*, to wait for the viziers. When the viziers arrive, they are met at the gate by the *çavuşbaşı* and the *kapıcılar kethüdāsi*, who salute them and fall down before them. The viziers walk down the path in single file, and when they reach the door of the *dīvān* they are saluted by those awaiting them. The second vizier, arriving last, walks forward, gives a salaam toward the Gate of Felicity, then turns and salutes the other viziers, *ḵāẓ'askers*, and *defterdārs*, and enters the *dīvān*. Then everyone enters in order of rank. And so on, and so on, in a completely stylized fashion. The significance of ceremonial seems to have become enormous for the viziers, even to the extent of outweighing policymaking in importance. The vizierate, as portrayed in TK, appears to be a status game more than a governing power. It is impossible at this stage to tell whether this result was mandated by the *ḵānūnnāme* (i.e., by *Ḳara Muṣṭafā*) or whether the *ḵānūnnāme* simply reflected a change that had already occurred for other reasons, such as Meḥmed Köprülü's seizure of power or Fāẓıl Aḥmed's aggrandizement of authority. In either case, the *ḵānūnnāme* provides evidence of increased political centralization at the topmost level of Ottoman officialdom.

Conclusion

We have enough information to see in part the significance of these lawcodes. The meaning of the *ḵānūnnāme*'s ceremonies depends upon who observes them. Who is their audience? The *dīvān* officials and palace personnel were probably the only people who saw much of the *dīvān* ceremonial; by the time petitioners arrived, the officials were all in place. As a result, the point of those ceremonies appears to have been directed at the officials themselves, to establish and maintain an order of precedence among them. The ceremonies also served, by taking away officials' powers of decision, to discourage deviance or independence of thought, to induce the officials of the state to be wrapped up in issues of how they looked and where and when they sat rather than in challenging the authority or the decisions of the grand vizier.

Other ceremonies were enacted before the population, such as the inspection of the markets and the setting out on campaign, or had a more diverse audience, such as the reception of converts or the religious holidays. The hierarchical order of the participants, the impressive costumes, and the dignified proceedings conveyed a portrait of power and order to a larger audience. The payment of salaries and the reception of ambassadors, often performed together, included the army and the representatives of foreign countries in that display and sent clear messages to all concerned about the relative power of empires, groups, and individuals in the Ottoman context. Nonetheless, the *ḵānūnnāme* suggests a significant gap between the image of power and the reality, at least internally within the empire. The concentration of power in the center may have weakened rather than strengthened the vast configuration of power that was the empire.

The distribution of power among Ottoman officials represented in the seventeenth-century *teşrîfât ḵānūnnāmesi* is quite different from that in the ceremonial lawcode of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Power itself is concentrated in the office of grand vizier; the other viziers and officials appear to have mainly ceremonial roles and to participate in decision-making only when directed by the grand vizier. We know, of course that this was generally the case (although it could subsequently break down, as Felix Konrad's article suggests); here, however, we see it legally mandated and graphically displayed, and we see part of the mechanism by which it was to be enforced. Ceremony, from being a display of power and status which officials derived from their other activities, had become

the enactment of their status itself; except for the grand vizier, their power lay in being what they were, not in exercising power offstage, so to speak. The grand viziers were also captive to the system, at least to some extent. Although they controlled most of the power, they did so by means of rigorous adherence to canonical practices.⁴⁴ If in later centuries they found themselves without support when they tried to innovate, they should not have been surprised.

The regulations in the 1676 *ḡānūnnāme* do not seem to have affected the more unofficial works, raising the question of the extent to which the *ḡānūnnāme* was actually implemented. A corresponding question is the extent to which the elite's organization and practice in the 1670s and 1680s resembled the descriptions in the unofficial lawcodes. It is commonly assumed that, whatever the writers of unofficial texts may have said, the sultanic lawcode ordained the actual behavior of officials. This assumption itself may be faulty, so the need is to find sources that will permit an evaluation of the *ḡānūnnāme*'s effectiveness in the real world. On the other hand, the organization described in the unofficial writings was very far from that mandated by the sultan's lawcode. What those authors described and/or prescribed was what they found in the *ḡānūnnāmes* and advice works of earlier generations, going back over a hundred years. The question then becomes why, what compelled those writers to insist on an organization and set of behaviors at least a century out of date? This group of works could have constituted a form of resistance, a push-back against governmental changes introduced by the Köprülü grand viziers, Kara Muṣṭafā in particular. They may have contained not a description of Ottoman governance but a sort of wish list from members of the elite.

Together, these works and their composition provide a sounding into the political thought of this period. The years around 1676 appear in them as a period of reorganization following two decades of gaining control over chaos. The *ḡānūnnāmes* confirm that the order of the state, which reflected the (unchanging?) order of the world, was a cardinal prescription of the late seventeenth-century Ottoman elite.⁴⁵ Which order to maintain then became a relevant question. The long period of chaos in the late

44. Considering the checkered career of Meḡmed Köprülü, the attraction of conservatism becomes comprehensible; see Gökbilgin, Repp, "Köprülü."

45. This period was unfortunately omitted from the collected volume edited by Karateke and Reinkowski, *Legitimizing the Order*, as well as from the article by Faroqhi, "Presenting the Sultans' Power."

sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the violence with which it was subdued, may have induced a broader spectrum of people in the late seventeenth century to emphasize their adherence to order and procedure, to the “old” order and the correct procedure, no matter how innovative their period actually was. The codification of elite status and the ceremonies renewing social and political hierarchies that we see in all these works suggest that this was indeed a conservative age, despite the changes occurring all around. The popularity of the *Ḳāḏızādelis* during this period of resistance to change that we know as the *Köprülü* era may perhaps be understood as another indicator of this conservatism.

Tevḳīʿī's *ḵānūnnāme* depicts the importance of the great men of state as vastly exceeding that of the rank and file even of the elite, as it completely ignores the rank and file. That may sound only too obvious, but a great deal of attention was paid earlier in the seventeenth century to the rank and file military and bureaucrats; they created many of the problems that the advice literature described and that the rulers had to deal with, and much ink was devoted to them and their issues. The current lawcode vividly demonstrates that the first two *Köprülü* viziers had successfully subordinated the rank and file, making this an elitist age. Studies of change in the patronage system might reveal more about these hierarchical relationships. Moreover, the Janissaries, so politically active earlier in the seventeenth century, were also subordinated, as all the *ḵānūnnāmes* show, and their political subordination at this point may help explain their greater participation in social (not just political) movements during the eighteenth century, their alliances with more popular segments of the population, as well as their resistance to government efforts to “reform” them.⁴⁶

These indications help us to refine our assessment of the *Köprülü* era. As part of the “second Ottoman Empire,”⁴⁷ that era continued political transformations begun in the late sixteenth century, including the subordination of the *tīmār*-holding military, the civilianization of the Janissaries, the monetization of the economy, and cultural interactions with societies to the east and west. But within that overall movement it was to some extent a retrograde period in which power was separated from status,

46. In a little over a decade, as Konrad's article in this volume shows, the Janissaries would be described as more of a trouble than an asset to the state; the townspeople were also regarded as beneath consideration and the mercenary troops as an evil. Konrad's article also indicates the grand vizier's ascendancy over the other viziers.

47. This phrase refers to the analysis in Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire*.

power-sharing was reduced, and time and resources were invested in empty ceremonial as an instrument of order. The Ottoman men of power were lucky that in the seventeenth century the population was not ready for revolution, especially since the empire was really too massive to be governed by a single powerful man. It is ironic, however, to reflect that the means chosen to order the elite and reform the empire in this period may have had a hand in creating the hollow government of the subsequent period. The structure that the *ḵānunnāme* describes, far from a manifestation of imperial strength, seems to embody the formalistic and powerless Ottoman government of the later centuries.

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Linda T. Darling, *Ordering the Ottoman Elite: Ceremonial Lawcodes of the Late Seventeenth Century*

The Ottoman Empire in the last quarter of the seventeenth century produced three works designated as “lawcodes” or *ḳānūnnāmes* for the control and ordering of the elite. The sixteenth century saw a breakdown of the social order governed by *ḳānūn* that was often understood as the decline of the empire itself. The Köprülü grand viziers, who controlled the empire in the second half of the seventeenth century, are portrayed as restoring order and halting decline. The *ḳānūnnāmes* were potentially further manifestations of that agenda, but they have not been much studied, and never together. This paper compares them, both the official *teşrîfât ḳānūnnāmesi* of 1676 and the unofficial ones by Hezārîfen and Eyyübî Efendi, to each other and to the earlier “*Ḳānūnnāme* of Meḥmed II.” It finds that, far from exhibiting the empire’s strength and order, they instead describe structures of power and elite relationships that embody the formalistic and powerless Ottoman government of the later centuries.

Linda T. Darling, *Encadrer les élites ottomanes : codes de protocoles au xvii^e siècle*

L’Empire ottoman, dans le dernier quart du xvii^e siècle, a produit trois codes de droit ou *ḳānūnnāmeler* pour régler et gouverner les élites. Le xvi^e siècle connut un effondrement de l’ordre social gouverné par le *ḳānūn* qui était souvent compris comme le déclin de l’Empire lui-même. Les grands vizirs Köprülü qui, dans la seconde moitié du xvii^e siècle, ont contrôlé l’Empire, sont dépeints comme ramenant l’ordre et arrêtant le déclin. Potentiellement, les *ḳānūnnāme* étaient des manifestations de cet agenda, mais ils ne sont que peu étudiés et jamais ensemble. Cet essai les confronte, tant le *teşrîfât ḳānūnnāmesi* officiel que les codes non officiels d’Hezārîfen et Eyyübî Efendi, et le plus ancien « *Ḳānūnnāme* de Meḥmed II ». Il conclut qu’ils ne montrent pas la force et l’ordre de l’Empire, mais des structures de pouvoir et des relations des élites qui donnent à voir le gouvernement ottoman formaliste et impuissant des siècles suivants.

FELIX KONRAD

AN EMPIRE AT STAKE, OR:
HOW TO RE-ESTABLISH ORDER WHEN
THE WORLD IS IN DISARRAY
DIVERGENT NARRATIVES OF THE 1687–1689 CRISIS

In the late seventeenth century, the Ottoman Empire entered a troubled period. It began with the disastrous defeat of the Ottoman armies at Vienna in 1683. The fiasco not only resulted in further military setbacks and territorial losses, but also in domestic instability. Grand Vizier Merzifonlu Kâra Muṣṭafâ Paşa (in office 1676-83), a member of the Köprülü household and one of the prime movers of the campaign, was executed as he was deemed responsible for its failure. The pre-eminence of the Köprülü, who had dominated the empire since 1656, was curtailed. Stability – evident in the long tenures of the Köprülü grand viziers – gave way to fluidity in the top position of the administration. Vizier households competed for power while Sultan Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87) tried to strengthen his authority.¹

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1. Abou-El-Haj, *1703 Rebellion*, p. 43-47; cf. Tezcan, *Second Ottoman Empire*, p. 215-219. For the Köprülü grand viziers see Gökbilgin, Repp, “Köprülü;” for a short overview of the Köprülü era see Faroqhi, “Crisis and Change,” p. 419-420, and more comprehensively, Finkel, *Osman’s Dream*, p. 253-288. For the re-emergence of factionalism after Vienna, which took the form of a rivalry between an “anti-Köprülü faction” and supporters of the Köprülü, see Finkel, *Osman’s Dream*, p. 290, 295; cf. Silâhdâr, *Silâhdâr Ta’rîhi* II, p. 119-120, who describes Kâra İsmâ’il Paşa and Şarî Süleymân Paşa,

While the war with Austria and her allies in the Holy League dragged on, the Ottomans suffered further routs, among them the loss of Buda (Budin, 1686) and the defeat at Mohács (1687).² The rather chaotic retreat from Hungary and endemic supply problems triggered off an army mutiny that not only led to the dismissal and execution of Grand Vizier Şarî Süleymân Paşa (in office 1685-87), but also to the deposition of Sultan Mehmed IV.³ Shortly afterwards, rebellious *kul* troops (Janissaries and *sipāhî*) entered Istanbul and caused trouble. When the authorities failed to pay the remunerations, demanded in due time, they pillaged the markets and oppressed the townspeople. In the general turmoil, the troops stormed the residence of Grand Vizier Abaza Siyāvuş Paşa (in office 1687-88), whom they had earlier brought to office, and killed him. Since the government of the new sultan Süleymân II (r. 1687-91) proved unable to enforce its authority, Istanbul's craftsmen and other townspeople took the matter into their own hands. Rising against the encroachments of the military and exerting pressure on the government, they enforced the appointment of their own candidate to the grand vizierate (Nişancı İsmâ'il Paşa, in office 1688), thus playing a significant role in restoring order in the capital.

In the provinces of Anatolia and Rumelia, however, unrest continued for about another year. In order to mobilize forces for the front and with the intention of checking the rebellious *kul*, the governments of both sultans, Mehmed IV and Süleymân II, repeatedly resorted to the help of Anatolian mercenaries of peasant origin led by Yeğen 'Oşmân Paşa (d. 1688). Yeğen 'Oşmân and his followers, however, were yet another destabilizing factor, as their troops marauded through the countryside, oppressing the population. Thus the domestic crisis was marked by a fierce competition for power and influence between different socio-political groups each of which struggled on its own behalf; among them were those who, under Köprülü supremacy, had been excluded from power (such as competing vizier households) or who had been kept under strict control (like the rank-and-file bureaucrats and military, among them the Janissaries).⁴ At the same time, the war with the Holy League went from bad to worse, with the Venetians

the first two grand viziers who succeed Kâra Muştafâ, as his enemies who engineered his execution.

2. Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence*, p. 159; Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, p. 290-292.

3. For the destabilizing effects of lost wars with regard to the ruler's legitimacy cf. Faroqhi, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 114-117.

4. For reduced power-sharing under the Köprülü grand viziers and their subordination of the rank-and-file cf. Linda Darling's article in this dossier, p. 375-376, 377.

holding the Peloponnese and the Austrians advancing as far as Niš, Vidin and Skopje (Üsküp).⁵

The Ottomans of the time were well aware that these losses were different from earlier setbacks. The internal troubles, too, were perceived as different from earlier ones, as Ottoman historiographical representations of the events convey a picture of rampant disarray. An anonymous chronicler, for example, states that there was “universal chaos” (*herc-ü merc-i ‘ālem*).⁶ In this complex set of intertwined internal and external threats, everything seemed to get out of hand. There are good reasons for seeing the incursions of the armies of the Holy League armies as the main problem facing the Ottomans, and these certainly had far-reaching implications for the empire.⁷ Still, the problems within the empire, starting with the mutiny of 1687, severely disrupted internal peace, which was re-established at least partly in 1689 when the troubles in the provinces ended.

Eunjeong Yi and Halil İnalçık have demonstrated that the internal crisis was a very complex one, involving many different social groups. Yi, who studied the revolt of the Istanbul artisans in March 1688, showed that the townsmen were seriously affected by and involved in the volatile political situation that followed Mehmed’s dethronement. She also showed that the artisans pushed their own demands, directed against the military and the government, and that they were able to mobilize support from among the ‘ulemā’ and descendants of the Prophet (*sādāt*).⁸ In his analysis of the transformations of the Ottoman military and fiscal systems in the seventeenth century, İnalçık studied the troubles in the provinces during the later stages of the crisis as a continuum of the Celālī unrest that occurred earlier in the century. He states that the confrontation between *kul*/Janissary and provincial *segbān*/mercenary elements of the armed forces led by Yeğen ‘Osmān and the interest groups who supported or used them, resulted in the temporary dominance of the Anatolian *segbān* in the empire.⁹

5. Hochedlinger, *Austria’s Wars of Emergence*, p. 160-162; Finkel, *Osman’s Dream*, p. 306; Faroqhi, “Crisis and Change,” p. 428-430.

6. *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*, p. 1.

7. Besides territorial, financial and human losses there were transformations in the system of taxation, the military apparatus and its modes of recruitment (Finkel, *Osman’s Dream*, p. 306-311; Aksan, “Locating the Ottomans,” p. 118-124). In the wake of the peace of Karlowitz 1699, the concept *devlet* (State) was used for the first time for recognizing the existence of a plurality of nations (cf. Florian Zemmin’s article in this dossier, p. 345-346).

8. Yi, “Artisans’ Networks and Revolt.”

9. İnalçık, “Military and Fiscal Transformation,” p. 299-303. For Yeğen ‘Osmān see Finkel, *Osman’s Dream*, p. 295-296, 300-305, and Faroqhi, “Crisis and Change,” p. 419; for a short overview of the Celālī revolts see *ibid.*, p. 433-438.

The aim of this article, however, is not to analyze or reconstruct the crisis itself or its reasons.¹⁰ Rather, it examines the ways in which Ottoman chroniclers represent the conflict-ridden years between 1687 and 1689 and how they deal with the individuals and groups involved. Thus, the approach taken here is similar to Marc Baer's, who studied legitimization strategies with regard to the unseating of Mehmed IV. He showed that there was a conceptual shift in the perception of the sultan from an active warrior-sultan (*ğāzī*) to that of a rather passive, sedentary monarch.¹¹ Typical features of Ottoman historiography are an emphasis on personal responsibility and morality, not only of sultans, but also of officeholders, and its function as a provider of political and moral instruction by way of example.¹² Thus, historiographical texts contain critical comments on the moral and political performance of officials.¹³ Ottoman historiographers of the seventeenth century assumed – as Rhoads Murphey phrased it – the role of a “social critic, satirist, and arbiter of and watch dog over standards of ethical behavior of holders of public office.”¹⁴ Following this approach, this article will focus on how historiographers represented people of various, including lower, ranks.

The Ottomans of the time felt there was a crisis within the empire, a crisis that endangered the established order. It can be assumed that this awareness shaped historiography in the sense that chroniclers felt they had to address the problem of how order was to be re-established in a situation in which everything seemed to get out of hand. The question is to find out how they tried to interpret the crisis in a meaningful way, and – in so doing – what representations of the social order did they portray. Historiographical writings are also instruments of political and social communication and as such, they provide sometimes competing, sometimes concordant representations of events and actors.¹⁵ Representations, as defined by Roger Chartier, are more than a way of speaking and writing about social, political, and cultural realities, because they contribute to

10. For an account of the political history after the defeat at Vienna see Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, p. 284-308.

11. Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam*, p. 231-244; cf. Baer, “Manliness, Male Virtue and History Writing.” For the dethronement of Mehmed IV in comparison with other changes of throne see Vatin, Veinstein, *Le Sérail ébranlé*.

12. Hagen, Menchinger, “Ottoman Historical Thought,” p. 97, 102-103; Thomas, *Study of Naima*, p. 89-90, 115-116.

13. Murphey, “Ottoman Historical Writing,” p. 282.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 295.

15. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 288-295, who stresses the wide range of opinions in Ottoman chronicles as a reflection of “the multi-dimensionality of Ottoman society” (quote, p. 288).

shaping these very realities.¹⁶ Thus, they are, to a certain extent, constitutive of the social world. In order to approach reality in a meaningful way, representations make use of social and political ideas, categories, and classifications. Yet they are not objective depictions of reality, but rather a means by which groups or individuals try to assert their own views of the social world.

Some of the socio-political ideas, categories, and classifications used for historiographical representations can be found in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century political treatises. Ottoman advice literature (*naṣīḥatnāme*) is rich in normative statements about how the social order ought to be; authors of *naṣīḥatnāmes* also specify the roles and social positions of different groups as well as their appropriate behavior. Building on a dichotomy between the privileged Ottoman ruling class (*‘askerī*) and their tax-paying subjects (*re‘āyā*), they argue that order is only preserved as long as hierarchies are respected and the subjects – often perceived as potential troublemakers – are kept in their place.¹⁷ This genre also provides moral and political guidance for officeholders and thus normative statements about how men in authority should conduct themselves. The fact, though, that these values and norms had to be evoked regularly shows that they were obviously not universally adhered to.

Ottoman chroniclers of the crisis agree that there was chaos, but even so, their representations differ from one another, as they ordered their emphases differently and vary in their evaluation of people and events. This article addresses these divergences and similarities as well as the question of how the chroniclers used the socio-political statements of the *naṣīḥatnāme* literature as an interpretative guideline. In the first part, the focus will be on representations of low-status insurgents from among the military and the townspeople. The second part will concentrate on the representation of the viziers who played a part at different stages of the rebellion.

The texts

Authors of different backgrounds and social standing are likely to produce differing, though not necessarily conflicting historiographical

16. Chartier, *Edge of the Cliff*, p. 4-8; Chartier, “Le monde comme représentation,” p. 1513-1515.

17. Ferguson, “Genres of Power,” p. 107-108; Fodor, “State and Society,” p. 238; cf. Hagen, “Legitimacy and World Order,” Howard, “Genre and Myth,” and Linda Darling’s article in this dossier. For the interconnectedness of advice literature and historiography cf. Hagen, Menchinger, “Ottoman Historical Thought,” p. 92-93.

representations. Ottoman historiographers usually accepted some basic assumptions; nevertheless, variations of opinion may result from their knowledge, their exposure to the events, as well as from their individual loyalties and solidarities.¹⁸ This also applies to the four chronicles studied here, which were written by authors of different milieus and professional backgrounds: an *‘ālim*, a palace man, and two administrators (*ehl-i kalem*), one of them a treasury official. All of them were contemporaries of the events and wrote independently of each other.

The first chronicle was written by ‘Īsāzāde ‘Abdullāh Efendi, a mid-level *‘ālim* about whom little is known. The vantage point of his *Tārīh*,¹⁹ which remained unfinished and survives only in a single manuscript (the autograph), is the city of Istanbul. ‘Īsāzāde relates the crisis of the years 1687 to 1689 at the end of his chronicle. This part, however, remains as a draft, containing diary-like notes, obviously written on a day-by-day basis during the events and reflecting them from the viewpoint of an Istanbul resident. It is unlikely that he was personally involved in the events as ‘Īsāzāde’s representation of the crisis is rather vague and sometimes confusing, especially when it comes to the government’s decision-making processes. Only as far as the excesses of the troops in Istanbul and the insurrection of the townsmen are concerned, does he provide a somewhat comprehensible account. Despite its incompleteness, other chroniclers used ‘Īsāzāde’s text as a source.²⁰

The second chronicle was written by Defterdār Şarı Meḥmed Paşa (c. 1655-1717), a man of rather humble origins who was socialized in the bureaucracy (*ehl-i kalem*) and who made a career in the financial administration, which reached its peak in the early 1700s, when he repeatedly held the position of *baş-defterdār* (chief revenue officer), even if only for short periods of time.²¹ His chronicle *Zübde-i Vekāyi’āt*²² deals in great detail with the dethronement of Meḥmed IV and the accompanying upheavals in

18. Murphey, “Ottoman Historical Writing,” p. 294-295.

19. ‘Īsāzāde, *Tārīhi*, covering 1654-1692 (1065-1104 h.).

20. Defterdār Şarı Meḥmed used ‘Īsāzāde’s chronicle as a source for parts of his *Zübde-i Vekāyi’āt*. For ‘Īsāzāde, his chronicle, and the use of his text see the editor’s introduction in ‘Īsāzāde, *Tārīhi*, p. xxiii-xliii; Strauß, *Chronik des ‘Īsazade*, p. i-xxlv; and Yilmazer, “‘Īsāzāde Tārīhi.”

21. For Defterdār Şarı Meḥmed and his writings see the editor’s introduction in Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiat*, p. xvii-xciii; Özcan, “Meḥmed Paşa;” Özcan, “Defterdar Sarı Mehmed;” de Groot, “Şarı Meḥmed Paşa;” Sariyannis, Tuşalp Atıyas, *Ottoman Political Thought*, p. 138-141.

22. Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiat*, covering 1656-1704 (1066-1116 h.).

the provinces. Defterdār Meḥmed completed the *Zübde* toward the end of his life; it is, however, not clear, when exactly he started to write it, though from his introduction, one can conclude that it must have been during the reign of Meḥmed IV. His account of the events between 1687 and 1689 is at least in part based on his personal observations and notes he may have made during the events, though he may also have relied on other sources.²³

Another chronicler who relates the crisis following Meḥmed's IV dethronement in a very detailed manner is Silāḥdār Fındıklılı Meḥmed Ağa (1658-1726/27). Silāḥdār Meḥmed's chronicle, intended as a continuation (*zeyl*) of Kātib Çelebi's (1609-57) *Fezleke-i tevārīḥ*, consists of two parts of which the first, commonly known as *Silāḥdār Ta'riḥi*, is of concern here.²⁴ Silāḥdār Meḥmed was educated and socialized in the imperial household. As a man of the inner service (*enderūn*) who served no less than five sultans²⁵ and who identified with the court environment, Silāḥdār wrote his chronicle from a palace perspective. Due to his access to information and his insight into deliberations within the palace (he was personally present at several meetings), his text reflects views held in palace circles, in a way that the other chronicles do not.

Finally, there is an anonymous chronicle preserved in a single manuscript published by Abdülkadir Özcan.²⁶ Evidence in the text suggests that the author was an official integrated in the entourages of several grand viziers and other high-ranking officeholders of the 1690s and early 1700s. Thus, he had access to government and palace circles,²⁷ which gave him

23. Some of the early parts of the *Zübde* are based on historiographical accounts, among them 'İsāzāde's *Ta'riḥi*, but this does not apply to the 1687-1689 events (Strauß, *Chronik des 'İsazade*, p. xlii-xlv).

24. Silāḥdār, *Silāḥdār Ta'riḥi*, edited 1928 by Ahmed Refik [Altınay] covers 1654-1695 (1065-1106 h.); the relevant texts are in vol. II. For extracts in Latin script see Silāḥdar, *Silāḥdar Tarihi*, p. 71-133, edited 1947 by Mustafa Nihat Özön. I used both editions side by side; quotations are from the 1928 edition. The second part of the chronicle covering 1695-1721 (1106-1133 h.) is Silāḥdar, *Nusretnâme*; extracts in Latin script in Silāḥdar, *Silāḥdar Tarihi*.

25. During the reigns of Meḥmed IV, Süleymān II, Ahmed II, Muṣṭafā II, and Ahmed III, Silāḥdār Meḥmed was employed in different positions in the *enderūn* and the *hāṣṣ oda* as well as a *bostāncı*, a *balṭacı*, and a *silāḥdār*. For Silāḥdār Meḥmed and his chronicle see Karaçay Türkal, "Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed;" Özcan, "Silāḥdar Mehmed;" Woodhead, "Silāḥdār, Fındıklılı Mehmed;" Murphey, "Silahdār Findikli Mehmed."

26. *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*, covering 1688-1704 (1099-1116 h.).

27. For the author and his chronicle see the editor's introduction in *ibid.*, p. xv-xxiv; for the viziers he was associated with and for the time of composition of the chronicle, *ibid.*, p. xvi-xvii.

first-hand information that helped him detail the later parts of his chronicles. The initial parts, starting with the enthronement of Süleymân II, however, are very brief and obviously written retrospectively by some ten to fifteen years. The mutiny of the army, Sultan Mehmed's dethronement, and the excesses of the soldiers in Istanbul are condensed on a single page, leaving the uprising of the townspeople unmentioned. The author justifies the brevity of his account by saying that others have already recorded the "universal chaos" of those months.²⁸ He provides, however, a few more details about the confrontation with Yeğen 'Osmân Paşa.²⁹

The chronicle of the official historiographer (*veķāyi'-nüvīs*) Mehmed Rāšid (1670s-1735), covering the years from 1660 to 1722 (1070-1134 h.),³⁰ is not considered here. Rāšid wrote several decades later, starting to compile his text only in 1718.³¹ His considerable temporal distance from the events made him rely on written sources, among them Defterdār Mehmed's and Silāhdār Mehmed's texts.³² On the whole, therefore, Rāšid's narration of the events is not original, and, in fact, the parts of it concerning the year 1099 (1688/89) are virtually the same as those of Defterdār Mehmed's *Zübde-i Veķāyi'āt*.³³

It has been pointed out that there are connections between Ottoman historical writing and advice literature. Some historiographers included passages in their chronicles that are not representations of events, but political analyses of the kind of the *naṣīḥatnāmes*.³⁴ The best-known example is Muṣṭafā Na'imā's introduction to his chronicle; in addition,

28. Ibid., p. 1.

29. Ibid., p. 1-4.

30. Mehmed Rāšid, *Ta'riḥ-i Rāšid*.

Manuscript sources could not be considered (for an anonymous *Veķāy'nāme*, Ms. Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Türkçe Yazmaları, Hazine 1468, see Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam*, p. 240-242, and Baer, "Manliness, Male Virtue and History Writing," p. 144-145), and Mevkūfātī 'Abdullāh's *Vāķi'āt-ı Rūz-merre*, a monumental history of Süleymân's II reign (cf. Murphey, "Biographical Notes on 'Mevkufatī'") published in 2017, was not yet accessible.

31. Rāšid started to write the history of Sultan Aḥmed's III reign (1703-30) in 1714; the parts covering the time before, he wrote between 1718 and 1723.

32. Günay, "Rāšid Mehmed;" Ogasawara, "Official Historiographers," p. 156.

33. E.g. Mehmed Rāšid, *Ta'riḥ-i Rāšid* I, p. 524-526, and II, p. 26-36, corresponds to Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiat*, p. 524-526, and p. 275-285. For a re-narration of the events of 1687-1689, largely derived from *Ta'riḥ-i Rāšid*, see von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* VI, p. 490-525; French translation: von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman* XII, p. 228-276.

34. Sariyannis, "Ottoman Critics," p. 143, 147-149.

he interspersed his text with advice and lessons to be drawn from the events he describes.³⁵ The anonymous chronicler also integrated excerpts from *naşîhatnâme* literature, though much shorter ones than did Na'imā.³⁶ Others, like Defterdār Meḥmed, employed both genres. His *Naşā'ih ü'l-vüzerā' ve'l-ümerā'*,³⁷ composed at the same time as his *Zübde-i Veḳāyi'āt*, is an advice treatise in the tradition of seventeenth-century *naşîhatnâme* literature. In the foreword, he presents it as a guide for high-ranking officials and says that he compiled it from various sources containing recognized good practices relevant for grand viziers,³⁸ among them the *Âşaf-nâme* of Luṭfi Paşa (1488-1563). Among others, the book contains chapters on the imperial council, the duties and qualities of military commanders, the Janissaries and the subjects as well as financial and fiscal matters. It also includes long sections on the qualities and attitudes of high-ranking officials as well as moral admonitions. Other key issues are the damage caused by bribes and oppression (*zulm*).

Defterdār Meḥmed's *Naşā'ih ü'l-vüzerā'*, though a rather old-fashioned work when it was written, mirrors socio-political assumptions still valued among the administrative elites of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Like earlier pieces of advice literature, it is characterized by a dichotomous juxtaposition of order and disorder (*nizām* and *fitne*) and a normative use of structuring concepts, such as ruling class and subjects (*'askerī* and *re'āyā*), and righteousness and wrong-doing (*şalāḥ* and *fesād*). Defterdār pleads for a stable and clearly segmented social order and rejects mobility between social groups. In this respect, the demarcation of *'askerī* and *re'āyā* is one of several patterns of order, albeit a basic one. By insisting on the administrative elite's values, such as adherence to established rules and laws, advancement by merit, and equity, he implicitly attributes to this elite the role of guardian of the legitimate order. One of Defterdār Meḥmed's main concerns is to define an ethically binding code of conduct for senior officials, primarily for grand viziers, but also for army commanders, governors and fiscal officers. His normative standards are anchored in the concepts of equity/justice (*'adl*), incorruptibility (rejection of *rüşvet*), piety (*taḳvā*) and conformity to the Sharia.³⁹

35. Thomas, *Study of Naima*, p. 65-106.

36. *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*, p. 37-39, 53-54.

37. Defterdar, *Ottoman Statecraft*; quotations refer to the Ottoman text.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 2v.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 3v-4v, 9r-11v, 20r-23v.

Defterdār Meḥmed also deals with the problem of social boundaries and – from his viewpoint – the disorder caused by the transgression of social boundaries. Overall, two main concerns can be identified in his text. Firstly, it is important to him to prevent the wrong – that is unsuitable (*nā-ehl*), or strange/unknown (*ecnebī*, *bīgāne*) – people from entering government positions,⁴⁰ which ultimately implies a need to restrict social mobility. Therefore, he insists on a balanced allocation of offices and revenues according to pre-established rules and merits. Secondly, he advocates a rigorous control of otherwise unruly social elements. This mainly concerns people who lacked social and spatial fixity,⁴¹ but also soldiers, whom he views as uncouth, ignorant, selfish and potentially disruptive. Here again, the problem of unruliness would grow if allegedly unsuitable people of *re'āyā* background were recruited. Upholding a strict discipline in the army, combined with the fair treatment of soldiers, would prevent mutinies.⁴² The rules for the acceptable behavior of senior officials set by Defterdār Meḥmed are meant as appropriate measures for dealing with such transgressions and thus ultimately securing order.

Defterdār Meḥmed's *Naṣā'ih ü'l-vüzerā* articulates social and political views that were widely accepted among the administrative elites. This is evidenced in the text of the anonymous chronicler, which includes a short summary of the most important points of political treatises,⁴³ as well as in an advice treatise written by Naḥīfī Süleymān (c. 1645-1738), which contains passages identical with those of Defterdār's *Naṣā'ih*.⁴⁴ The closeness of Naḥīfī Süleymān's and Defterdār Meḥmed's texts results from the fact that they belonged to a circle of interlocutors from the financial bureaucracy who shared their views.⁴⁵ Yet, the wide acceptance of their outlook goes much beyond that narrow circle. Authors of *naṣīḥatnāmes* regularly reproduced statements of their predecessors, referred to the "circle of justice" (*dā'ire-i 'adliye*),⁴⁶ and interpreted disorder within the shared concept

40. Ibid., p. 20r-21v, 60v-61v. For the term *ecnebī* cf. Fodor, "State and Society," p. 238, and Káldy-Nagy, "'Strangers' (*Ecnebilir*)."

41. For anxieties about people who lacked social and spatial fixity cf. Hamadeh, "Mean Streets."

42. Defterdar, *Ottoman Statecraft*, p. 33r-36r.

43. *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*, p. 37-39; among other things, the author reminds his readers that "strangers" (*ecnebī*) should not be allowed to enter the military corps or be given a *tīmār*; cf. Sariyannis, "Ottoman Critics," p. 147-149.

44. Naḥīfī, "Nasīḥatü'l-Vüzerā." In this text, the reader is also admonished to prevent unsuitable people (*nā-ehl ve bīgāne*) from entering government positions (p. 25).

45. Sariyannis, Tuşalp Atıyas, *Ottoman Political Thought*, p. 140-141.

46. Darling, *Social Justice and Political Power*, p. 146-151. Defterdār Meḥmed, too, reproduces the "circle of justice" (Defterdar, *Ottoman Statecraft*, p. 11r).

of “world order” (*nizām-ı ‘ālem*).⁴⁷ These concepts and interpretations were obviously as consensual as their insistence on observing “the old rules” (*kānūn-ı kadīm*).⁴⁸

Social realities, however, did not correspond with normative ideas; in fact, they have long stopped doing so (if they ever did). Socio-economic processes such as the monetization and commercialization of the economy and the transformation of political, fiscal and military structures were under way since the sixteenth century and resulted in the political empowerment of different groups (Janissaries, ‘*ulemā*’, elite households).⁴⁹ Among the dynamics that blurred social boundaries and thus challenged normative concepts of social division, where the transformation of the Janissaries from an elite slave army into a self-recruiting militia associated with urban trades and the emergence of irregular mercenary troops of peasant origin.⁵⁰ Thus, Ottoman observers experienced discrepancies between social ideals and realities, even apart from times of crisis.

Representations of low-status insurgents

The crisis of the years 1687 to 1689 involved many non-elite groups, foremost the rank-and-file of the Ottoman army (Janissaries and cavalry), whose mutiny triggered the crisis, but also provincial mercenaries (*segbān*) and parts of the civil population of Istanbul. The purpose of this section is to discuss how the chroniclers represent these low-status groups as well as specific individuals among them. Since ‘*İsāzāde ‘Abdullāh* and the anonymous chronicler are rather unspecific about the events, the focus will be on the more comprehensive accounts of *Silāhdār Meḥmed* and *Defterdār Meḥmed*; however, as will be shown in the following sections, their treatment of the groups and individuals diverge in detail and emphasis.

The k̲ul military

In the first six months of the crisis, the main force of disorder was the *k̲ul* military. *Silāhdār Meḥmed* and *Defterdār Meḥmed* present the events in quite comprehensive narrations, though they intersperse them with

47. Hagen, “Legitimacy and World Order.”

48. Sariyannis, “Ottoman Critics,” p. 141-143.

49. Tezcan, *Second Ottoman Empire*, p. 14-45; Darling, “Rethinking Europe and the Islamic World,” p. 232-239.

50. For the transformation of the Janissaries see Yılmaz Diko, “Blurred Boundaries,” and Kafadar, “Janissaries and other Rifraff;” for the rise of mercenaries see İnalçık, “Military and Fiscal Transformation.”

sections on appointments, dismissals, and deaths of officeholders, information about diplomatic relations and court events and, above all, news from the fronts. By inserting headlines into the text which number the rebellions (*gülvv*) of the military and the “riff-raff,” Silāhdār creates a kind of dramatic crescendo culminating in the murder of Abaza Siyāvuş Paşa and the uprising of the townsmen.⁵¹

As mentioned above, the initial mutiny of the army was caused by military defeats, endemic supply problems and growing discontent with Grand Vizier Şarī Süleymān Paşa, who was also commander-in-chief. All the chroniclers agree that the rank-and-file and lower ranked officers were heavily involved in the mutiny and that they acted autonomously in order to enforce their demand that Süleymān Paşa be removed from his post. Yet, none of them explicitly explains the reasons why they rebelled. Only Silāhdār Meḥmed and Defterdār Meḥmed imply that the troubles were caused by the failings of the Grand Vizier. They allude to his lack of ability to maintain the discipline and efficacy of his troops, and – as Silāhdār points out – to the oppressive measures he took in trying to do so.⁵² Thus, in their narratives, the *kul* troops appeared as not unreasonable in their demand for Süleymān Paşa’s removal, even more so as he had fled his post at the first signs of trouble. The chroniclers, however, dismiss the *kul* troops’ subsequent requests and actions as unjustified; among these ‘unjustified’ requests are Süleymān Paşa’s execution and the elevation to the grand vizierate of Abaza Siyāvuş Paşa, who had replaced him as commander-in-chief.

The rebels, not satisfied with the execution of Süleymān Paşa and the investiture of Abaza Siyāvuş Paşa, increased pressure by sending petitions to Istanbul. When Sultan Meḥmed met their demands only partially, they left the front and marched to Istanbul in order to enforce them. At the latest it was at this moment that the rebels planned to overthrow the monarch.⁵³ They denounced him, as Defterdār Meḥmed says, with “many sorts of meaningless words,” namely that he should have given more

51. Silāhdār, *Silāhdār Ta’rīhi* II: ... *zuhūr-ı gülvv-yi* [sic] *eşkıyā-yı* ‘asker ve fitne-i ‘aẓīm-i ordu-yı hümayūn ... (p. 274), *gülvv-yi* ‘asker-i Edirne ... (p. 289), *ibtidā-yı gülvv-yi eşkıyā* ... (p. 301), *gülvv-yi sâni eşkıyā-yı* ‘asker (p. 303), *gülvv-yi sâlis-i cebeci ve yeñiçeri ve sipāh* (p. 309), *gülvv-yi râbi-i maḥlūt erāzil-i* ‘asker (p. 311), *gülvv-yi ḥāmis-i erāzil-i* ‘asker ... (p. 318), ... *gülvv-yi eşkıyā ve katl-i yeñi-çeri aḡası Harputlı ‘Alī Aḡa ve vezīr-i a’ẓam Siyāvuş Paşa ve hücum-ı şehiri der-sarāy-ı cedīd* ... (p. 325).

52. Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, p. 232-237; Silāhdār, *Silāhdār Ta’rīhi* II, p. 274-277.

53. Cf. Vatin, Veinstein, *Le Sérail ébranlé*, p. 65, 257.

thought and attention to government rather than spending his time hunting.⁵⁴ Silāhdār Meḥmed on the other hand, does not address the soldiers' complaint against the sultan, but asserts that they had planned his removal from the beginning. Yet, Silāhdār Meḥmed and Defterdār Meḥmed as well as 'İsāzāde 'Abdullāh agree that the replacement of Meḥmed IV by prince Süleymān was the outcome of deliberations among some elite figures in Istanbul, arranged and largely controlled by Köprülüzāde Fāzıl Muṣṭafā Paşa (1637-91; Grand Vizier 1689-91).⁵⁵

Defterdār Meḥmed presents the change of monarch as a rather unavoidable matter arranged for with the intention of forestalling further trouble.⁵⁶ Yet, even though he labels the rebels' allegations against Meḥmed IV slanderous, he does not have a kind word for the unseated sovereign. This suggests that he agreed at least partly with the rebels' criticism. Nevertheless, Defterdār in many instances takes a clear stand against the demands of the rebellious *kul*. His comments are harsh when they installed officials of their own choice and even more so when they resorted to violence.⁵⁷ But he also insinuates that it was unlikely that the mutiny would have escalated if the central authorities had not complied with the rebels' demands in the first place. Although he represents the policymakers in Istanbul as "well-wishers of the Empire" (*Devlet-i 'Alīye'niñ ḥayr-ḥ'āhları*),⁵⁸ he conveys an implicit, though clear, message: the situation

54. Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, p. 249.

55. Ibid., p. 245-247, 252-254; Silāhdār, *Silahdār Ta'rihi* II, p. 295-296; 'İsāzāde, *Târîhi*, p. 205. The chroniclers' accounts of those who supported the removal are divergent and inconsistent, apart from that of Köprülüzāde Fāzıl Muṣṭafā. According to Silāhdār, Siyāvuş Paşa tried to gain support from *şeyhülislām* Anḳaravî Meḥmed Efendi in order to mount the coup (Silāhdār, *Silahdār Ta'rihi* II, p. 281, 286). In Defterdār's account, it was Receb Paşa, Şarî Süleymān's *ḳā'im-maḳām* in Istanbul, who made the initial attempt to dethrone the sultan (also by trying to get the help of Anḳaravî Meḥmed), because his candidacy for the grand vizierate, which he underpinned with his determination to suppress the rebellion, was not accepted (Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, p. 240-241, 245-246; cf. Silāhdār, *Silahdār Ta'rihi* II, p. 279). For the circumstances of the removal cf. Vatin, Veinstein, *Le Sérail ébranlé*, p. 204-210, Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam*, p. 231-240, and Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, p. 294-299; for the role of Köprülüzāde Fāzıl Muṣṭafā see Yılmaz, "Life of Köprülüzāde Fazıl Mustafa," p. 173-175.

56. 'İsāzāde adopts a contrary position but does not dwell on the topic. Calling Fāzıl Muṣṭafā a "frustrated mischief-maker who forgot the law of gratitude" (*yād-gār-ı nā-kām ḥaḳḳ-ı nān-ü nemeki ḥāṭıra getürmeyüb*), he blames him for disloyalty ('İsāzāde, *Târîhi*, p. 205).

57. E.g. he calls the murder of several financial and army officers "a day like Karbala" (Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, p. 245).

58. Ibid., p. 240-242.

went out of hand because of an obvious lack of control and authority over, potentially, or, in this case, actually, seditious elements.

The troubles, however, did not stop with the change of monarch. The mutinous troops still entered Istanbul and caused havoc in the capital. Grand Vizier Siyāvuş Paşa was commissioned to provide for their pay, which he was only able to do with much difficulty and delay. In search of self-remuneration, the soldiers looted the markets, and violent acts multiplied. There is not the slightest disagreement among the chroniclers regarding the behavior of the troops. They routinely call them “bandits” and “rebels” (*zorbalar*, *bāğıyān eşkıyā*)⁵⁹ and apply these labels to both leaders such as Küçük Meḥmed, Fetvācı Hüseyin Çavuş and Ḥaccī ‘Alī Ağa,⁶⁰ and the mass of soldiers, whom they sometimes lump together as “riff-raff” (*erāzil*).⁶¹ In Silāḥdār Meḥmed’s representation, these “riff-raff” appear as uncontrollable, noisy crowds who lack any sense of order:

So many riff-raff (*eşhāş-ı erāzil*) came together that their masses were a foretaste of doomsday. They surged and threw waves like the Black Sea. Each one was a demon of the wilderness (*ğül-ı beyābān*). There was a clamor that no one understood a word; there was no order (*nizām*) in their gatherings.⁶²

Their leaders Fetvācı Hüseyin and Ḥaccī ‘Alī he calls devil-like instigators, who led everybody astray (*şeytān gibi cümleyi idlāl edüb*).⁶³ In Defterdār Meḥmed’s words, such people “tore down the pillars of religious and political order and plunged the world into disorder” (*erkān-ı nizām-ı dīn-ü devleti yıkub, ‘ālemi fesāda vėrdiler*).⁶⁴

Siyāvuş Paşa failed miserably in keeping order. Killings of rebel leaders – approved of by Defterdār Meḥmed as “the cleansing of the ground of the world from the presence of dirty villains”⁶⁵ – were paid back by revenge killings of officials. The more the unrest grew, the more Siyāvuş became the object of the soldiers’ hatred. Finally, they stormed his mansion, killed

59. Ibid., p. 245-247, 252-253; Silāḥdār, *Silahdār Ta’rihi* II, p. 295-296, 305, 310, 320; ‘İsāzāde, *Tārīhi*, p. 205.

60. Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiāt*, p. 243, 273; Silāḥdār, *Silahdār Ta’rihi* II, p. 304, 306; ‘İsāzāde, *Tārīhi*, p. 208.

61. E.g., Silāḥdār, *Silahdār Ta’rihi* II, p. 277, 305, 310, 340.

62. Ibid., p. 305.

63. Ibid., p. 304.

64. Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiāt*, p. 268, cf. p. 270.

65. Ibid., p. 268, 275.

him and many others, violated his harem and carried off as booty his women, slaves, and possessions.⁶⁶ Both Defterdār Meḥmed and Silāḥdār Meḥmed were outraged by these atrocities and denounced the self-appointed rebel officers who led the attack as bandits, evil-doers and villains.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, both of them laid part of the blame on Siyāvuş Paşa himself. For Defterdār, Siyāvuş Paşa's fate is a "warning to present-day mankind" (*'ibret-nüümā-yı halk-ı zamāne*) that misdeeds will not go unpunished since Siyāvuş had taken advantage of the rebellion, which he had encouraged in its early stages while pretending to serve the sultan (*şüretā ḥidemāt-ı pādīşāḥide kullukda bulunub, sîretleri ve ittifâkları şaḳiy-i mezkûr ile ma'an oldu...*).⁶⁸ Silāḥdār is even harsher. He not only repeatedly quotes the rebels' denunciation of the Grand Vizier as an "Abkhazian infidel" (*Abaza gāvuru*),⁶⁹ but also avers that Siyāvuş was completely unfit for his position. He even states that he was a rebel himself⁷⁰ and has sultan Süleymān address him so (*"sen de zorbasın" dēdi*),⁷¹ thus delegitimizing him as a grand vizier.

The townsmen

Public disorder in the capital, caused by the presence of uncontrollable troops, culminated in the attack on Siyāvuş Paşa's house. This raid brought new non-elite actors into play who until then had remained passive, thus making the political situation more complex. In March 1688 Istanbul's craftsmen and other townspeople (*erbāb-ı sūḳ, ehl-i sūḳ; şehir halkı, şehirlü*), disgruntled with the general state of disorder, rose up against the encroachments of the military. They closed the markets, displayed a banner calling the Muslim community (*ümmet-i Muḥammed*) to rally and marched down the Divan Yolu to Topkapı Palace. In the days that followed, they killed some of the rebel leaders and began negotiations with the palace in order to push their claims.

Although recent research has shown that the craftsmen, helped by 'ulemā' and *sādāt*, acted autonomously by mobilizing their own social,

66. Silāḥdār, *Silahdār Ta'rîhi* II, p. 324-334; Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, p. 275-278; 'İsāzāde, *Târîhi*, p. 208.

67. Silāḥdār, *Silahdār Ta'rîhi* II, p. 332-334; Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, p. 275; cf. 'İsāzāde, *Târîhi*, p. 208.

68. Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, p. 276.

69. Silāḥdār, *Silahdār Ta'rîhi* II, p. 329, 330, 332, 334.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 277, 318, 399.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 330.

commercial, and religious networks,⁷² Defterdār Meḥmed's representation portrays the townspeople as mere supplicants. In his version of the events, they humbly begged the palace for the banner of the prophet to be displayed in order to rally support. The government welcomed the townsmen's protest as a chance to eliminate the rebel leaders and quickly re-establish order and harmony in the capital.⁷³ In his account, the townsmen appear as secondary actors at most; in contrast, elite men linked to the palace are presented as the actual actors who took hold of the reins and led the course of events. This bias echoes Defterdār's stance in his *Naṣā'ih ü'l-vüzerā'* that politics are exclusively an elite matter and that the *re'āyā* are nothing but passive objects of administration.⁷⁴ Admitting that ordinary townspeople dealt with the rebellious *kul* would have undermined this assumption. If he acknowledged that subject people have rightful grievances, he could in no way accept that they participated in any decision-making process: the only way for them to voice their claims is by way of supplication.

The account of the palace functionary Silāḥdār Meḥmed differs in detail and emphasis. In his narrative, the grievances of the craftsmen, the support they enjoyed from among the '*ulemā*' and *sādāt* and even parts of the military as well as their course of action and their negotiations with the palace are more thoroughly depicted.⁷⁵ Also the message Silāḥdār conveys is different from and, in some instances, quite the opposite of Defterdār Meḥmed's. In his representation, the government and the palace appear to be driven by events and only reacting to external pressure. One gets the same impression from his version of the events leading to the slaughter of Siyāvuş Paşa. In the case of the rioting soldiers, as in the case of the townsmen's uprising, he does not name any officeholders who would have been able to control the course of events effectively.

A somewhat intermediate account is that of 'İsāzāde 'Abdullāh. Though it is brief, he shows sympathy with the Istanbulites' claims, probably because he was one of them, or simply because they helped to re-establish order.⁷⁶ The palace gave in to the demands of the "assembled Muslims" and the '*ulemā*' who spoke on their behalf, and installed their candidate Nişancı İsmā'il Paşa as Grand Vizier. In this account, the townsmen's

72. Yi, "Artisans' Networks and Revolt."

73. Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayât*, p. 277, 280-281.

74. Defterdar, *Ottoman Statecraft*, p. 8v, 10v-11v, 12v, 36r-38v.

75. Silāḥdār, *Silahdār Ta'rihi* II, p. 334-350.

76. 'İsāzāde, *Târîhi*, p. 209.

claims are represented as legitimate and lawful; consequently, it is İsmâ'il Paşa who is credited with boldly annihilating the rebels.⁷⁷ Thus, the point of agreement between Defterdâr and 'İsâzâde is that they credit, in one way or another, legitimate officeholders or, more generally, authorities for re-establishing order which in their eyes were legitimate.

The segbân

Yet another problem remained in the provinces. At different stages of the crisis, the government had called on Yeğen 'Osmân Paşa, a leader of Anatolian mercenary troops of *re'âyâ* origin (*segbân*, *şarıca*, *levendât*), to deal with the rebellious *kul*. To this end, the government repeatedly made him supreme commander of the mercenary forces (*ser-çeşme*), commander-in-chief (*ser-'asker*) of the Hungarian front and Governor-General of Rumelia (*Rumeli beğlerbeğisi*).

All the chroniclers indicate that Yeğen 'Osmân was involved in the rebellion from the very beginning.⁷⁸ Accusing him of treason,⁷⁹ they state that the government's reliance on Yeğen 'Osmân meant placing the wrong man in the wrong position, or, as Defterdâr Mehmed put it, "transferring a most important matter into the hand of a perfidious traitor."⁸⁰ The chroniclers also assert that this policy had disastrous results: Yeğen 'Osmân elevated his retainers to provincial positions; while they took control of Anatolian provinces, Yeğen established himself in Rumelia.⁸¹ Throughout, Yeğen 'Osmân and his retainers are described as "rebels" and "bandits" (*bâğî*, *eşkıyâ*)⁸² who pursued their own self-interest, asserted themselves autonomously and, worst of all, committed innumerable acts of oppression.⁸³

Defterdâr Mehmed's representation of Yeğen 'Osmân and his men features certain peculiarities, which deserve to be discussed in some detail.

77. Ibid.

78. Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, p. 232-233; Silâhdâr, *Silahdâr Ta'rîhi* II, p. 277; 'İsâzâde, *Târîhi*, p. 202; Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi, p. 1.

79. Silâhdâr, *Silahdâr Ta'rîhi* II, p. 354; Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, p. 283, 312, 320; Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi, p. 3.

80. Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, p. 283.

81. Ibid., p. 286-287, 289; cf. Silâhdâr, *Silahdâr Ta'rîhi* II, p. 361; Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi, p. 3-4, 6-7; 'İsâzâde, *Târîhi*, p. 211, 216.

82. E.g., Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, p. 312, 318, 321; Silâhdâr, *Silahdâr Ta'rîhi* II, p. 357, 361, 364, 402; Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi, p. 3; 'İsâzâde, *Târîhi*, p. 211.

83. Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, p. 285-287, 312-313; Silâhdâr, *Silahdâr Ta'rîhi* II, p. 402-403; Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi, p. 3.

He not only calls them incapable and ignorant people (*şahs-ı bî-idrāk*),⁸⁴ but also – and more importantly – he treats Yeğen ʿOsmān, his followers and their *levend* troops as a homogenous group he calls “upstarts” (*türedi* or *türedi tãʿifesi*).⁸⁵ His use of the term *türedi* is telling: Firstly, Defterdār Meḥmed classifies them as a group apart from other armed forces, especially the *kul* troops or *kul tãʿifesi*⁸⁶ to whom he sometimes attaches rather favorable labels even though he holds them responsible for the overthrow of Sultan Meḥmed and the riots in Istanbul. Secondly, he frequently uses the expression *türedi* in lieu of other, rather more specific terms for irregular mercenaries such as *levend tãʿifesi* or *şarîca segbân tãʿifesi*;⁸⁷ in this way, he lumps them together as people of ill repute in one single category. Thirdly and most importantly, Defterdār Meḥmed’s use of the term *türedi* clearly reflects his statements in his *naşîhatnâme*: in his use, *türedi* is virtually synonymous with unsuitable and unidentifiable people (*nâ-ehl, ecnebî, bîgâne*); it marks unruly social elements beyond control, people who pursue their own self-interest and lack loyalty to legitimate officeholders. All in all, they are categorized as ruthless transgressors who are inadmissible as candidates for integration into the governmental body.

Defterdār Meḥmed’s representation of the central authorities’ deliberations on how to deal with the *türedi* takes the same line. He dismisses any proposal to integrate them in the army and send them against the exterior enemy. Consequently, he completely endorses the final decision to abolish the office of *ser-çeşme* (supreme commander of the mercenary forces), dissolve the *şarîca segbân* units, prohibit their reorganization, and declare it a crime to fly their ensigns. By resorting to violence and a general mobilization in the provinces (*nefir-i ʿamm*), the government had the *türedi tãʿifesi* dispersed and their leaders, including Yeğen ʿOsmān, killed. All this is acclaimed by Defterdār Meḥmed as the salvation of the Anatolian and Rumelian “servants of God” (*ibād Ullāh*) from evil.⁸⁸

In the main, Silāḥdār Meḥmed’s narrative takes the same line. Nevertheless, there are differences. Even though Yeğen ʿOsmān and his men are also evil-doers and traitors, he does not lump them together as *türedi* or in any other group of ill repute. Rather, he locates the problem elsewhere,

84. Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, p. 285 *et passim*.

85. Ibid., p. 286, 289, 295, 311, 314, 319.

86. Ibid., p. 296.

87. Ibid., p. 229, 285, 286, 314.

88. Ibid., p. 321.

namely in conflicting interests and loyalties within the ruling circles of Istanbul. In his account, Yeğen 'Osmân aspired to become grand vizier, and with the backing of his military forces and the help of some men in the palace, he felt strong enough to assert his claim.⁸⁹ Silâhdâr's richly detailed accounts of deliberations on how to deal with, or how to employ, Yeğen 'Osmân reveal that there was considerable friction within the ruling circles: one faction tried to use Yeğen 'Osmân's *levendât* as a counterweight to the *kul* troops in order to check their potential to rebel; another, which eventually won the upper hand, considered the provincial *levend* forces as much more disruptive than the *kul* and advocated that the *şarîca segbân* be outlawed and eliminated by *nefir-i 'âmm* militias.⁹⁰

In general, Silâhdâr Meḥmed's account is more balanced and consequently sounds more reasonable, whereas Defterdâr Meḥmed's is rather one-sided. This might be due to the fact that unlike Defterdâr, Silâhdâr as a palace page had more or less direct access to information from the palace. Yet, as in the case of the townsmen, Defterdâr's treatment of the *türedi* might well be ideologically informed or else it was influenced by his social and professional identity. As a revenue officer, *re'âyâ* who left their villages and became irregular soldiers must have troubled him more than the courtiers, because they deprived the treasury of taxes; the same applies to peasants who failed to pay taxes to the central government or fled their lands because they were oppressed by irregulars. As a leading official, he was also concerned with choosing suitable and loyal staff for administrative duties, which was probably something less relevant for a palace page.⁹¹ Yet, Defterdâr himself was the son of a grocer (*Bakḳâlzâde*), and his broadsides against the *türedi* helped him to obscure his humble origins; denouncing them as unsuitable and unidentifiable people, he presented himself as one of the few among the *re'âyâ* qualified to rise to the elite.

Political activity from below

The narrations of the chroniclers match one another in some respects but differ in others. There is, first of all, an overall perception of widespread disruption, disarray, and even chaos, a general feeling of uncertainty and

89. Silâhdâr, *Silâhdâr Ta'rîhi* II, p. 354-355.

90. Cf. İnalcık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation," p. 299-303.

91. In his *Naşâ'ih ül-vüzerâ'*, which deals in many parts with financial and fiscal matters, Defterdâr repeatedly expresses such concerns, see e.g., Defterdâr, *Ottoman Statecraft*, p. 11r, 20r-20v.

lack of order. Secondly, there is an agreement that order in the capital was disrupted by uncontrollable, ignoble military elements. Since the soldiery and other “riff-raff” only cared about their own interests and lacked both concern for and knowledge of the interests of government and community, they inevitably wreaked havoc on the social order. The fact that there is little, if any, variation in the treatment of low-status individuals is due to the chroniclers’ shared basic socio-political premises and norms. Consequently, all four chroniclers convey the message that independent political activity of low-status people had to be prevented.

Ottoman historiographers and political thinkers were well aware that uncontrolled armed elements produced injustice and oppression (*ẓulm*) and that this led to protest or even rebellion. Thus, it was understandable as far as the chroniclers were concerned that rioting in the streets of Istanbul sparked the reaction of the townsmen. However, as the anonymous writer does not mention them, their intervention seems irrelevant to him. The other chroniclers acknowledge that they were honorable people (*ehl-i ʿirz*) who voiced rightful grievances, but they disagree as to what extent they were entitled to be involved in politics. For Defterdār Meḥmed, it is clear that they were not, or, at the very most, he accepts them as humble supplicants in a conflict between the palace elites and the soldiery. His text mirrors a political imaginary, prevalent in the ruling elites, that saw only one legitimate way for common people to redress grievances and abolish oppression which was by an appeal to the sultan as the dispenser of justice and protector of his subjects.⁹² In ʿİsāzāde’s rather vague representation, the townsmen are also portrayed as supplicants, though they appear as good Muslims who cared about the well-being of the community and had a beneficial influence on decision-making. But still, in a similar way to Defterdār, he credits the new Grand Vizier İsmāʿīl Paşa with restoring order. Silāḥdār Meḥmed, too, points out that the townspeople acted in accordance with the interests of both government and community. His description of their negotiations with the palace shows that the elites accepted, or rather, were forced to accept, non-elite participation in political decision-making – at least to a limited extent. For Silāḥdār, however, this does not mean that they were legally entitled to play a political role. Rather, his narrative shows that they could only do so because of the sheer fact that there was no one in the ruling circles who was able to restore order.

92. Cf. Gara, “Popular Protest,” p. 93-95.

Finally, the main discrepancy between the representations of Silâhdâr Mehmed and Defterdâr Mehmed is their different emphasis on the disturbances in the provinces and Yeğen 'Osmân's men. Defterdâr Mehmed's attitude toward the *levendât* leaders and their followers is hostile in the extreme: in his narrative, the conflict with Yeğen 'Osmân and the *türedi* seems to take precedence over any other conflict. His contempt for the *şarîca seghân* might well be the result of a stance which can also be found in his *naşihatnâme*, namely that generally he holds in esteem the *kul* and especially the Janissaries, who were rivals of the *seghân*.⁹³ Silâhdâr, on the other hand, seems to find the problem in the conflicting interest groups or factions within the ruling elites. For him, Yeğen 'Osmân and his *levendât* are less a primary source of trouble than an element contingent on intra-elite rivalries and discordant interests.

Representations of viziers

The chroniclers commonly adopt an attitude that is critical of any political involvement by commoners. Any political action of commoners and people of low social status is undesirable because it is considered disruptive and consequently needs to be prevented. This mirrors a consensus that political agency only belongs to those who hold office. It also implies that those in charge must have qualities that enable them to perform their duties and that they should act and behave properly. Being the sultan's "unrestricted agent" (*vekîl-i muṭlaḳ*), the grand vizier whose power and superiority over other viziers had been raised considerably in the previous decades⁹⁴ takes center stage among the officeholders; his performance, therefore, is crucial for political and social order, particularly so as the chroniclers suggest that there is a causal link between individual behavior on the one hand and social and political disorder on the other. Looking at the representations of viziers who played a part at different

93. Defterdâr, *Ottoman Statecraft*, p. 33r-36r, esp. p. 33r, where he calls the Janissary corps "most important for the order in the Empire" (*Devlet-i 'Alîye'de nîzâmı ehemmi ve elzem*).

94. The identification of the grand vizier as the sultan's *vekîl-i muṭlaḳ* is common in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century political literature and historiography; see Hezârfen, *Telhîsü'l-Beyân*, p. 197; Defterdar, *Ottoman Statecraft*, p. 4r; Nahîfî, "Nasîhatü'l-Vüzera," p. 18; *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*, p. 37; Silâhdâr, *Silâhdâr Ta'rîhi* I, p. 652, II, p. 299; 'İsâzâde, *Târîhi*, p. 154. For the exalted position of the grand vizier and the concentration of power in his office during the second half of the seventeenth century cf. Linda Darling's contribution to this dossier, p. 372.

stages of the crisis can help to determine what these qualities and patterns of behavior were in the eyes of the chroniclers. By way of example, the representations of three viziers will be analyzed: Şarı Süleymân Paşa and Abaza Siyâvuş Paşa, the two grand viziers who lost their lives in the course of the crisis, and Köprülüzâde Fâzıl Muştafâ Paşa, who orchestrated the removal of Meḥmed IV and became grand vizier in 1689.

Şarı Süleymân Paşa

One of the first prominent victims of the crisis was Grand Vizier Şarı Süleymân Paşa. Defterdâr Meḥmed and Silâhdâr Meḥmed hold him – at least partly – responsible for the mutiny of the army, because he was unable to control his troops and treated them oppressively, or else he neglected his duties.⁹⁵ Both chroniclers level these allegations by reproducing the mutineers' accusations against Şarı Süleymân. This, along with their emphasis on the fact that Şarı Süleymân fled his command as soon as the mutiny broke out, can also be interpreted as shortcomings in Süleymân Paşa's abilities and character.

The anonymous chronicler goes a step further and presents a catalog of negative traits that characterized the Grand Vizier's personality. According to him, Şarı Süleymân was an "excitable man" (*bir mütelâşî âdem*) who thought it wise to discipline his troops by insulting them during inspections; furthermore, he did not take advice and was inclined to amass money.⁹⁶ In the necrology of the year 1098 (1686/87), Silâhdâr Meḥmed, too, casts strong doubts on Süleymân Paşa's abilities and character. To him, "he was known to be a debauchee and a cunning man; he was covetous and mean; he became grand vizier by means of tricks and fraud, and was to disappear in short time" (*paşa-yı mezbûr rind-i cihân ve kıllaşlık meşhûr ve mümsik-ü tama'[-k]âr ve hîle-ü hud'a ile şadârete gelüb az zamânda nâ-bedîd olmuş bir âdem idi*).⁹⁷ Thus it is clear that, for these three chroniclers, Süleymân Paşa was not qualified to perform the duties of a grand vizier.⁹⁸

95. Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayiât*, p. 232-237; Silâhdâr, *Silahdâr Ta'rihi* II, p. 274-277.

96. Anonim *Osmanlı Tarihi*, p. 1.

97. Silâhdâr, *Silahdâr Ta'rihi* II, p. 294.

98. Şarı Süleymân's performance also contradicts what Defterdâr defines as necessary qualities and adequate behavior of frontier commanders (Defterdar, *Ottoman Statecraft*, p. 42v-45r).

Abaza Siyāvuş Paşa

In comparison, Şarı Süleymān Paşa's successor Abaza Siyāvuş Paşa⁹⁹ is treated rather well by Silāhdār Meḥmed, at least in his necrology of the year 1099 (1687/88). There, he calls him "a complete vizier" (*bir kāmīl vezīr*) who was not only "unequaled" in horsemanship and archery, but also in "rectitude and piety" (*şalāḥ ve taḳvāda bī-naẓīr*). This however, comes with reservations, since Silāhdār points to Siyāvuş Paşa's lack of education and knowledge, which he links to ethnic stereotypes: "being illiterate and Abkhazian, he was negligent in the face of the enemy and had no idea about the science of physiognomy" (*cāhil ve Abaza olmağla meğer düşmāndan ġāfil ve 'ilm-i firāsetde bī-'aql idī*).¹⁰⁰ In addition, he holds him responsible for instigating the rebellion at the Hungarian front.¹⁰¹

Throughout his *Ta'riḥ*, then, Silāhdār Meḥmed does not treat Abaza Siyāvuş any better than his predecessor. He calls him a "simple-minded Abkhazian" (*Abaza olmağla sāde-dil sāde 'aql bir ādem idī*) who was unable to take appropriate measures against the rebels, because he did not anticipate their attitudes and actions. This lack of insight might result from his ignorance of the science of physiognomy (*'ilm-i firāset*) that Silāhdār mentioned in his necrology as one of Siyāvuş Paşa's shortcomings. At that time, *'ilm-i firāset* was thought to be a useful tool that allowed one to deduce inner dispositions from an individual's external appearance.¹⁰² In a similar vein, Defterdār Meḥmed in his *naşīḥatnāme* emphasizes the importance of knowledge of human nature. This knowledge he presents as a requirement for officeholders in their interaction with subordinates because it helps them recognize the qualities of individuals and anticipate patterns of behavior and action.¹⁰³

Moreover, in Silāhdār's account, Siyāvuş did not control government affairs; the rebels did, or else Siyāvuş's brother-in-law, Köprülüẓāde Fāzıl Muştafā Paşa,¹⁰⁴ controlled matters from behind the scenes:

99. Sarıcaoglu, "Siyavuş Paşa."

100. Silāhdār, *Silāhdār Ta'riḥi* II, p. 400.

101. Ibid., p. 399.

102. For the use of *'ilm-i firāset* see Lelić, "Physiognomy;" Sobers-Khan, "Firāsetle Nazar Edesin."

103. Defterdar, *Ottoman Statecraft*, p. 14v-15r, 35r, 45r-45v.

104. Abaza Siyāvuş was a former slave of Köprülü Meḥmed Paşa's (grand vizier 1656-61) and married one of his daughters. He thus became Köprülüẓāde Fāzıl Muştafā's brother-in-law (see Gökbilgin, Repp, "Köprülü," p. 259, 261; Sarıcaoglu, "Siyavuş Paşa").

Decision-making (*hall-ü 'aḳd*)¹⁰⁵ was not in his hands; the Janissary and *sipāhī* rebels held the reins of government (*zimām-ı hükümet*), and within a short time, he became a stooge. Although religious and military offices were assigned according to their opinion, Second Vizier Köprülüzade Fazıl Muṣṭafā Paşa interfered in every matter. Saying, "I caused the enthronement [of Süleymān II]," he made viziers and gave nobody a say. He often said, "he's my father's slave" and "hoy, Abkhazian! Don't say much, give this order."¹⁰⁶

In Silāḥdār's representation, the incompetence of Siyāvuş Paşa results not only from his dependence on his brother-in-law and the pressure exerted by the rebels. Rather, he describes Siyāvuş Paşa as incapable to the extent that he was not even able to control his own men. Thus, he reports that the rebel leader Fetvācī Ḥüseyn was killed by Siyāvuş Paşa's subordinate, the Janissary commander Ḥarputlu 'Alī Ağa, without being authorized to do so by his master.¹⁰⁷ It was the murder of Fetvācī Ḥüseyn that triggered the rebels' attack on Siyāvuş. In other words, Abaza Siyāvuş dug his own grave through his inability to govern.

In Silāḥdār's representation, Siyāvuş Paşa's weakness is magnified by his rejection of well-meant advice.¹⁰⁸ *'Ulemā*, viziers, and officers are said to have admonished him to take as an example his predecessor of the same name. In 1651, Abaza Siyāvuş Paşa 'the elder' (grand vizier in 1651 and 1656) also had to deal with rebellious Janissaries. The townsmen, who had suffered from the encroachment of unruly soldiers for quite some time, appealed to him for the banner of the prophet. He did what he was asked to do and hoisted the holy banner; thus, he was able to mobilize sufficient support, which allowed him to suppress the rebellious soldiers and restore order.¹⁰⁹ The parallels between the events of 1688 and those

105. *Ḥall-ü 'aḳd*, literally "unbinding and binding," was used in reference to high-ranking officials who had authority over religious and political affairs (*erbāb-ı ḥall-ü 'aḳd*, *aşḥāb-ı ḥall-ü 'aḳd* or *ehl-i erbāb-ı ḥall-ü 'aḳd*, Arab. *ahl al-ḥall wa'l-aqd*); among others, they were responsible for installing and deposing a ruler by consensus (cf. Vatin, Veinstein, *Le Sérail ébranlé*, p. 188-192; Murphey, "Ottoman Historical Writing," p. 288 f.). *Ḥall-ü 'aḳd* also referred to the ability of an official or ruler to take decisions, solve complex problems and implement policies or, even more generally, to administer common affairs; cf. Hezârfen, *Telhîsü'l-Beyân*; p. 197, where the grand vizier is responsible for "administering the common affairs" (*ḥall-ü 'aḳd-i umûr-ı cumhûr*).

106. Silāḥdār, *Silahdār Ta'rihi* II, p. 318; cf. Yılmaz, "Life of Köprülüzade Fazıl Mustafa," p. 176.

107. Silāḥdār, *Silahdār Ta'rihi* II, p. 327. This account is confirmed by 'İsâzâde, *Târîhi*, p. 208.

108. Silāḥdār, *Silahdār Ta'rihi* II, p. 330.

109. Yi, *Guild Dynamics*, p. 213-233; Finkel, *Osman's Dream*, p. 240-244.

of 1651 are obvious. Siyāvuş Paşa ‘the younger’, however, did not take the advice. Averring that he was unable to do so because he lacked the sultan’s support, he declared that he would rather resign from the grand vizierate, which he had only accepted because he had been forced to do so. Whether it actually happened that way or whether the advice of the ‘ulemā’, viziers, and officers is an interpolation on part of the historiographer can be left open. At any rate, Silāhdār’s representation conveys a message that a good grand vizier must take well-meant advice and act accordingly. The anonymous writer, who found the same fault with Siyāvuş Paşa’s predecessor, conveys the same message as does Defterdār Meḥmed, who repeats in his *Naşā’ih ü-l-vüzerā* that decision-makers must consult with carefully chosen experienced advisers.¹¹⁰

Köprülüzāde Fāzıl Muştafā Paşa

Silāhdār Meḥmed links Siyāvuş Paşa’s weakness and incompetence to his relationship with, or dependency on, Köprülüzāde Fāzıl Muştafā Paşa.¹¹¹ In the relevant passage, Köprülüzāde is not only meddling in Siyāvuş Paşa’s affairs and ordering him about, he also “grasps the government with his claws” (*devlete pençe urub*).¹¹² Moreover, Köprülüzāde Fāzıl Muştafā appears as an overly self-confident man who boasted that he himself had caused the enthronement of Süleymān II. In addition, he showed ambitions for the grand vizierate. To this end, “he unleashed sedition into the world, incited the people against each other, and brought about division among the *kul*” (*‘āleme fitneler birağub halkı birbirine katub kul beynine tefrīka düşürdi*).¹¹³ In this account, it is the ambition of one vizier, mingled with the incompetence of another that foments disorder. In Silāhdār Meḥmed’s representation, the two of them lack exactly those qualities, knowledge, and skills that Defterdār Meḥmed and other authors of *naşihatnāmes* deem necessary for viziers.

Neither in Defterdār Meḥmed’s nor in the anonymous chronicle, however, does Köprülüzāde appear as an overly ambitious man, nor is he depicted as interfering in an improper manner. In the anonymous account, Köprülüzāde Fāzıl Muştafā is not even mentioned in the context of the

110. Defterdar, *Ottoman Statecraft*, p. 35v, 44r, 45v-46r.

111. Yılmaz, “Life of Köprülüzade Fazıl Mustafa;” Özcan, “Köprülüzāde Fāzıl Mustafa.”

112. Silāhdār, *Silāhdār Ta’rīhi* II, p. 318.

113. Ibid.

rebellion. Yet, later in the chronicle and following his death, he is treated in a highly laudatory necrology entitled “Evşâf-ı Köprülüzâde Şehîd Muştafâ Paşa.”¹¹⁴ The anonymous writer describes him as the son – and obviously worthy successor – of Köprülü Meḥmed Paşa who, at the beginning of the reign of Meḥmed IV, managed to subdue military rebellions and “bandits” in Anatolia and thus embodied the “the world order” of his time (*nizâm-ı âlem olan*). After equating him with his father, the chronicler identifies Köprülüzâde Muştafâ’s qualities: he was a righteous and pious man (*şâlih ve müteḍeyyin âdem*) who did not commit – or hardly ever – commit any sins (*’ömründe günâh-ı kebâyir şâdır olmamış*); he was well-informed, did not utter vain words (*bî-hûde söz söylemez*), and avoided people of no importance; finally, he was frugal and modest.

Köprülüzâde Muştafâ obviously corresponds to what the anonymous chronicler defines some pages later under the heading “Necessary admonitions for servants of the Empire” (*Devlet-i ’alîye huddâmına lüzûmî olan naşâ’ihdir*).¹¹⁵ This passage reads like a short excerpt from a *naşihatnâme*, as it lists the qualities and abilities of a high official, which can be found, for example, in Defterdâr Meḥmed’s *Naşâ’ih ül-vüzerâ’*. Among them are contentment (*istîgnâ, kanâ’at*), gratitude, patience (*şabr-u taḥammül*), observance of religion and law, and the knowledge of the qualities and skills of those who are given authority. The anonymous writer also reminds high officeholders to be well-informed and to examine carefully every matter that concerns their duties, not to trust just anybody, and to endeavor to win the hearts of the subjects (*fuḳarâ’*).

The vocabulary as well as the normative statements of the *naşihatnâme* literature are easily recognizable in these representations of viziers. Among the chroniclers, there was a consensus as to what a good vizier was and how he had to behave while carrying out his duties. Whether implicit, as in the case of Silâhdâr Meḥmed, or explicit, as in the case of the anonymous chronicler, the virtues of moderation, disinterestedness, righteousness, knowledge of human nature, and self-control appear to be indispensable for a vizier to accomplish his tasks. This consensus view, however, existed only at an abstract, theoretical level. If the chroniclers took their criteria for evaluating a vizier from the normative statements of the *naşihatnâme* literature, they produced rather different results when they applied them to individuals.

114. *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*, p. 28.

115. *Ibid.*, p. 53-54; cf. Sariyannis, “Ottoman Critics,” p. 149.

This, of course, might be due to individual sympathies or antipathies, or to personal interests and allegiances, which, however, are not directly disclosed in the texts. Yet, it is safe to say that the anonymous chronicler was well disposed to the Köprülü – not only to Köprülü zâde Muṣṭafâ and his father – because, after all, he was part of the entourage of yet another Köprülü, ‘Amcazâde Hüseyn Paşa (grand vizier 1697-1702).¹¹⁶ Defterdâr Meḥmed, too, had sympathies with the Köprülü: His chronicle starts with a summary account of Köprülü Meḥmed Paşa’s grand vizierate (1656-71); throughout his account and in particular in the necrologies, he describes the founder of Köprülü dominance as well as his son and successor Köprülü zâde Fâzıl Aḥmed Paşa (grand vizier 1661-76) in very laudatory terms, calling them, for example, viziers of Aristotle-like prudence (*vezîr-i Aristo-tedbîr*) who established order and security in the empire.¹¹⁷ For Silâhdâr, on the other hand, Köprülü Meḥmed was an “unjust, tyrannical, egoistic, merciless and bloodthirsty old man” who purged so many elite men that the empire’s military potential declined.¹¹⁸ Yet, his animosity does not extend to each Köprülü; although he reproaches Fâzıl Aḥmed for drinking alcohol, he presents him as a model grand vizier,¹¹⁹ much in the same way as Defterdâr Meḥmed did.

Conclusion

Rhoads Murphey has argued that in seventeenth-century Ottoman historiography, “as one moves down the social scale from headmen such as the sultan, the grand vizier, and the *Şeyhülislam*, to *minor* historical figures, dissonant voices and undercurrents of conflicting opinion become increasingly perceptible.”¹²⁰ In the case of the crisis resulting from the dismissal of Sultan Meḥmed IV, however, rather the opposite is the case: the representations of the four chroniclers show hardly any variation in their treatment of individuals and groups of low social standing. The chroniclers obviously shared socio-political assumptions and norms, the premises of which can be traced back to normative statements in the *naṣîḥatnâme* literature. These include the assumption that social mobility – especially of *re’âyâ* who become, or, try to become *‘askerî*, as in the case

116. *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi*, p. xvi, 141.

117. Defterdar, *Zübde-i Vekayîât*, p. 3-4, 6, 76-77.

118. Silâhdâr, *Silâhdâr Ta’rîhi* I, p. 226.

119. *Ibid.*, p. 659.

120. Murphey, “Ottoman Historical Writing,” p. 288-290; quotation: p. 288.

of Defterdār Meḥmed's *türedi* – is undesirable, because it undermines social order and harmony. If uncontrolled bottom-up social mobility is considered evil in itself, then the political activity of low-status people is even more so. As a result, all the chroniclers convey the message that independent, unauthorized political activity of low-status people leads to disarray, and, consequently, has to be prevented. This is clearly visible in their unanimously negative treatment of low-status military insurgents and their generally hostile attitude toward Yeğen ʿOsmān Paşa and his men, but also in their ambivalent treatment of the political protest of the townsmen, which ranges from willful ignorance (anonymous chronicler) and disavowal (Defterdār Meḥmed) to appreciation (Silāḥdār Meḥmed and ʿİsāzāde ʿAbdullāh).

Prevention is, of course, better than cure, but someone has to forestall trouble by taking the appropriate measures to secure order. And it is here that high officeholders come into play. Political agency belongs to them, not to the commoners – nor to the sultans who are portrayed in all the chronicles as passive heads of state, performing mainly ceremonial duties: it is the task of the officeholders, especially the grand viziers, to keep and, if circumstances require, to restore order. Yet, the chroniclers have trouble presenting a vizier as the one who puts everyone back in their proper place. One way or another, they find shortcomings in each one of them.

If the narrations of the chroniclers served the purpose of coming to terms with a crisis in which established notions of political and social order came under pressure, it seems that none of them was able to interpret the events in a meaningful way. Their attempts to make sense of a series of dangerous and chaotic events do not situate them meaningfully in a historical continuum characterized by repeated disruptions and re-establishments of order. The solutions presented by Defterdār Meḥmed, though rather straightforward, look somewhat artificial; in Silāḥdār Meḥmed's account complexity prevails; the representations of ʿİsāzāde ʿAbdullāh and the anonymous chronicler are not quite precise enough to offer a fully coherent reading. All the chroniclers, however, perceived the crisis as a threat, and they state what went wrong; none of them saw the crisis as a chance of renewal, even though they imply how things ought to be. Perhaps it was precisely the severity and complexity of the crisis that made it impossible to provide convincing explanations of how to re-establish order; or it was the fact that many internal conflicts remained unresolved in 1689 which prevented them from doing so. At any rate, the

prevailing assumptions about what constituted social order were not questioned. Yet, these assumptions were barely adequate to create a narrative that convincingly establishes order, and, arguably, the chroniclers' conservative outlook missed the point: The principles of social order they continually invoked were no longer operative; or in other words, society had moved on, while the social-political imaginary lagged behind.

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Felix Konrad, *An Empire at stake, or: how to re-establish order when the world is in disarray. Divergent narratives of the 1687-1689 crisis*

Following its defeat at the second siege of Vienna, the Ottoman Empire entered a period of internal crisis. Sultan Mehmed IV was deposed in a mutiny; rebellious troops wreaked havoc in Istanbul, leading to an uprising of the townspeople, while marauding mercenaries caused unrest in the provinces. Ottoman chroniclers of these years agree that there was unprecedented disarray; but they differ in their representations of events and those involved in them. This article compares four chronicles and explains the divergences and similarities between them by using as a framework advice literature (*naşihatnâme*) in which Ottoman perceptions of order and disorder were shaped. It shows that the chroniclers' representations of low-status insurgents are largely uniform. On the other hand, even when they used the same standards to evaluate their behavior, they produced divergent representations of the viziers who played a role in the crisis.

Felix Konrad, *Un Empire en jeu, ou comment rétablir l'ordre dans un monde en plein désarroi. Récits divergents de la crise de 1687-1689*

Après la déroute du deuxième siège de Vienne, l'Empire ottoman entre dans une période de crise interne. Le sultan Mehmed IV est déposé par une mutinerie, des troupes rebelles ravagent Istanbul, provoquant la révolte des citadins, alors que des mercenaires en maraude troublent les provinces. Les chroniqueurs ottomans de l'époque s'accordent sur le fait qu'il s'agit là de désordres sans précédent. Ils divergent toutefois dans leur représentation des événements et des personnes qui y participent. Cet essai examine quatre chroniques de la crise, comparant leurs divergences et leurs ressemblances. Il utilise pour cela les traités politiques dits *naşihatnâme* qui posent le cadre dans lequel les perceptions de l'ordre et du désordre se sont façonnées. Il en ressort que les chroniqueurs ont tous à peu près la même perception des insurgés de statut social inférieur. En revanche, ils décrivent de manière différente les vizirs qui jouent un rôle dans la crise, quand bien même les normes qui leur servent de base pour évaluer les comportements sont les mêmes.

HAKAN T. KARATEKE

THE VOCABULARY OF DISORDER
IN A LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN
REFORM TREATISE:
NİHÂLÎ'S *MIRROR OF THE STATE*

Let us picture for a moment the offices of the imperial chancery in Istanbul in the late eighteenth century. Carter Findley estimates that more than 1,000 scribes staffed the offices of central bureaucracy around this time.¹ Most of them were highly-trained and experienced bureaucrats privy to the most important affairs of the Ottoman state. These scribes were well aware of the eminence of their positions, which, by the way, grew more influential during the course of the eighteenth century. Especially those working under the director of the imperial chancery (*re'îsü'l-küttâb*) held particular prestige and were often eventually promoted to top administrative positions. These men created the memory of the empire. They defended imperial ideology and the laws of the state against possible digressions. Some of them were thinkers and theorizers. Were they conservative regarding the administration of state affairs? There is no reason to doubt their passion for fundamental Ottoman values. The glory of the Ottoman state was in all probability central to their professional identity.

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1. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*, p. 56.

Let us then take another moment to imagine how these scribes may have interacted with, and influenced each other in matters relating to the Ottoman state and society. These bureaucrats followed events with uneasy attention, and were probably eager to exchange ideas over coffee and a pipe. Perhaps they did not shy away from lambasting the government's policies with trusted colleagues. No doubt, there were cliques. Disagreements on certain topics naturally took place, as in any group of accomplished ambitious men. Some of them were parties to this or that policy due to their allegiance to a particular grandee – or perhaps out of sincere conviction. One could say that the offices of the central bureaucracy were like a campus housing several smaller enclaves of like-minded men.

Uprisings in the imperial capital had rocked the city in recent times. Did the bureaucrats sense that the Ottoman state and society were falling into ill times around the 1750s? Some certainly did. The real disaster, as we understand from the ink spilled, was the 1768-1774 Russo-Ottoman war. It appears that this defeat profoundly panicked bureaucrats of all ranks, and had the effect of a rude awakening to the dysfunction of the state and society, not to mention the military.

Taking as a starting point the brief remarks in Nihālî's treatise of the 1780s and a few others from the same milieu, it is safe to assume that one of these enclaves of like-minded men in the 1760s-1770s was the "peace party" – "doves," in modern political parlance. The Grand Vizier Râğîb Mehmed Paşa (in office from 1757 to 1763), who himself climbed the ladder from the position of scribe in the central bureaucracy, is the only statesman who receives a brief mention in Nihālî's treatise: one obvious reason for the disastrous 1768-1774 Russo-Ottoman war, declares Nihālî, was the fact that no far-sighted statesman was around after the demise of the paşa in 1763. Apparently, the grand vizier strongly advised against the war when Sultan Muṣṭafâ III (r. 1757-1773) consulted him about rising tensions with Russia. The paşa further strove through his policies to prevent the state from entering into the war. Unqualified statesmen, says Nihālî, misread the political conjunctures after Râğîb's demise and entered the war hoping for a quick victory, which turned out to be disastrous for the Ottomans.

Virginia Aksan, and more recently Ethan Menchinger, have pointed to a paradigm shift in the attitude of some bureaucrats towards warfare in the later eighteenth century. Several of these prominent officeholders rationalized the necessity of peace at this juncture. Some had been proponents

of peace before the 1768 war, but no doubt seeing the Ottoman military in tatters made it easier to shift gears from an aggressive foreign policy to a more peace-oriented one. Aḥmed Resmî (d. 1783) was a bureaucrat and statesman who hailed from this background. According to him, warfare was not a political imperative and lasting peace should be the ultimate aim of the state, even if victory is a possible outcome of conflict. Dürri Meḥmed (d. 1794) and Aḥmed Vâsıf (d. 1806) were two others who adamantly believed that Ottoman state's entry into the 1768 war was a mistake and that peace would have been preferable. Dürri postulated that having peace was good for the state.²

Being a proponent of peace was only one of the ideological attachments that Nihâlî shared with colleagues. He believed that the Ottoman state and society was in complete disarray and indeed on the brink of breaking down altogether much like Dürri Meḥmed. The latter dealt with similar issues as Nihâlî, and frequently from a similar perspective. He composed his *Selected Wishes for Reducing Mischief and Disorder* (*Nuḥbetü'l-Emel fî Tenqîhi'l-Fesād ve'l-Ḥalel*) just about a decade before Nihâlî, in 1774.³ Just like Nihâlî, Dürri also primarily focused on the disarray in the bureaucracy and the society. He also saw oppression and injustice as the underlying cause of many social ills, and regarded the blurring of social lines as a major problem for society. He, too, believed that there were once competent, effective, and honorable men of state, commanders, officers, whereas these days they were lacking. Dürri also firmly believed that deviation from time-honored ways of doing things was a primary source of disarray. There were two obvious differences between these two thinkers. First, Dürri's idealized golden age was specific: the reigns of Meḥmed II (1451-1481) and Süleymân I (1520-1566), much in line with other statesmen who penned reform tracts in the late eighteenth century.⁴ Second, there is no indication that Nihâlî subscribed to the otherwise popular Ibn Khaldūnian schema of rise and fall of dynasties. Dürri, on the other hand, did.⁵

2. See Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman*; Menchinger, "Peace, Reciprocity;" and Menchinger, *The First of the Modern Ottomans* for the ideas in this paragraph. Also cf. Atik, "Kayserili Devlet Adamı Dürri Mehmed Efendi ve Layihası" and Menchinger's introduction to Ahmed Resmî, *Hulâsatü'l-İ'tibâr*.

3. Atik, "Kayserili Devlet Adamı Dürri Mehmed Efendi ve Layihası." Also see: Sariyannis, Tuşalp Atiyas, *Ottoman Political Thought*, p. 142-143.

4. See Çağman, *III. Selim'e Sunulan Islahat Layihaları*, passim.

5. <http://ottpol.ims.forth.gr/?q=el/content/nuhbet%C3%BC%E2%80%9991-emel-selected-wishes> (accessed 14 February 2018).

The similarities in ideology and approach of Nihālī and Dürri Meḥmed are not surprising, as both served as scribes in the chancery. We can assume that some of their information was supplied by the grumbling that circulated in governmental offices concerning the dire state of affairs. Those who found Rāḡīb Paşa's policies rational must have felt all the more distressed after the war. It is for modern historians, then, to imagine how the opinions of the high-ranking scribes and bureaucrats of the empire were shaped by new ideas and by developments that might have given a good shake to long-held beliefs. The close quarters of bureaucracy must have facilitated the creation of enclaves of ideas. Intellectual trends and opinions on policy-making no doubt swept through the ranks of bureaucrats who were united in the same ultimate project of bringing glory to the Ottoman state.

I would like to view Nihālī's *Mirror of the State* (*Mir'ātü'd-devle*) in this light. The short treatise was composed circa 1784. The manuscript, which is most likely the autograph copy, comprises eighteen folios, remains unfinished, and survives to date in a unique, but damaged copy. Numerous corrections and comments were written in the margins of the work about ten years after its original composition. In the main text, Nihālī lays out what he had observed as the causes and manifestations of disorder in Ottoman society. Drawing upon years of experience, the author uses emphatic, at times harsh, language. He goes on to offer solutions for the problems identified; some brief, others longer.

First I will establish the context in which this treatise was composed. Next, I explore the ways in which Nihālī describes and labels the broken-down order in different segments of the Ottoman state and society. My aim is to understand the vocabulary, and thereby concepts related to disorder encoded in this bureaucrat's language. One could say that Nihālī's diagnoses are rather conservative: he postulates that disorder stems from disregarding age-old ways of doing things. Yet, his goal-oriented bureaucratic rationality is quickly recognizable, as I will detail below. There are some limitations inherent in examining one author's vocabulary. No doubt, it is prudent to compare Nihālī's vocabulary synchronically and diachronically with other Ottoman thinkers' usage of similar concepts. Only then will we be able to better understand the vocabulary of a very dynamic sphere – namely politics.⁶

6. The evolution of political terminology in the Middle East have been treated by various scholars, e.g., Rebhan, *Geschichte und Funktion*; Lewis, *The Political Language*

Finally, in the last two sections of my essay, I discuss the problems of authorship and provide a detailed summary of the text. As the water-damaged manuscript demonstrates a good many problems, I hope the summary will assist researchers in identifying the topics handled by Nihālî for further study.

Text and Context

Marinos Sariyannis identifies two florescences of reform treatises in the eighteenth century – one during Aḥmed III's reign (1703-1730) in the earlier part of the century, and another during and after the Russian wars in the last quarter of the century.⁷ Within the latter group, two further waves are recognizable. The impetus to evaluate the serious state of affairs began during the ongoing war with Russia that ended in 1774 with devastating results for the Ottoman state. Well aware that this was a humiliating blow, several state officials put down their suggestions for reform. The catastrophic defeat became the top item on the agenda and diverted all attention to the need to modernize the military. We shall call these the “first wave” of reform treatises instigated by the events of the unfolding war, and especially by the defeat suffered in 1774.

Before the Ottoman state could fully recover from the aftereffects of the 1768-1774 war, a new conflict with Russia arose in 1787, which occurred simultaneously with the Austro-Ottoman war of 1788-1791. Selīm III ascended the throne in 1789 as both conflicts dragged on. The Russian war ended in 1792 without much positive outcome for the Ottomans. Now that the protracted military occupation of the state had been put on hold, Selīm issued an edict inviting Ottoman bureaucrats to submit treatises to propose reforms. The number of treatises submitted reached some twenty or more, which would constitute the “second wave” of reform treatises. Not surprisingly, the suggestions were overwhelmingly about military reforms.⁸ Ottoman thinkers did not see a more pressing issue than modernizing the army.

It is convenient to regard the two wars with Russia – one that began in 1768 and ended 1774, and the second one that broke out in 1787 and

of Islam; Ayalon, *Language and Change*; Doganalp-Votzi, Römer, *Herrschaft und Staat*; Reinkowski, “The State's Security.”

7. Sariyannis, Tuşalp Atiyas, *Ottoman Political Thought*, p. 137.

8. Çağman, III. Selim'e Sunulan Islahat Layihaları; Öğreten, *Nizam-ı Cedid'e Dair Askeri Layihalar*.

ended 1792 – as a single protracted conflict.⁹ However, a few treatises from among the first wave of the late eighteenth-century treatises stand out for their additional emphasis on non-military matters. Canikli ‘Alī Paşa’s *Stratagems for Wars* (*Tedâbîrü’l-Ġazavât*), composed in 1776, deals with a variety of topics, such as the vizier’s moral qualities, the need for consultation, and a plea to revive the *timar* system, but the problems of the army clearly take up the majority of the booklet.¹⁰ In the same vein, Süleymân Penâh’s *History of the Morean Revolt* (*Mora İhtilâli Ta’rîhçesi*), composed in 1785, has a wide-ranging reform plan in non-military matters ranging from financial to bureaucratic regulations.¹¹

Apart from his ideological attachment to the “peace party” that I outlined above, Nihâlî’s treatise is well situated within this first wave of late-eighteenth century reform tracts. Its first iteration, that is, the main text, was written some ten years after the end of the 1768-1774 war (the marginal notes updating the text were probably made after Selîm III’s request for reform suggestions in 1792). In a short paragraph before the introduction, Nihâlî lists the reasons for composing the treatise, namely the deficit in the state treasury and the disorderliness of society. Although Nihâlî reserves the introduction to a brief discussion of the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-1774, the treatise is not about the war or failing Ottoman military power. He includes a few general remarks as to why the war could not be prevented and why the Ottoman soldiers were unmotivated during the battles, but unlike many late-eighteenth century authors he does not register criticism of military tactics or propose any military reforms. He does not attempt to analyze the expanding influence of Russia, refer to the well-trained European armies as examples, or lament the loss of Crimea. In fact, his analyses for the causes of the war in the introduction are rather simplistic and naïve. However, it is clear that he sees the devastating defeat as a cataclysmic event that caused many existing problems to surface.

Nihâlî’s primary concern was social disarray caused by injustices committed against ordinary subjects. The topics he deals with were not the

9. Beydilli, “Küçük Kaynarca’dan Tanzimat’a İslahat Düşünceleri,” p. 25-26.

10. Özkaya, “Canikli Ali Paşa’nın Risalesi ‘Tedâbîrü’l-Gazavât’.” Also see Schaendlinger, “Reformtraktate,” p. 250f.; Sariyannis, Tuşalp Atiyas, *Ottoman Political Thought*, p. 144. Cf. <http://ottpol.ims.forth.gr/?q=content/ted%C3%A2b%C3%Aer%C3%BC%E2%80%99l-gazav%C3%A2t-expedients-war> (accessed 14 February 2018).

11. Berker, “Mora İhtilâli Tarihçesi veya Penah Efendi Mecmuası.”

problems of higher echelons of the bureaucracy: his concern is not the disagreements or rivalries between high-ranked bureaucrats or power groups around the sultan. He does not attempt to submit counsels for the ruler.

Following the introduction, he expounds upon the wasteful expenditures on luxury goods as a factor contributing to the economic crisis. The growing deficit of the state coffers are the result of unnecessary spending and large salaries paid to excessive numbers of state employees, some of whom draw more than one. Finally, in the last and longest chapter on the topic of oppression of Ottoman subjects, his points relate to the extra duties levied from the peasantry. He devotes one sub-chapter to each one of the following groups of oppressors: viziers, judges (*qādî*), tax farmers (*mültezim*), and overseers (*mübâşir*). The final sub-chapter is dedicated to the migration of peasantry into Istanbul, the overpopulation of the city, and its consequences for the provinces.

Nihâlî's observations are brief yet thorough. A goal-oriented pragmatism stands out in his proposed solutions, which include Machiavellian methods – such as resorting to “moles” from inside the janissary establishment to identify anyone who draws more than one salary from the state treasury. Much of what Nihâlî puts forth as dysfunctionalities of the Ottoman state appear to be based on firsthand knowledge (*yaqîn tahsîl etdiği meretebe*); but he also notes that he has studied the histories and reflected on the political conjunctures of previous generations (*tetebbu'-i tevârîh-i selef ve te'emmül-i ahvâl-i halef*), although he does not specify his sources. Nihâlî does not lay out a theoretical schema for his diagnosis or remedies. This is not to say that his criticisms were not inspired by larger concepts of justice that would have been digested by an Ottoman bureaucrat. His disapproval of people breaching their designated social class through violation of dress codes must have its origins in the idea of a circle of justice. For Nihâlî, the orderly and just government of society revolved around the proper management of finances, which would have been achieved by people overcoming greediness and the desire to advance their own interests.

I would not suggest that Nihâlî had a unique eye for diagnosing problems. On the contrary, several of the topics he focuses on had either been dealt with in earlier treatises or would be discussed by other authors of his time. What is more interesting is how this particular individual presented the problems he saw around him. Süleymân Penâh, for instance,

has a section on a scheme concerning judges and substitute judges similar to that of Nihālî.¹² Both authors write about a corrupt system wherein an appointed judge would “farm out” his position to a substitute judge. However, Nihālî’s depiction is bolder and edgier than that of Süleymân Penâh, and also more pessimistic, one could say, in that he proposes a backup plan if this lucrative business cannot be banned.

Analyzing the contents of later eighteenth-century reform suggestions, Sariyannis further suggests classifying them based on the authors’ two primary approaches, either as “innovative traditionalists” or “westernizers,” though he emphasizes that the line separating the two groups is blurred. The authors of the late eighteenth-century preferred to pinpoint specific problems in various institutions and offer concrete practical advice for mending them.¹³ While all of these authors put the need to revamp the army at the top of their agenda, the “westernizers” advocated a western-style reform, such as forming a new army which would be trained with the European military methods. “Traditionalists” are a bit loosely defined by Sariyannis, but Nihālî would probably fall under that category. I would like to emphasize that upgrading the army was in no way a priority for him, as far as we can glean from his treatise. He is rather blunt in depicting gloomy Ottoman realities from his perspective, which merits a closer look.

The Vocabulary of Disorder

Sultan and state

While the “state” (*devlet*) is omnipresent throughout Nihālî’s treatise, the sultan is curiously elusive.¹⁴ He is only mentioned a few times: There are not even the customary praises to the sultan at the beginning of the treatise. To be sure, when mentioned, he is properly given his due attributes of eminence. In a treatise focused mostly on oppression and injustice, the sultan is not presented as the overarching provider of justice or the benefactor of order in society – as he would have been in a mirror for princes in the sixteenth century. Nihālî notes at one point that the oppressors in the provinces should beware that the scourge of the sultan (*ğazab-ı pâdişāhâne*) will punish them if they continue with their mischievous

12. Berker, “Mora İhtilâli Tarihçesi veya Penah Efendi Mecmuası,” p. 314-317.

13. Sariyannis, Tuşalp Atıyas, *Ottoman Political Thought*, p. 137ff.

14. See Sigalas, “Devlet et État,” for the evolution of the term *Devlet*; cf. also Zemmin’s article in this volume.

ways. Equally absent is the vocabulary that had traditionally described the sultan's compassionate and merciful protection of his subjects. Words like *şefqat* or *himâyet* denoting compassionate protection of the people were often used to describe the patrimonial duty of the sultan. Perhaps the final product of the treatise was to be reworked once more by its author. I am, however, inclined to view this absence as the product of a practical-minded Ottoman bureaucrat. Nihâlî knew well how things were administered in the central bureaucracy. His observations and solutions were the pragmatic result of years of experience. Virgina Aksan observed a similar attitude in Ahmed Resmî's political writing and evaluated it as a "break with ... sultan-centered cycles of virtue and justice."¹⁵

The "exalted Ottoman State," (*devlet-i 'aliyye-i 'Osmâniyye*), on the other hand, looms large in the text, and is sometimes given anthropomorphic attributes. The word "*mizâc*," meaning "temperament, disposition, or the state of health," (and commonly used for humans) is regularly used in the work to describe the "character" or "conventions" of the Ottoman state. For instance, Nihâlî sees incompetent and inexperienced people as the cause of many problems. In the past, state officials faithfully toiled in a position for 20-30 years. Only after learning about the etiquette (*âdâb*) and the *mizâc* of the state were they appointed to higher, more important offices. Nowadays, laments Nihâlî, some ignoble people with evil spirit come to these positions without being aware of the *mizâc* of the state (*mizâc-ı Devlet-i 'aliyyeden bî-ḥaber bir âlây heyûlâ maqûleleri*). It is absolutely detrimental (*muẓırr-ı maḥẓ*), in his view, that base people (*edânî ve esâfil maqûleleri*) are privy to the secrets of the exalted Ottoman state. In the same line, Nihâlî postulates that the *mizâc* of the state would be cured by the medicine of the Prophet's government methods (*Muḥammed ül-Muştafâ ... ki edviye-i siyâset-i şer'îyyesi işlâḥ-ı mizâc-ı mülk ü devlete vâqîdir*).

Temporal references

Nihâlî was a seasoned bureaucrat, who had seen, in his view, better times. If he was indeed favored by Râgıb Paşa, his ascendancy ended when the latter passed away. He remembers the paşa as an able statesman, and deplores the newer generation of unqualified political figures. In these circumstances, it is perhaps to be expected that Nihâlî would see a

15. Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman*, p. 195.

departure from time-honored customs as one of the underlying causes of disorderliness in the affairs of the state and society. Certainly the injunction to respect “ancient” customs as a reference point for a well-functioning society is not limited to Nihālî or his time. In fact, rhetoric against uncontrolled change is usually more powerful than substantive. What these “age-old” customs actually were often remains unspecified, as they are vaguely identified within the context of their disintegration. In other words, the “age-old” customs are not typically regarded as the sinews that keep an orderly society together until they are perceived to have been lost or degraded, when they become a convenient scapegoat for societal ills.

Nihālî is very clear on the fact that the Ottomans had enjoyed a long-established rule and a fundamental order (*qāʿide-i qadîme ve niẓâm-ı aṣliyye*). In order to restore order to society, he wrote, things needed to return to their former state and time-honored order (*keyfiyyet-i sâbiqa ve ẓâbiṭa-i qadîme*) – though he does not refer to an idealized period or the specific reign of a sultan. His references are merely to a “previous” time when things functioned properly. For example, all segments of the society need to abide by the dress regulations that were specific to their class since time immemorial (*qadîmden*). Previously (*muqaddemā*), proclaims Nihālî, a dress regulation stipulated that the *ʿulemā* and the state officials don the dresses and headgears that their professions required, and that recently (*biraz müddetden–berü*) people have been ignoring that code again. The striving for order shall also not disregard the “necessities of [current] times and [current] conditions” (*muqtezâ-yı vaqt u ḥāl*).

Disintegration and its causes

The most striking and richest part of Nihālî’s politically inspired vocabulary relates to the dysfunctionality and disintegration of the Ottoman state and society. With a wide array of vocabulary and imagery, the author successfully paints a dreadful picture of a society in distress. Nihālî ordinarily uses *iḥtilāl* to describe the breakdown of an aspect of society: *iḥtilāl-i niẓâm*, for instance, is a general disintegration of order; *iḥtilāl u fesād* also denotes an emphatic dissolution of order. New problems and difficulties (*ʿusret*) surfaced in administering the affairs of the state. Malady is one of the metaphors he uses to portray the condition of the people: The minds of people are full of worry and their hearts are confused (*ḥāṭırları pür–ğam ve dilleri derhem*). They have been struck by a

strange disease (*her kes bir derd-i ğarîbe mübtelâ ve her bir ferdi bir 'illet-i 'acîbenîñ istîlâsı*) such that their minds have been afflicted by a defluxion of grief and sadness (*dimâğ-ı kâffe-i enâm muhtell-i zükkâm-ı kudûret olup*). In the face of this societal and economic collapse, people have become incapacitated and confused (*'âciz ve mütehayyir*) with regard to the proper course for taking care of their businesses and a variety of [new sorts of] troubles and anxieties have emerged (*ğavâ'il-i gûnâgûn zuhûruyla*).

The key terms of the sections on injustice and oppression are *za'f u telâş* and *perâkende vü perişânlıq*, which Nihâlî uses to describe the condition of ordinary tax-paying and tax-exempt subjects (*re'âyâ ve berâyâ*). These adjectives denote a weakness, vulnerability, and an ensuing alarm that have been affecting people. Just as often used by Nihâlî are the phrases *zulm u ta'addî* and *cevr ü eziyyet* to denote injustice and oppression causing the confused state of the peasantry. All of them indicate various degrees of violation of the rights of subjects. For example, high-ranked state functionaries in the provinces armed with the powers of Holy Law and Sultan Law have been abusing their powers and committing injustice (*hukkâm-ı şer' u 'örfüñ te'addî ve tecâvüzleri*).

Strikingly, while Nihâlî establishes a vast vocabulary for oppression, his lexicon to describe a just rule is meager. Loaded words that are otherwise so prevalent in Ottoman political rhetoric are absent, such as “just” or “justice, equity” (*'âdil, 'adâlet, 'adl*), “public order” or “security” (*âsâyiş, emniyyet*). The only phrase that comes close to this idea is *i'mâr-ı memleket ve istirâhat-ı ra'yyet*, which, incidentally, is used by Nihâlî to signify a lack thereof: Viziers who are appointed to provinces do not undertake measures to promote the “prosperity of the lands and contentment of the subjects,” because they expect to be dismissed from their positions in three or four months.

One of the main causes of unruliness, according to the treatise, is disregard and disrespect for the law. The author postulates that the affairs of the people should be seen to according to laws and regulations (*şer'-i şerîfe ve qânûn-ı münîf ve şurû' ve quyûda ta'tbîq*), but unqualified state functionaries have been in violation of the the sultan law, the *qânûn*, or the Holy Law, the sharia – (*hîlâf-ı qânûn ve muğâyir-i şer'-i şerîf*). The devolution from a stable past to an unstable present is a consequence of disregard for long-established conventions. According to Nihâlî, “people’s conditions have changed [for the worse]” (*aḥvâl-i 'âlem müteğayyir*), since the order of the state and society has become unstable.

He describes the increasing disorder in society with well-known metaphors: “Things have moved out of their age-old [designated] circles” (*dā`ire-i qadīmesinden hūrūc*) and “have taken on new forms” (*şūret-i āher kesbiyle*). Matters have been disturbed as they fell off of the thread of order (*rişte-i intizāmdan hūrūc*). Curiously, Nihālī accepts that a certain degree of degeneration over time is to be expected (*mürūr-ı eyyām ile muhtell olan mevādd*), but writes that it must be addressed with the proper measures, and then given time to redress itself (*müsā`ade-i vaqte daḥi muhtāc*). What he opposes vehemently is the fact that state officials profit from disorder, instead of attempting to restore order.

Groups of people

People from all walks of society have not only transgressed their boundaries (*haddlerini tecāvüz*) and become accustomed to mistreating each other (*zulm u ḡadr*), they breach the boundaries of Holy Law in their conduct (*cemī`-i eḡvārlarında ve harekātılarında hudūd-ı şer`-i şerifi tecāvüz*). Excessive expenditures (*kesret-i meşārifāt*) have become a problem for individuals, and caused a strain on the state coffers (*mużāyaqa-i hazīne*).

Nihālī has a rich vocabulary for discrediting groups who abuse their power and oppress common people. While he is a bit reserved on viziers in one of his sub-chapters dedicated to them, he lashes out at substitute judges: They are ignorant sinners, tyrants, cursed ones (*cāhil fesaqa ve zaleme, melā`īn*); the tax farmers (*mültezim*) are vile and low people. Unfortunately, these cheaters, oppressors, tyrants (*esāfil, edānī, müflis, zālīm, cebābir*) number also among the state employees. *Müfsid* or “mischief-maker” is a strong word that Nihālī uses once. Some *müfsids*, asserts Nihālī, incited and seduced the sultan (*tahrīk-i iḡvā*) to enter the war. Some civil servants have been untrustworthy, breached their contracts with the state, and committed injustice against commoners (*`ibādullāh ve Devlet-i `aliyyeye ḡadr u hıyānetler*). They have used a variety of tricks and methods to extract money from the common people (*ba`z-ı bida` u mezālīm iḥdāşıyla*). Members of society should be freed from the long-oppressing hands of the tyrants (*dest-i teḡvül-i zaleme*).

Tradesmen are indistinguishable in their mischief from state officials. They not only dress and live beyond their means (*irād-ı qadīmleri maşraflarını iḥāḡa etmeyip*), but they employ cheating, fraud, (*ba`z-ı [mekr] u ḥile irtikābı*) and unlawful methods (*ef`āl-i nā-meşrū`a*) in order

to cover their expenses. The majority of the population of Istanbul have become indebted (*medyûn*) and, therefore, confused (*mütehayyir*) in trying to manage their affairs. People have come up with various devices (*hiyel-i gûnâgûn ihtirâ'i*) in their respective trades and crafts, and most of them have joined the party of the treacherous ones (*hâ'in zümresi*). In accordance with the meaning of the aphorism "Perfidy brings poverty" (الخيانة تجلب الفقر),¹⁶ Nihâlî declares, each one of these dishonest people have been befallen with calamities and difficulties (*muşî[be]te giriftâr ve bir meşaqqata dūçâr*).

The ordinary tax-paying and tax-exempt subjects, or the peasantry, are regularly rendered with *re'âyâ ve berâyâ* (or just *re'âyâ*). A related compound that he regularly employs is "*re'âyâ* and others" (*re'âyâ ve sâ'irleri*), although it probably refers to the same peasantry. *Teb'a* or "the subjects" is not in Nihâlî's vocabulary. The word *re'âyâ* took on a limited meaning from the late eighteenth century onwards, particularly in European travellers' accounts. It was often used to describe the "oppressed Christian subjects" living under the Ottoman policy. Although a known word, *teb'a* would become widely used after the first quarter of the nineteenth century, not only to describe the peasantry, but all subjects of the empire.¹⁷ If *teb'a* carries loose political overtones (as it implies a recognition of, or subjugation to, a political authority), *re'âyâ* "the flock" became an image of a bygone era. Nihâlî uses a few neutral words to describe all the subjects living in the Ottoman lands, such as *efrâd-i âlem* "people of the world", *'ibâdullâh* (or *'ibâd*) "servants of God", or *kâffe-i enâm* "humankind overall."

Âhâlî is always used to refer to a designated group of people, such as *âhâlî-i İstanbul* "the population of Istanbul;" *taşra âhâlîleri* "the populace of the provinces," but also for smaller groups of people as in *âhâlî-i dīvân* "the imperial council staff." Traditionally used for ethnic and religious communities, and oftentimes with a bit of a derogatory undertone, the word *ṭā'ife* "group, class, tribe" appears only once, in an example about the rebel groups in Anatolia known as the *ṭā'ife-i Celâliyân*. The

16. Text has "الخيانة تجري الفقر". The version I preferred above is a more common iteration, and occasionally accepted as a prophetic saying in the Shia tradition; cf. Al-Hurr al-'Âmilî's (d. 1693) *Wasā'il al-Shi'a* XIX, p. 76, hadith number 24190; accessed at <https://alkafeel.net/islamiclibrary/hadith/wasael-19/wasael-19/19003.html#47> on 15 February 2018.

17. Cf. Doganalp-Votzi, Römer, *Herrschaft und Staat*, p. 239, 249, where the authors demonstrate that *teb'a* was a neologism of the nineteenth century. Hindoglu, for example, still renders "*re'âyâ*" with "subjects" as late as 1838 in *Ḥazîne-i Luğât*, p. 248.

word *ümme* (“umma”) “Islamic community, nation” never appears. *Millet* is used once in the marginal notes in the phrase *mülk ü millet*. This term does not seem to denote a religious community either, but “people” in general (*hüsn-i idāre cemīʿ-i zamānda mülk [ü] millete hayr-ı küllî olup*). While *ʿämme* “the public” never appears in the book, Nihālî uses once the word *cumhūr* “the public” or “the community at large” to specifically refer to the “affairs of the community” in the following usage: those [officials] charged with “public administration” (lit. “administering the affairs of the community” *tedbîr-i umûr-ı cumhûra meʿmûr olanlar*).

While the impetus for Nihālî to write this treatise may have been his personal observations of injustices committed against ordinary subjects and his desire to rectify the situation, his point of view is completely from side of the state. The actual viewpoints of the common people as to whether things are good or getting better, or they are satisfied, content, or happy never appear as a query. Perhaps, because Nihālî did not see, or at least write about, successful administration or good government, there was no occasion to use such words. According to Nihālî, the contentment of the subjects would only be achieved through the implementation of correct actions by the administration: If injustice was being committed by the high-ranked state functionaries, it needed to be fixed. How the outcome would be perceived by common subjects is completely outside of his interest. This differs from what Maurus Reinkowski found in nineteenth-century official correspondence. Then, words such as contentment, satisfaction, appreciation (*hoşnûdiyyet, memnûniyyet, teşekkürî*) referring to the commoners’ responses to governmental interventions would begin to appear.¹⁸

Authorship

The information we have on Nihālî is sketchy and confusing. Most of what we know comes from the great encyclopedist Mehmed Tâhir’s (d. 1925) entry in his 1924 compendium of Ottoman authors, the *ʿOsmānlı Müʿellifleri*. Tâhir’s entry on the author is titled “İbrâhîm bin Süleymân Hâlife, Nihālî,” who, he says, was the composer of the *Mirror of the State*. The author of the treatise under investigation here, however, refers to himself only with his pen name “Nihālî.” This causes some confusion due to the fact that Nihālî was a popular pen name.¹⁹

18. Reinkowski, “The State’s Security,” p. 202.

19. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall included in 1836 in his anthology of Ottoman poets five different individuals with the name Nihālî, only one of whom having lived in the

Ṭāhīr further assumes that the author of the mentioned treatise and a separate treatise titled the *Mirror for the Wise* (*Mir'ātü'l-'uqalā*), in which the author identifies himself as “İbrāhīm Nihālī bin Süleymān Ḥalīfe,” are the same person.²⁰ The difference in the topics of the two works aside, the conspicuous similarity in the titles, i.e., the *Mir'ātü'd-devle* and the *Mir'ātü'l-'uqalā*, and the proximity in dates of their composition brings to mind the possibility of a single author. If it is indeed the case, that is, if both works were composed by the same Nihālī, he cannot have died in 1186/1772-73 as Ṭāhīr suggests. The author of *Mirror for the Wise* gives Şaban 1213 (beginning of January 1799) as the date of composition for his book.²¹ Ṭāhīr claims to have seen the date of İbrāhīm bin Süleymān Ḥalīfe's passing in archival registers (*ferāşet defterleri*).²² Furthermore, another biographer Şefkat (d. 1826) includes in his dictionary of poets a certain “Nihālī Meḥmed,” who he says also died 1186. Apparently, this Nihālī Meḥmed was also one of the scribes of the imperial council.²³ To confuse matters further, Meḥmed Süreyyā (d. 1909) includes an “El-Hāc İbrāhīm Efendi” with a death date of 1186 in his encyclopedia of Ottoman personalities, the *Sicill-i 'Osmānī*.²⁴ Bağdādī İsmā'īl Paşa pushes back Nihālī İbrāhīm bin Süleymān Ḥalīfe's date of death to 1228/1813, which looks acceptable. He ascribes only the *Mirror for the Wise* to this Nihālī.²⁵

Were there two Nihālīs, one who died in 1186/1772-73 and another in 1228/1813? If so, were they both scribes? Were there two Nihālīs, one Nihālī İbrāhīm and one Nihālī Meḥmed? Did the works, *Mirror for the Wise* and *Mirror of the State*, belong to the same author? *Et cetera...*

eighteenth century. The Austrian orientalist quotes a single chronogram composed by the eighteenth-century poet by name of Nihālī for a building at the arsenal in Istanbul, with no further information on the author himself. Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst* I, p. 313; II, p. 236, 550; III, p. 165; and IV, p. 328.

20. Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul), Bağdatlı Vehbi 1560, fol. 1b.

21. He quotes a chronogram to indicate the date of composition: “Five months shy of [the numerical value of] *Sulṭānū'l-ğālib*” [which gives 1213] (*Sulṭānū'l-ğālib ta'rīhine beş mäh qaldıqda*); Nihālī, *Mir'ātü'l-'uqalā*, Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul), Bağdatlı Vehbi 1560, fol. 35b.

22. Meḥmed Ṭāhīr *'Osmānlı Mü'ellifleri* III, p. 155-156. Franz Babinger replicated Ṭāhīr's entry, therefore does not add to our knowledge on Nihālī; cf. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, p. 291-292.

23. Şefkat-i Bağdādī, *Şefkat Tezkiresi*, p. 272-273. Same information is also included in Silahdar-zade Mehmed Emin's *Tezkire-i Silahdar-zade*, p. 231; cf. Es'ad Meḥmed, *Bâğçe-i Şafâ-endüz*, p. 181f. *Fatih Tezkiresi* does not list a Nihālī.

24. Meḥmed Süreyyā, *Sicill-i 'Osmānī* I, p. 134-135.

25. İsmā'īl Paşa, *Hadiyyat al-Ârifin* I, p. 42.

There are some holes in the information we have about Nihālī that prevent us from making a series of conjectures.

Should we take the details in the treatise as our starting point, there is no doubt that Nihālī was a civil servant of the Ottoman state (*bendegānundan ma'dūd olduğumuz Devlet-i 'aliyye-i 'Osmaniyye*). His observations indicate that he had first-hand knowledge of the internal functioning of the bureaucracy. Ṭāhir's account that Nihālī was employed at the scribal offices of the treasury for the two Holy Cities and, later, at the imperial council can be correct. The author's praiseful comments about the Grand Vizier Rāğīb Paşa (d. 1763) suggest that the author was perhaps favored by the grandee.

*Manuscript*²⁶

In 1968, Barbara Flemming described the unique copy of the treatise.²⁷ Meḥmed Ṭāhir mentioned the treatise in a single sentence in the aforementioned entry in his encyclopedia on Ottoman authors. It is reasonable to assume that Ṭāhir saw a copy of this work in Istanbul, but there is no known copy in Turkish libraries today. The manuscript Ṭāhir saw could of course have been the same copy, before it was purchased by Karl Süßheim (d. 1947). After his demise, the German orientalist's private library was acquired by the Westdeutsche Bibliothek in Marburg which, after the unification of West and East Germany, was merged with the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz. It is still kept there today under the catalogue number Hs. or. oct. 902.²⁸ Folio 1a features the ownership seals of “Karl Süßheim,” and “Westdeutsche Bibliothek,” but also an Ottoman individual by name of “Meḥmed Sa'īd ibn 'Osṡmān,” who is not identifiable. The manuscript is water-damaged in the middle and end parts; the first pages of the manuscript remain intact and legible, but it becomes difficult to decipher subsequent sections in the text, as the ink is dissolved from pages being stuck together.

26. I extend my thanks to Marlis Saleh of the University of Chicago Library for securing a digital copy of the manuscript for me.

27. *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* I, p. 228.

28. I thank Christoph Rauch, the Director of the Oriental Manuscripts section of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, for seeking information about the acquisition of the book by Karl Süßheim. If we knew where and when he bought the manuscript, the problem would be partially solved.

Main text

The main text runs from 1b to 18a and is written in a neat *nesh* script of scribal quality, though curiously featuring a good number of misspellings. It is reasonable to assume that the text was transcribed from a draft copy. With only one sentence written down, the conclusion of the book is unfinished. The author might have not composed the conclusion in the draft (if there was one), and perhaps planned to add it subsequently. He indicates at the outset that he designed the book as an introduction, four chapters (*faşl*), and a conclusion. The author announces at the beginning of the fourth chapter that it will have four sub-chapters (*nev'*), but this chapter is in fact divided into five sub-chapters, which altogether constitute almost half of the manuscript. The fifth sub-chapter on "Migration to Istanbul" only loosely aligns with the other four sub-chapters thematically. Each of the first four sub-chapters describes the desperate situation of the peasantry through oppression by a different group of high-ranked state functionaries. The fifth sub-chapter on migration is presented as a consequence of these oppressions. Therefore, the fifth sub-chapter appears to be added as the author was already putting down the text. These indications lead me to believe that this is an autograph copy.

Evidence in the text suggests that the main text was written after the end of the 1768-1774 Russo-Ottoman war. The author refers to Râğîb Paşa (d. 1763) and Sultan Muştafâ III (d. 1774) as *merhûm*, or "the deceased." He makes a reference to the ruling sultan, but only with his titlature, and not with his name. However, his remark that the sultan "ended the war" must mean that he is referring to 'Abdülhamîd I, who ascended the throne in January 1774 and was hard-pressed to end the war in the summer of that year. The information that narrows the time span for the composition date of the treatise is Nihâlî's observation that certain tough regulations were put in effect in a matter of a few years ("four-five years" crossed out). If the author is referring to the regulations initiated in 1783 and 1784 in the military, fiefs, and dress codes, among other things, during the term of Grand Vizier Halîl Hamîd Paşa (term 1782-1785), we can assume that the treatise was written in 1784 or shortly after that date.²⁹ Although Nihâlî praises these recent regulations, he does not mention the paşa's name.

29. For Halil Hamid Paşa's reforms, see Ahmed Cevdet, *Ta'rih* II, p. 242, 317, 359; III, p. 83; also see Uzunçarşılı, "Sadrazam Halil Hamid Paşa."

Marginalia

Notes of various lengths were written on the margins of several pages. Some notes merely updated the dates or periods of time since the occurrence of an event mentioned in the original text. Others made stylistic tweaks or rectified grammar. The most substantial additions, however, are updates in light of new political realities (on folios 4b, 5a, and 6b). For instance, sections praising ‘Abdülhamîd I’s efforts to end the 1768-1774 war were crossed out, as apparently they were outdated by then, and new comments were added. The note reflects the political situation after the same sultan made the decision to enter into a new war with Russia in 1787, and with Austria one year later (fig. 1, fol. 4b, p. 443).

One of the intricate questions surrounding this manuscript is whether or not the marginal notes were made by the author himself, and if so, when. As opposed to the neatly written main text, the notes were carelessly jotted down in *divani kırması* script, i.e., different from that of the main text, hence it is not clear whether they are by the same hand. There are some stylistic similarities with the main text which lead me to believe they were by Nihālî. If we assume that they were by a later reader, the question would be why anyone would take the trouble to update the treatise so meticulously.

The question of when he made the corrections cannot be answered with certainty either. On folio 1b, the first marginal note starts with a remark that “this treatise is contrary to the current methods” (*bu lâyiha şimdi olan uşul ile zıdd olup*) (fig. 2, fol. 1b, p. 444), and adds that the topic of reducing expenditures would [still] seem beneficial. The note continues for a few more lines on the topic of frugality. The fact that the marginal notes refer to ‘Abdülhamîd I as “the deceased” indicates that they were taken after his passing in April 1789. There are even secondary degree marks of proofreading on marginal notes: sections or some words in the marginalia are also crossed out. If we assume that the marginal notes and the later proofreading marks were all done by the same person, it would mean that he carried out a gradual editing and copy editing process.

We are able to push the date forward a bit more based on Nihālî’s marginal remark about a new sultan’s enthronement – his name is not mentioned, but it would clearly be Selîm III in 1789 – and that peace was concluded, which would happen in 1792. These indications bring us to the time when Selîm requested that Ottoman bureaucrats submit treatises

to propose reforms, which I referred to as the “second wave” of reform treatises above. Was Nihālî then motivated to return to his treatise after this request?

My working assumption is that the main text was written between 1774 and 1789, and most probably during or shortly after 1784. The author composed a large part of the treatise, but as he put it down he made some changes to the original format that he had conceptualized, adding a fifth sub-chapter. However, he lacked a conclusion and was thus unable to complete the treatise and put it into circulation. It may also have been a risky endeavor to do so after Halil Hamîd Paşa's dismissal as the grand vizier and his subsequent execution in the spring of 1785.³⁰ Scholars agree that the paşa must have been accused of conspiring to install Prince Selîm to the throne, and that as a consequence tensions were high in the city. But Halil Hamîd's passive policy towards the Russians' aggression in Crimea had also aroused indignation with the public at large.³¹ A treatise promoting peace was unlikely to be received well in this environment. Coincidentally, the grand vizier who replaced Halil Hamîd was nicknamed “Şāhîn,” i.e. ‘Alî Paşa, “the Hawk” (or “Falcon,” term 1785-1786). If his moniker had nothing to do with the word's modern English political connotation, he was indeed an able warrior, and was appointed to the position due to his service during the 1768-1774 war. He and his successor Yūsuf Paşa (term 1786-1789), but primarily Cezâyirli Ġāzî Ḥasan Paşa (d. 1790) behind the scenes, were all proponents of war. As mentioned above, during their terms a new conflict with Russia arose in 1787 and the Austro-Ottoman war broke in 1788.

Therefore, the manuscript remained a unique copy in Nihālî's possession. He may have been motivated by the request by Selîm III to submit reform treatises in 1792. The author probably reevaluated some of his earlier suggestions, updated them, made some amendments, but must have felt that the overall text did not fit the rapidly changing circumstances. The 1792 call to submit reform proposals primarily brought forth suggestions concerning military matters, on which this author lacked expertise. Therefore, he did not submit it this time either. While these assumptions are speculation, the contents of the treatise are unaffected by questions of authorship.

30. I thank Ethan Menchinger for bringing this last point to my attention.

31. Beydilli, “Halil Hamîd Paşa,” p. 318.

In Lieu of a Conclusion

Was Nihālī an original thinker? His vocabulary of disorder reminds us of similar concepts used by the seventeenth-century *nasīḥatnāme* authors. It is often the case that such fundamental administrative vocabularies tend to survive over decades, and even centuries, while their contexts and referents change. In other words, the very same vocabulary takes on subtle new connotations in new environments. Nihālī's examples illustrating the categories of injustice, oppression, and disorder belong to his time. They should be seen as signposts for decoding the period-specific meanings of the political vocabulary he utilizes. Nihālī's attachment to age-old customs or traditional ways of doing things was mentioned above, and it is thus no surprise that he intellectually availed himself of traditional concepts. Understanding concepts of, for example, oppression in the late eighteenth century will require studying the concepts in their changing circumstances synchronically and diachronically. Nihālī was perhaps a mere anxious civil servant – one who wrote down his observations of the dysfunctions in Ottoman administration and society.

A Summary of Nihālī's *Mirror of the State*

Foreword: Reasons for composing the work (foll. 1b-2b)

After submitting his thanks to God and praises to the Prophet, Nihālī dedicates a paragraph to his reasons for composing the treatise. State expenditures have increased and the treasury has been drained. Ordinary tax-paying and tax-exempt subjects (*re'āyā ve berāyā*) are in a miserable condition; people from all walks of life complain about their situation. Things have moved away from their traditional places, which have caused mischief and disarray. A variety of problems have made state governance difficult and ineffective. The author would like to shed insight on these problems.

Introduction: Reasons for the war with Russia, 1768 (foll. 2b-6b)

The introduction details the reasons for the 1768 Russian war. The war has one obvious and one concealed reason. The fact that no far-sighted statesman was available after the demise of Rāğīb Paşa in 1763 is the obvious reason for the war. When Sultan Muṣṭafā III consulted with the paşa,

the latter voiced concern that even if a few towns could be captured in a military campaign, it would not be possible to defend these positions. As the inhabitants of the localities would be poor and would have nothing to lose, they would engage in ruses and schemes. It would be a waste of resources. The Ottoman soldiers are unwilling to go on a campaign in such circumstances.

After the death of Râğîb Paşa, unqualified statesmen read the political conjunctures wrong, hoping for a quick victory. Calculating their own benefits, they identified some movements of the enemy as a breach of treaties to the sultan. They presented a plan in which the army would triumph within one year, but then met a crushing defeat. These incompetent political opportunists were later punished by the sultan.

As for the concealed reason, Nihâlî mentions diminishing respect for Holy Law. Ottoman officials, and indeed people from all strata of society, are not content with their earned income and are greedy for more. In order to quench their cupidity, state officials seize people's possessions illegally, a situation that angered God. Many of these people were hit by calamities. The war with Russia could only be brought to an end after the current sultan [Abdülhamîd I] came to power [in 1774]. Regulations within the state organization that would take 30 years to implement, were carried out in the last four-five years (this last sentence was crossed out, and instead, a note was written on the margin about the Ottoman state entering a new war with Austria and Russia [in 1787] and this situation weakening the state even more). After the war ended, the grand vizier conducted an investigation into the common people's circumstances to determine if things were being administered in line with both holy and sultanic laws. Precautions were needed to protect commoners from oppressors, and especially to reinstate order and address issues (rules and regulations) which have been ignored. It is important to take current conditions into consideration. It takes time to restore things that have been degenerating for a period of time. There are civil servants who resist reregulating matters because their illegal incomes would dry up.

Chapter one: Sumptuous clothes, luxurious accessories (foll. 6b-8b)

State officials of all ranks, and indeed all people have become used to splurging on sumptuous dresses and luxurious accessories. The headgear and clothes of religious scholars and state employees had previously been regulated, and people used to shame and warn those who ignored the

dress codes. However, nowadays this is a non-issue. Some people go beyond their means to purchase these items. On top of this, certain European ornaments have become fashionable. Dressing in such a despicable manner is called “elegant” (*zarāfet*) these days.

Bureau chiefs did not allow such extravagant expenditures in the past. And yet, nowadays no one denounces lavish dresses, opulent accessories, or garments that are not designated for one’s class or position. Moreover, officials have come to be appointed according to their appearance, which has resulted in incompetent people occupying the positions in government offices. As outer appearance came to be instrumental in coming by a position, non-pretentious officials felt compelled to go with the tide and dress sumptuously. In fact, the whole population of Istanbul became affected by this development. Those who did not have enough money to buy extravagant clothing used illegal methods to come by the means. People going beyond their means to dress extravagantly should be punished, or let go. State employees of all ranks should be encouraged to dress according to the codes from 20-30 years ago.

Chapter two: Increase in state expenditures (foll. 8b-10b)

Income for the treasury is insufficient for a few reasons, namely due to the rearrangement of salaries for campaign and other unexpected but necessary expenses. New income streams should be created for the treasury without being punitive on the people, and state spending must be reduced in such a way that it does not delay or obstruct the functioning of affairs. Old and new expense ledgers should be brought from the financial offices. Not only the ledgers need to be examined, but also scribes and other officers from the departments of the treasury should be interviewed. Competent officials should be appointed heads of departments and given some job security and autonomy as to how they manage their tasks.

The easiest way to reduce the expenditure line for salaries is to interview the officers, scribes, and other employees to suss out those who are drawing more than one salary. For instance, during the salary distribution, the officials should match and note the name of the person who receives the salary and the actual record in the register (*icmāl defteri*). Once there is a verified list of salaried personnel, the registers should be rearranged. Many officers in Istanbul actually draw salaries allocated to remote fortresses. Trusted scribes should prepare new salary registers. Those responsible for administering the registers should be guaranteed

their positions for a few years. Since this issue is delicate and not without risk, says Nihālī, he would refrain from offering his other solutions in this treatise, although apparently he had ideas.

Chapter three: Excessive numbers of state employees (foll. 10b-11b)

Gatekeepers, imperial scribes and other palace employees used to stay in their jobs for 20-30 years, gather experience, and thoroughly learn the ways in which the state administration functioned. Nowadays, incompetent people who have no idea about the conventions and practices of the state, find employment as scribes of the imperial council (*h'ācegān-ı dīvān*) or in other offices, due to their success in military campaigns or by giving inducements. These men do not care whether the tasks they perform are in the best interest of the state, or in accordance with the law. If an office has too many employees, there is usually chaos. One should not allow these immoral people to become privy to state secrets. The credentials of such employees need to be checked, and those who do not merit their position should be let go. One should keep meticulous lists and avoid enlisting unnecessary state employees.

Chapter four: The vulnerable and confused state of the peasantry

A: Oppression committed by viziers (foll. 11b-13b)

The viziers are forced to move often and to faraway posts either due to military campaigns, frequent appointments, or because they are demoted and penalized to lower-rank positions; sometimes all the way from Anatolia to Rumelia or Rumelia to Anatolia. These office holders extract their moving expenses and other costs from the local people. They have an income allocated to their position, but they do not expect to collect it for another four or five years. Being convinced that they will be reappointed to a new post in a few months, they do not care to invest time and energy to improve and develop their respective localities. They strive only to collect the income associated with their position.

The viziers should not be allowed to collect more remuneration than they have traditionally been allocated. Sanctions should be put in place to see to people's affairs in accordance with the law. Taking away horsetails and standards, that is, demoting them, is one possible sanction. The imperial palace should make it clear that the sanctions will be implemented without fail. If a complaint is submitted to the imperial council about an

injustice committed by a vizier, they should be punished without mercy. Nihālī also proposes that viziers be assured of longer tenures.

*B: Oppression committed by judges*³² (foll. 13b-14b)

The next sub-chapter deals with the injustices committed by judges (*qāḍī*) and substitute judges (*nāʾib*). Nihālī describes how some judges “farm out” their positions as if they were fiefs with a fixed monthly payment through the mediation of agents (*qapu ketḥudālari*) to “ignorant sinners and oppressors.” The substitute judges even add their own travel expenses and other fees on top of the monthly payment, and levy the amount from ordinary tax-paying and tax-exempt subjects. The local notables and high-ranking officers are also in on these schemes. It is difficult to describe exactly the injustices they commit against the peasantry, but everyone knows about these issues.

To prevent this, all judges must be given an examination in the presence of the chief mufti and the two military judges. According to the outcome of this exam, a new list should be prepared of those who merit the position they hold and those who are actually able to fulfill their duties. Incompetent ones should be crossed out from the rolls. If regulating this issue thoroughly now is not feasible, at least the substitute judges should [only] receive half of (“quarter of” crossed out) actual income. A system based on competence should be put in effect for substitute judges. Bribes, apart from the customary payments, for securing appointments should be prevented. Because there are too many *qāḍīs*, one may only obtain an appointment once in eight or ten years, which is one source of oppression (because judges want to make as much money as possible during their short tenure). However, if it is decreed that someone who resigns from his position this year can obtain another after one year’s interval, the judge will not experience difficulty and will see to the affairs of the people in accordance with Holy Law. No new positions should be given to novitiates. Also, judges should not take their families to their places of appointment, but travel with one or two servants. They should be made aware that they will be dismissed if they do not see to the affairs of the commoners in accordance with Holy Law. Things will improve only if a few judges who take bribes or behave contrary to the Holy Law are punished.

32. I am grateful to Akiba Jun of Chiba University for clarifying this section to me. He is also preparing a study on the topic, see his forthcoming “Ottoman Venality.”

C: Oppression committed by tax farmers (foll. 14b-16b)

Most tax farmers (*mültezim*) of fiefs (*ze'âmet ve tîmâr ve muqâta'ât*) and trustees of foundations (*evqâf mütevellîleri*) are in debt because of the extra financial contribution demanded from them due to military campaigns, or just because they overspend. In order to take out more loans from debtors, they mortgage their yearly income before it is even collected, and take on more debt with interest. When a subject in their jurisdiction starts to complain about the situation, they silence them with threats. This creates a vicious cycle. In order to obtain cash from ordinary tax-paying and tax-exempt subjects in their jurisdictions, they pressure them to sell their animals or goods, trick them with a promise of future income sources, and bribe the judges and local notables to turn a blind eye to the situation.

Fiefs should not be given to those who pay with cash taken from moneylenders. Fief holders who do not have an active post with the state should personally keep the fief, and others who hold an office should have their representatives administer it. For up to three years, no one should be allowed to take money from third parties to take care of their fief, instead the revenue source should be given to salaried agents to manage (*emânete tefvîz olunup*). Fief holders who oppress the peasantry should be punished and their right to fiefdom should be seized.

While previously the revenue sources (*muqâta'ât*) had been farmed out every year, in order to maintain prosperity in the provinces and to provide income for the salaries of state employees, they have been given for longer periods of time (*mâlikâne*) with payment upfront. Yet, with the idea that it is beneficial for the state, for some time *mâlikânes* have been distributed to whomever makes an upfront payment for a *muqâta'a*. As a result, most of the revenue sources went to tradesmen, usurers, local powerholders, and other base people. Their upfront payments are cash from debtors anyway. In order to collect, they oppress the peasantry. Also by giving the revenue sources to these types of people, the salaries of state employees are cut, and cause many more problems.

D: Oppression committed by overseers (mübâşir) (foll. 16b-17a)

Administrators and officers in the provinces disseminate unfounded accusations about the local powerholders and others (*a'yân-i vilâyet ve*

sā'irleri). They incite commoners to submit complaints to the central administration and ask for overseers (*mübāşir*) to investigate the issues. Consequently, central administration orders the provincial governors to send an overseer to the localities where the complaint originates from. Instead of dealing with the sources of the complaints, these agents are more interested in collecting their payments. Everyone knows that the local administrators and officers are also in on these schemes. Most complaints submitted to the central administration are about settling business, i.e., resolving conflicts or finding solutions to debt payments. In many cases, however, there are no real accusers or accused. According to this scheme, the subjects are penalized or their property confiscated by agents who undertake supervisions. Asked about their specific assignments, these overseers do not even have a clear answer.

As a solution, no agent should be charged to investigate trivial complaints. Tax-paying subjects should be protected.

E: Overpopulation of Istanbul (foll. 17a-18a)

This sub-chapter deals with one consequence of the injustices suffered by subjects at the hands of high-ranked state functionaries in the provinces (*ḥukkām-ı şer' u 'örf*). Tax-paying subjects have been abandoning their lands and migrating to Istanbul for some time. Some of these migrants signed up for *medreses* in Istanbul, others joined the janissary regiments. Still others are employed as carriers, servants, or boatman. The overpopulation of Istanbul by these migrants is neither good for the city, nor beneficial to the provinces. For instance, while the lump-sum tax used to be divided among the 100 inhabitants of a village; with a reduced population, the tax shares have become exorbitant. This situation created a chain reaction, causing more villagers who cannot afford the new tax amounts to migrate to Istanbul. Provinces have become devastated in the last 20 years.

A census should determine the numbers of people in various sections of society. The newcomers should then be sent back to their hometowns. Migration to Istanbul should be forbidden. Janissary regiments need also to be surveyed, and surplus people should be dismissed. Even the numbers of servants for the grandees should be limited. Local registers should be fetched to the central administration in order to determine the number of migrants and regulate migration.

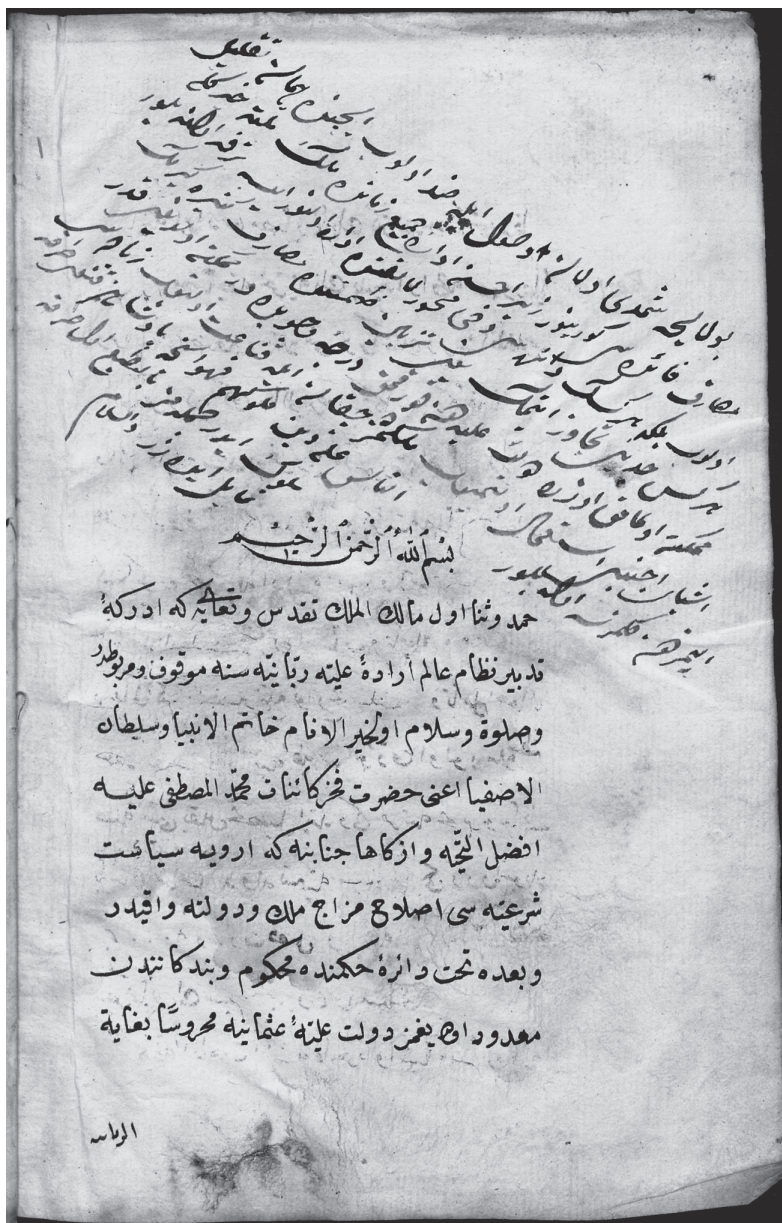


Fig. 2. Fol. 1b: The marginal note starts with a remark that “this treatise is contrary to the current methods” (*bu lâyiha şimdi olan uşûl ile zıdd olup*).
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Hakan T. Karateke, *The Vocabulary of Disorder in a Late Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Reform Treatise: Nihâlî's Mirror of the State*

This article investigates the context and circumstances around the composition of a treatise written by a bureaucrat of the central administration at the end of the eighteenth century. The short treatise was written after the 1768-1774 Russo-Ottoman war, but was neither finished, nor did it circulate. The copy studied here is a unique manuscript, probably the autograph copy. Nihâlî's observations share a number of similarities with other concerned observers of his time, but also some distinct suggestions. The present article focuses on the vocabulary that the author uses to describe the disarray in Ottoman state and society. A detailed summary of the text is provided at the end of the article, as the unique manuscript is partially water-damaged.

Hakan T. Karateke, *Le vocabulaire du désordre dans un traité sur la réforme ottomane datant de la fin du XVIII^e siècle: Le miroir de l'État par Nihālî*

Cet article étudie le contexte et les circonstances de la composition d'un traité écrit par un bureaucrate de l'administration centrale à la fin du XVIII^e siècle. Ce bref traité a été écrit après la guerre russo-ottomane de 1768-1774 mais ne fut ni achevé ni mis en circulation. La copie étudiée ici est un *unicum*, probablement la copie autographe. Les observations de Nihālî présentent un certain nombre de points communs avec celles des autres observateurs de son temps, mais proposent aussi quelques suggestions distinctes. Le présent article se concentre sur le vocabulaire qu'utilise l'auteur pour décrire le désarroi dans l'État et la société ottomans. En outre, un résumé détaillé du contenu du texte est fourni car ce manuscrit unique est partiellement endommagé par l'eau.

ELİF BECAN

TRAITER LE SILENCE DES MIGRANTS MUSULMANS DES BALKANS EN TURQUIE

À PROPOS DE L'OUVRAGE DE FRANCES TRIX,
URBAN MUSLIM MIGRANTS IN ISTANBUL

Les migrants musulmans balkaniques en Turquie au xx^e siècle occupent une place privilégiée dans l'historiographie de la Turquie républicaine. La majorité des travaux portant sur ce sujet se concentrent sur les politiques d'accueil de la République de la Turquie, ou sur celles d'exclusion des pays balkaniques. Ils s'appuient sur des sources administratives, diplomatiques et des journaux pour comprendre les trajectoires migratoires telles qu'elles étaient perçues par l'administration impériale, puis républicaine. Les migrations sont souvent étudiées à travers l'appartenance ethno-confessionnelle des protagonistes et la manière dont elle influence les décisions des pouvoirs politiques. Les migrants musulmans balkaniques sont subséquentement considérés en fonction de leur ottomanité et de leur islamité, ce qui a produit trois courants historiographiques au sein même de ce domaine d'étude. *Urban Muslim Migrants in Istanbul. Identity and Trauma among Balkan Immigrants*, paru en 2017, s'inscrit dans la continuité de plusieurs de ces types de discours tout en ouvrant une nouvelle piste de recherche.

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Je voudrais remercier Nathalie Clayer, Gabriel Doyle et Jovana Papović pour leurs remarques. Je tiens également à remercier Bernard Lory qui a accepté de lire l'ouvrage de F. Trix et a contribué à ma réflexion.

Trois courants historiographiques sur les migrants musulmans balkaniques en Turquie

Le premier courant possède trois caractéristiques principales. Il traite en premier lieu des migrations consécutives aux persécutions qui font suite aux guerres de la fin du XIX^e siècle jusqu'à la fin de la première moitié du XX^e. Les répressions politiques et sociales vécues par les populations musulmanes dans les régimes post-ottomans puis socialistes en Yougoslavie, Bulgarie et Roumanie, ne sont traitées qu'à travers l'identification confessionnelle, alors qu'il faudrait aussi tenir compte d'autres facteurs économiques et sociaux¹. Ce courant est caractérisé en second lieu par l'idée que toutes les populations musulmanes migrant en Turquie étaient bien composées de Turcs. Appeler « Turcs » des migrants musulmans peut reposer sur une confusion puisque le terme « turc » est parfois employé comme un équivalent de « musulman ». L'attachement confessionnel prime sur l'attachement linguistique dans l'espace balkanique jusqu'au milieu du XX^e siècle : dans la plupart des cas, la réponse à la question « qu'êtes-vous ? » est : « *Türk elhamdülillah* » [Musulman, grâce à Dieu !²] L'enchevêtrement de la turcité et de l'islamité repose sur cette ambiguïté et s'avère être la carte jouée à la fois par les migrants musulmans et par l'administration turque. Enfin, ce courant met en avant les politiques d'accueil de la fin de l'époque ottomane et de la période kémaliste afin de souligner l'institutionnalisation rapide et efficace des aides qui couvraient les besoins de ces populations. Le travail d'archive mené par Bilal Şimşir pour dessiner la trajectoire des migrations qui font suite aux guerres russo-ottomanes (1877-78)³ peut par exemple représenter l'idéaltype de ce courant. L'ouvrage de Justin McCarthy qui porte sur les massacres des musulmans dans les Balkans et dans le Caucase⁴ s'inscrit dans la continuité de cette approche, mais ce type de discours est surtout défendu par des chercheurs eux-mêmes issus de la migration balkanique⁵, à l'exemple de Bilal Şimşir. Ce courant, pour qui l'ottomanité et l'islamité priment sur d'autres formes d'identification, entre ainsi en corrélation avec la perception néo-ottomaniste qui identifie les populations musulmanes, dans leur

1. La question des terres et le développement économique post-impérial sont imbriqués dans l'identification ethno-confessionnelle. Voir Mirkova, *Muslim Land, Christian Labor*.

2. Clayer, *Aux origines du nationalisme albanais*, p. 43.

3. Şimşir, *Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri*.

4. McCarthy, *Death and Exile*.

5. Ağanoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Balkanların Makus Tarihi*.

ensemble, à des Ottomans. Par conséquent, ni le multilinguisme, ni d'autres formes d'identification, mis en avant dans des travaux tels que ceux de Nathalie Clayer sur le nationalisme albanais à la fin du XIX^e siècle⁶, ne sont pris en compte dans cette approche de la migration.

Le deuxième type d'étude pourrait être résumé comme étant à contre-courant de cette première tendance, puisqu'il insiste sur l'hétérogénéité des populations musulmanes qui émigrent vers la Turquie. Cette hétérogénéité est expliquée à la fois par la différenciation des périodes de migration et par les identifications dites ethnolinguistiques. Cette construction historique vise à analyser les politiques turques, bulgares ou yougoslaves et leurs applications à travers le cas des populations musulmanes identifiées comme albanaises⁷, bosniaques⁸ ou autres⁹. Cet idéaltype met en avant les politiques de discrimination dans les pays balkaniques et en Turquie, ce qui diffère de la tendance à la valorisation des politiques d'accueil kémalistes que l'on trouve dans le premier type. Cela s'inscrit dans beaucoup de travaux sur les politiques d'installation [*iskân*] qui ont démontré que la construction de la Turquie post-ottomane repose non seulement sur la religion, mais aussi sur la langue. Cependant, ces recherches ont tendance à identifier les populations par rapport à leur lieu de départ et à attribuer à ce lieu une identité ethnolinguistique. Non seulement la non-considération du multilinguisme constitue une faiblesse de ces travaux, mais c'est aussi le cas de la désignation des catégorisations ethnolinguistiques qui conduisent ces recherches à reproduire exactement ce qu'elles accusent l'État de faire¹⁰.

Certaines recherches récentes nous permettent néanmoins de sortir de ces paradigmes et de réfléchir aux trajectoires des migrants et à leurs identifications en nous référant à leurs témoignages. L'histoire orale et les travaux ethnographiques ont ainsi pris une place plus importante au cours des dernières années. On peut citer l'ouvrage de Gilles de Rapper, par exemple, qui a effectué une étude ethnographique¹¹ sur la communauté « albanaise » en Turquie, plus particulièrement à Istanbul. À travers

6. Voir Clayer, *Aux origines du nationalisme albanais*, p. 25-45.

7. Baklacioğlu, *Diş Politika ve Göç*.

8. Emgili, *Boşnakların Türkiye'ye Göçleri*.

9. Toumarkine, *Entre Empire ottoman et État-nation turc*.

10. Claire Zalc a récemment critiqué dans son ouvrage les historiens qui travaillent sur la période de Vichy et repèrent des juifs en France en fonction de leurs noms et leurs zones géographiques. Sa critique portait sur le fait que l'historien ne devrait pas appliquer la logique identificatrice du gouvernement. Voir Zalc, *Dénaturalisés*, p. 109-110.

11. Rapper, *Les Albanais à Istanbul*.

la vie communautaire et associative des « Albanais » stambouliotes, ce travail s'est intéressé aux processus d'identification afin de comprendre les regroupements autour des associations de pays [*hemşehri dernekleri*¹²] où les immigrants et leurs descendants légitiment leur appartenance à l'albanité. Le même type de démarche est également entrepris par Thomas Schad qui analyse ces dynamiques dans la communauté bosniaque à Istanbul et à Izmir, le rôle des associations de pays dans le discours néo-ottoman ainsi que leurs collaborations économiques et culturelles avec la mouvance du parti AKP¹³. Les associations de pays balkaniques constituent alors une porte d'entrée pour l'étude de ces dynamiques du processus d'identification et des discours sur les dénominations.

L'ouvrage de Frances Trix est une contribution importante à l'étude des démarches et activités des associations de pays balkaniques et de leur rôle sur l'(auto-)identification des populations issues des migrations balkaniques. Ce travail se rapproche de la nouvelle tendance ethnographique par sa méthodologie et son enquête, mais il peut néanmoins aussi être classé dans le premier courant défini ci-dessus, dans la mesure où ces populations y sont observées à travers leur identification confessionnelle et le rapport au territoire turc via l'ottomanité.

L'approche de Frances Trix, entre approche ethnographique et tendance à la rigidification des catégories

Urban Muslim Migrants in Istanbul. Identity and Trauma Among Balkan Immigrants est un ouvrage qui analyse à la fois les itinéraires de personnes ayant migré à Istanbul en partant de Skopje entre 1953 et 1965, et une association de pays, *Vardarlılar Derneği* [Association des personnes originaires du Vardar], fondée en 1950 et rebaptisée *Rumeli Türkleri Derneği* [Association des Turcs de Roumélie] en 1967. F. Trix met en avant les trajectoires individuelles de ces migrants à travers l'observation participante et des entretiens avec quelques protagonistes issus de cette vague d'immigration, qui font activement partie de l'association de pays en tant que fondateurs et membres. En étudiant cette association et ses membres, F. Trix cherche à démontrer que le choix d'immigration de ces individus a dépendu de leur identification au passé impérial ottoman et à l'islam. Elle soutient cette thèse en mettant en avant leurs expériences

12. Toumarkine, Hersant, « Hometown Organisations in Turkey ».

13. Schad, « The Rediscovery of the Balkans ? ».

traumatisantes du régime socialiste, établi après 1945 en Yougoslavie, qui les aurait poussées à migrer vers Istanbul. Le récit qu'elle met en place décrit ainsi le développement de la première association de pays balkaniques en Turquie et la place de l'islam et de l'ottomanité dans la structure et les pratiques associatives. Outre le fait que ce travail est le fruit de dix-sept mois de recherche sur le terrain à Istanbul, F. Trix a également fait deux séjours au Kosovo et trois autres à Skopje afin de mener des entretiens avec deux personnes se disant turques qui avaient fait le choix de ne pas migrer à Istanbul. L'étude de terrain ayant été menée au sein du *Rumeli Türkleri Derneği*, F. Trix a participé à certains événements spécifiques tel qu'un *mevlud* (cérémonie de récitation d'un poème célébrant la naissance du Prophète) organisé par l'association, la commémoration annuelle de l'arrivée des migrants à la gare de Sirkeci (en 2009) et certaines activités organisées par les membres féminins de l'association. Les entretiens ont été réalisés aux domiciles des protagonistes. F. Trix a également recueilli des sources écrites produites par l'association et elle a travaillé sur les bulletins de l'association depuis sa création afin d'étudier son discours et ses pratiques en se concentrant aussi sur d'autres types d'activités comme les kermesses, les cérémonies de circoncision, le club de football et la section féminine.

La question principale de ce travail ethnographique est celle du silence en Turquie, à la fois de ces populations et sur ces populations. Pourquoi ne parle-t-on pas du vécu des immigrants musulmans balkaniques ? La nécessité de se servir de l'histoire orale encourage F. Trix à poser cette question cruciale¹⁴. Elle pense que le silence est la conséquence du chagrin et de la mort, et elle cite trois raisons principales plus précises. Premièrement, les gens ont souffert d'un traumatisme qu'ils ont, nous dit-elle, refoulé. Deuxièmement, les migrants ont dû adopter des discours nationalistes en Turquie. Troisièmement, il a fallu que le temps passe : elle constate que c'est seulement à la troisième génération que les petits-enfants d'immigrés ont récemment commencé à étudier l'histoire de leur famille, puisque les générations précédentes devaient travailler et s'intégrer dans le pays. Néanmoins F. Trix décide de se concentrer seulement sur le premier point qui n'a jusque-là jamais fait l'objet d'études. L'étude du trauma est contextualisée à travers les discriminations, les massacres et la migration, mais

14. F. Trix dit avoir formulé la question du silence à la suite de sa rencontre avec Yıldırım Ağanoğlu qui travaille indépendamment sur le fait historique. Elle explique qu'Ağanoğlu avait déjà formulé les trois causes de ce silence lors de leur rencontre. Trix, *Urban Muslim Migrants in Istanbul*, p. 12.

F. Trix ne fait pas le choix de conceptualiser ce trauma. Il est ainsi représenté comme un processus linéaire de longue durée. Ce fil conducteur est incarné par la représentation de la vie avant et après la migration. C'est pour cela que F. Trix a divisé son travail en deux parties et qu'elle a décidé de commencer chacune des deux parties par un voyage en train.

La première partie, intitulée « *Becoming a Minority in Our post-Ottoman Hometown* », commence avec la visite du sultan Mehmed V Reşad en 1911 en Roumélie, plus précisément à Salonique, Üsküp¹⁵ [Skopje], Kosovo et Monastir [Bitola]. Ce voyage est le procédé narratif qu'elle choisit pour montrer à la fois l'hétérogénéité des populations en Roumélie, l'enthousiasme des musulmans à l'arrivée du sultan et leur loyauté à l'égard du souverain¹⁶. Ces observations poussent même F. Trix à suggérer que des familles ont suivi le sultan à Istanbul au cours du xx^e siècle parce que « l'histoire ottomane, dont les Balkans ont si longtemps fait partie, serait ancrée dans les mémoires familiales¹⁷ ». Le récit exhaustif de la visite lui permet d'énoncer le contexte historique et de décrire Skopje avant et après la dissolution de l'Empire ottoman à travers l'expérience et la mémoire des migrants, en intégrant les entretiens qu'elle a réalisés à Istanbul, afin de démontrer les raisons pour lesquelles ces populations musulmanes ont décidé d'émigrer. La partie est ainsi divisée en trois chapitres chronologiques : les guerres balkaniques, l'entre-deux-guerres et enfin la guerre de 1939-1945 et l'établissement du régime socialiste en Yougoslavie.

Certains sous-chapitres sont construits à partir d'entretiens et comportent le nom des protagonistes dans leur titre. Le chapitre sur l'entre-deux-guerres est conçu autour de trois témoignages ; ceux de Necati Bey, Hasan Yelmen et Hidayet Hanım. Avec Necati Bey, F. Trix met en avant la coexistence des communautés religieuses¹⁸. Le témoignage de Hasan Yelmen lui permet d'étudier la scolarisation des enfants musulmans et turcs en s'appuyant sur l'apprentissage du turc dans le royaume de Yougoslavie¹⁹. Il s'agit d'un sujet continuellement traité tout au long

15. F. Trix fait le choix d'utiliser seulement le nom turc de la ville. Skopje est mis entre parenthèses dans le titre du chapitre II : « The Home City of Üsküp (Skopje) Between the World Wars », Trix, *Urban Muslim Migrants in Istanbul*, p. 47.

16. « [...] wherever the padishah had gone, there had indeed been great love shown him. Turks, Albanians, and other peoples of the empire had all participated in this. », *ibid.*, p. 39.

17. « Some of these families would themselves follow Sultan Reşad to Istanbul later in the century when there were no longer sultans in Turkey. But Ottoman history, of which they had long been a part in the Balkans, would be imprinted in their families' memories. » Trix, *Urban Muslim Migrants in Istanbul*, p. 46.

18. « Necati Bey's Family and the Old Bazaar in Üsküp », *ibid.*, p. 54-59.

19. « Hasan Yelmen and a Life in Leather », *ibid.*, p. 59-64.

de la première partie, puisque la volonté d'émigrer en Turquie est justifiée par la volonté de parler « sa » langue maternelle. Le récit de Hidayet Hanım est raconté à travers sa grand-mère, Muhabbet Hanım, et sa mère, Sevdiye Hanım, afin de décrire la femme musulmane dans l'espace post-ottoman et d'y explorer des pratiques telles que le mariage et la préparation du trousseau²⁰. Le chapitre retraçant à la fois la guerre de 1939-1945 et le changement du régime contient également trois témoignages : ceux de Mukaddes Hanım, Hacer Ablâ et Kemal Hakimoğlu. Le récit de Mukaddes Hanım permet à F. Trix de décrire l'établissement du régime communiste et ses conséquences sur les populations musulmanes à Skopje, puisque Mukaddes Hanım était institutrice bosniaque et qu'elle a été licenciée à la suite du changement de régime²¹. Dans ce chapitre F. Trix décrit également une organisation d'entraide formée par les Turcs de Skopje en 1938 intitulée *Yardım Cemiyeti* [Association d'entraide], qui sera plus tard rebaptisée *Yücel Teşkilatı* par l'ambassadeur de Turquie²². Les deux autres récits sont liés à cette organisation dont les membres ont été arrêtés, emprisonnés et persécutés à partir de 1947. Hacer Ablâ est par exemple la femme d'un des fondateurs du *Yücel Teşkilatı* qui a été exécuté. Son emploi de costumière au théâtre de Skopje lui permet de devenir actrice au théâtre dit des « Minorités nationales », au moment où peu d'actrices turques montaient sur scène, nous dit F. Trix, à cause de la tradition religieuse²³. Le récit de Hacer Ablâ sert à l'autrice encore une fois à accentuer le besoin des populations turcophones de parler turc en public. Enfin, le témoignage de Kemal Hakimoğlu, qui appartenait aussi à la *Yücel Teşkilatı*, laisse penser qu'il était issu d'une famille turco-albanaise : son père était un juge turcophone, sa mère était issue d'une famille albanaise du Kosovo dont le père appartenait à la confrérie bektachie. Il se considère comme turc car leur entretien tourne autour du sentiment d'infériorité dans les écoles serbes et de sa fréquentation d'un *mescid* où il avait étudié l'islam et le turc ottoman²⁴. Trix explique même que lorsqu'elle lui a donné une photo où se trouvaient les membres fondateurs de *Yücel Teşkilatı*, il l'a regardée de droite à gauche comme s'il lisait en ottoman²⁵. Cette partie montre, en somme, que ces protagonistes avaient la volonté d'apprendre

20. « Muhabbet Hanım Weaves Her Family », *ibid.*, p. 64-67.

21. « Mukaddes Hanım and Her Family Survive the War », *ibid.*, p. 76-81.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

23. « Hacer Ablâ and the Turkish Theater », *ibid.*, p. 86-89.

24. « Kemal Hakimoğlu Cries for His Classmates », *ibid.*, p. 89-96.

25. « Kemal Bey started looking at the photographs from right to left on the cover, as if he were reading Ottoman. », *ibid.*, p. 90.

le turc ou de parler turc en Yougoslavie et de suivre les cours de religion. Cela pousse F. Trix à mettre en avant leur ottomanité et leur turcité. Même si nous pouvons penser que certaines familles étaient sûrement bilingues (turcophones et albanophones), cette dimension n'entre pas dans son analyse.

La deuxième partie, « *Taking the Plunge to a New Homeland* », se concentre sur l'expérience des migrants après leur arrivée à Istanbul et sur l'association *Vardarlılar/Rumeli Türkleri Derneği* depuis les années 1950 jusqu'à nos jours. Divisée en cinq chapitres, cette partie commence par une présentation historique d'Istanbul à travers le temps, avant l'arrivée des migrants dans les années 1950. Les quatre autres chapitres se concentrent spécifiquement sur l'association de pays. Cette partie commence avec la description de l'arrivée du train : la représentation théâtrale de l'arrivée des migrants à la gare de Sirkeci. Il s'agit là d'un événement commémoratif annuel organisé depuis 2009, fruit de la collaboration de plusieurs associations de pays balkaniques à Istanbul. F. Trix décrit l'événement en mettant en avant la mélancolie transmise par la musique rouméliote jouée à l'arrivée du train et quand des personnes vêtues à la mode des années 1950 en descendent avec leurs valises²⁶. Après ce prologue et le long chapitre sur Istanbul très détaillé, les autres chapitres traitant de la fondation et de l'évolution de l'association se fondent à la fois sur des entretiens et sur des sources écrites de l'association. Cette partie change de ton par rapport à la question de l'identification des protagonistes et des migrants. Même si F. Trix avait annoncé au début de son ouvrage qu'elle souhaitait travailler sur les Turcs de Roumélie, la deuxième partie est beaucoup plus nuancée, puisque dans certains passages elle fait allusion à des migrants albanais et macédoniens musulmans et au fait qu'ils devaient tous se déclarer Turcs²⁷. Néanmoins, elle ne s'étend pas sur ces points et elle se concentre uniquement sur les activités d'entraide et le discours de l'association.

Tels que présentés par F. Trix, les activités et le discours de l'association semblent être développés à partir de trois idées, l'ottomanité, l'islam et l'apolitisme, et ils sont périodisés en fonction des tournants politiques, tels que les événements des 6 et 7 septembre 1955²⁸, les trois coups d'État

26. « 'One suitcase, One Trunk' – *Bir Kofer, Bir Sandık* », *ibid.*, p. 98-102.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

28. Connus aussi sous le nom de pogrom d'Istanbul, les événements des 6 et 7 septembre 1955 sont des émeutes pendant lesquelles les maisons et les magasins appartenant principalement aux *Rum*, juifs et Arméniens furent pillés et endommagés. Voir Güven, « Riots Against the Non-Muslims of Turkey ».

de 1960, 1970 et 1980 et les guerres en Bosnie et au Kosovo des années 1990. À ses débuts, l'activité principale de l'association consistait dans l'accueil des migrants à la gare de Sirkeci et dans leur hébergement²⁹. F. Trix explique que le *Vardarlılar Derneği* a été fondé en 1950 par les migrants arrivés pendant la période de l'entre-deux-guerres, dans un contexte de politique anticommuniste et de discours ottomaniste. Elle constate par exemple que le langage des textes sur les règlements et les activités change au fil du temps et qu'il devient de plus en plus ottoman : *kurum* [institution] est remplacé par le suranné *cemiyet* [association], l'anticommunisme encourageant, comme l'explique F. Trix, l'adoption d'un langage ottoman³⁰. F. Trix nuance cependant ses propos sur l'ottomanité en mettant en avant les autres activités de l'association qui permettent à ses membres d'intégrer la vie stambouliote. Elle décrit donc l'adhésion de l'association à la confédération créée par cinq associations de pays en 1955, la fondation du club de football, *Vardarspor*, en 1954, les événements organisés par l'association tels que les cérémonies de circoncision, kermesses et concerts. En suivant un fil chronologique, elle met en avant la structuration de l'organisation de l'association avec la création de la branche féminine en 1990, les aides aux réfugiés kosovars, les financements partiels des mosquées détruites en collaboration avec *TİKA* [Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı, Agence de coopération et de coordination turque] et l'établissement du *Rumeli Vakfı* [Vakf de Roumélie] en 1995.

L'ottomanité est surtout étudiée à travers le changement du nom de l'association en 1967, sous prétexte que les membres ne représentaient pas la région riveraine du Vardar mais englobaient l'ensemble des Balkans et des populations qui s'identifieraient comme albanaises, bosniaques, pomaks ou turques. F. Trix reprend ce processus de changement de nom et explique que le choix de s'appeler « Turcs de Roumélie » plutôt que « Vardariotes » était lié à la résonnance que le nom aurait au sein de la société turque. Mettre l'accent sur la turcité était un choix politique afin de s'adapter aux idées nationalistes de la Turquie, cette « turcité » désignant « bien entendu³¹ » tous les migrants musulmans des Balkans issus de l'Empire ottoman³². Même si le nom renvoie à la turcité, le logo actuel de

29. Trix, *Urban Muslim Migrants in Istanbul*, p. 128-129.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

31. « 'We are those Turks', they declared in changing the name of their association from 'people of the Vardar Valley'. And Rumeli Turks of course included Albanians, Bosniaks, Pomaks, Turks, Yörüks, and other Muslims who had lived in southeast Europe and culturally were Ottoman. » Trix, *Urban Muslim Migrants in Istanbul*, p. 156.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

l'association renvoie à l'ottomanité. Le logo du *Rumeli Türkleri Derneği* représente, comme F. Trix l'explique, un soldat ottoman (un *gazi*) à cheval portant le drapeau vert (de l'Islam) avec trois croissants (turcs)³³. Le Rumeli Türkleri Derneği produit en même temps un rapprochement avec la dénomination *evlad-ı fatihan* [fils/enfants des conquérants]. Ces éléments permettent à F. Trix de suivre l'évolution du discours néo-ottomaniste au sein de l'association³⁴.

Bien que l'islam soit présent dans cette lecture de l'ottomanité, F. Trix étudie l'idée de l'islam en s'intéressant à l'entraide et au choix de fonder un *vakıf*. Elle associe en effet la fonction d'entraide de l'association au caractère religieux et obligatoire de la *zekat* qui permet, selon elle, de contester la lutte des classes³⁵. Cette analyse est pourtant problématique puisque l'entraide n'est guère une action purement musulmane. De même, quand il s'agit de décrire la fondation du *Rumeli Vakfı* en 1995, F. Trix choisit de définir les *vakıf* comme des « fondation[s] ou dotation[s] islamique[s]³⁶ », alors qu'en 1995, les *vakıf* ne possèdent plus de caractère religieux³⁷.

Bien que l'association se revendique apolitique, F. Trix affirme implicitement que le *dernek* a servi à l'anticommunisme et elle observe, à travers son étude des bulletins de l'association, que l'association a eu des relations avec des gouvernements successifs en Turquie. Elle explique par exemple que le *Rumeli Türkleri Derneği* est la seule association qui ait pu garder le mot « Turc » dans son nom et qu'elle est une des seules associations en Turquie qui n'ait pas été dissoute après le coup d'État de 1980. Alors que F. Trix préfère l'expliquer par l'apolitisme volontaire, cette tolérance du régime militaire pourrait indiquer la corrélation entre les activités de ces associations et certaines attentions politiques. En effet, Kenan Evren et Süleyman Demirel se sont retrouvés dans la même salle pour célébrer le 40^e anniversaire de la fondation de l'association³⁸. Celle-ci

33. *Ibid.*, p. XXII.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

35. « What is especially compelling is the critique of class warfare in the context of discussion of *zekat*. As the wealthier person gives to the poorer one, a bond is formed, and class warfare is turned upside down. Life is not merely the material, and Muslims need each other. » Trix, *Urban Muslim Migrants in Istanbul*, p. 157.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

37. Les premières régulations républicaines sur les *vakıf* sont entrées en vigueur d'abord en 1926 par l'adoption du code civil [*Medeni Kanun*] et ensuite par une loi spécifique, le *Vakıflar Kanunu*, en 1936.

38. Trix, *Urban Muslim Migrants in Istanbul*, p. 179.

a également servi aux revendications des migrants et elle est devenue un groupe de pression pour le transfert des droits de pension de personnes ayant cumulé leurs cotisations de retraites en Yougoslavie³⁹.

Dans sa globalité, l'ouvrage de F. Trix est donc une contribution importante à la compréhension de la question des migrations vers la Turquie et des associations de pays fondées à partir de la fin des années 1940 en Turquie. Cela dit, outre les lacunes dans la maîtrise de l'historiographie sur l'Empire ottoman et la Yougoslavie⁴⁰, l'ouvrage souffre surtout d'un manque de rigueur analytique qui est sans doute lié au fait que les témoignages collectés *in situ* sont considérés avec peu de recul. Cet écueil est notamment observable, à plusieurs reprises, dans des commentaires – dont quelques-uns ont déjà été cités – reposant sur des grilles de lecture pour le moins subjectives. Un passage évoque par exemple Istanbul et l'artisanat, en mettant l'accent sur la supériorité des migrants venant de Skopje sur les locaux, ce qui aurait soulevé la jalousie de certains Stambouliotes⁴¹. De même, une comparaison entre les jardins « beaux et fonctionnels » des dits « Turcs » de Skopje au xx^e siècle et ceux d'Istanbul au xvi^e siècle sert à démontrer que les musulmans de Skopje étaient les descendants « culturels » des Ottomans⁴². L'ouvrage présente les populations migrant de Skopje à Istanbul entre les années 1950 et 1960 comme

39. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

40. Dès l'introduction, la Roumélie est présentée comme étant une province à la marge de l'Empire ottoman, ce qui expliquerait que les habitants y défendaient des valeurs plus conservatrices (p. 4). Dans la même ligne, la Roumélie et l'Anatolie sont représentées comme les deux parties de l'Empire ottoman, écartant ainsi les provinces arabes (p. 4). L'affirmation que la ville d'Üsküp a changé de nom pour devenir Skopje donne l'impression que les deux noms n'étaient pas simultanément utilisés dans l'espace ottoman, sans compter qu'Üsküp n'est qu'une déformation phonétique turque de Skopje (p. 47). De même, dire que les Jeunes Turcs dirigeaient l'Empire ottoman comme une démocratie constitutionnelle est problématique (p. 24). Le royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes est de plus décrit comme si les lois et les régulations y visaient uniquement les populations musulmanes et que les signes précurseurs du régime communiste étaient déjà visibles en 1936 (p. 63-67).

41. « *Local Turks, some of whom were jealous of the skills of the new migrants, resented these migrants* ». Trix, *Urban Muslim Migrants in Istanbul*, p. 128.

42. « *But while the Western Europeans lauded the beauty of the flowers of Ottoman gardens, they preferred their own formal designs to the more informal asymmetrical design of Ottoman gardens. What is more, the Ottomans often included vegetables and fruit in their gardens, along with flowers. And they would eat the vegetables and fruit, or sell them, or give them to the poor. In this they were very much like the Muslims of Skopje with their back gardens that they remembered so well. Indeed, these people were cultural descendants of Ottomans, so to have beautiful and functional gardens, this was what a garden entailed.* » Trix, *Urban Muslim Migrants in Istanbul*, p. 111-112.

ayant préservé les « formes sociétales ottomanes » et les « coutumes islamiques ». Bien que ses expressions paraissent essentialistes, F. Trix montre à plusieurs reprises qu'elle a conscience des limites des discours de la turcité et de l'ottomanité. Néanmoins, elle fait le choix de ne pas les remettre en question.

Par ailleurs, la question du silence mise en avant par F. Trix peut inspirer de futures recherches et refaçonner la manière dont les migrants musulmans balkaniques en Turquie sont étudiés. Elle peut même nous permettre d'analyser les différentes composantes des politiques assimilationnistes, des discours néo-ottomanistes et des pratiques de la vie quotidienne. Si F. Trix a mis en avant la question du silence, elle ne la traite pas vraiment dans le corps de l'ouvrage. En effet, elle a étudié le discours de protagonistes qui ont accepté de s'exprimer devant elle et elle a choisi une association très visible dans l'espace public. Il y a là un paradoxe : elle n'étudie pas le silence, mais au contraire, observe une certaine forme de visibilité. La question du silence devrait peut-être être traitée en suivant plusieurs oppositions : silence / non-silence, prise de parole / non-dits et visibilité / invisibilité.

Prise de parole, visibilité ou silence

La grande majorité des immigrés balkaniques en Turquie étaient des musulmans venus de Grèce, Bulgarie, Roumanie, Albanie et Serbie, et plus tard du Royaume et de la République socialiste fédérale de Yougoslavie. Alors que les migrants parlaient le turc, une autre langue, ou qu'ils étaient bilingues, ils étaient tous perçus au départ comme des musulmans de l'ancien territoire ottoman⁴³. Leur appartenance ambivalente a façonné les critères de leur admission en Turquie, fondée sur les références religieuses, historiques et spatiales impériales. La catégorisation religieuse et l'identification ambiguë à l'ascendance turque [*Türk soyu*] a fourni une base légale à l'acceptation des populations musulmanes balkaniques dans la République turque et a facilité non seulement l'obtention de visas et la naturalisation, mais aussi l'aide à l'installation jusqu'au début des années 1950. Les concepteurs des lois sur l'installation de 1926 et de 1934 ont utilisé les concepts de « culture turque », « ascendance turque » ou « race turque »⁴⁴ qui, appliqués de façon ambiguë, laissaient place à l'interprétation. Cette

43. Toumarkine, « Comment être turc sans être turc », p. 409-412.

44. Voir Ülker, « Assimilation of the Muslim Communities ».

imprécision a été produite intentionnellement afin de donner la possibilité au gouvernement turc d'interpréter librement les conditions d'admission des migrants musulmans provenant des Balkans. Même si ces deux lois autorisaient la mise en place de régimes d'aide pour les musulmans des Balkans qui migraient dans les années 1920 et 1930, la période était fortement marquée par la crise économique de 1929. Il est révélateur que les populations musulmanes des Balkans qui sont *iskânli* (personnes qui bénéficient de programmes d'aide à l'installation) ont considérablement diminué entre 1936 et 1940, et le statut a disparu *de facto* après la guerre. C'est pour cette même raison que le gouvernement turc a accepté de signer une convention avec le royaume de Yougoslavie en 1938 sur la migration des musulmans de Serbie du Sud afin d'assurer une transaction financière pour les aides à l'installation⁴⁵.

La Seconde Guerre mondiale et la période entre 1950 et 1963, décrite par F. Trix comme la quatrième vague d'immigration balkanique musulmane en Turquie⁴⁶, a entraîné la naturalisation en masse des musulmans yougoslaves⁴⁷. Cette période fut elle aussi marquée par une dépression économique, et les aides à l'installation offertes aux émigrés en Turquie étaient insuffisantes. Cela se reflète dans plusieurs récits présents dans l'ouvrage de F. Trix où il est expliqué que les migrants devaient trouver des « sponsors » pour avoir la permission de migrer en Turquie⁴⁸ et étaient nommés *serbest göçmen* [litt. migrant libre, migrant indépendant qui ne bénéficie pas de l'aide à l'installation] pour décrire le fait qu'ils devaient se prendre en charge eux-mêmes. De fait, il existe dans les archives diplomatiques turques des documents qui sont des *taahhüt senedi* [certificats d'obligation] signés par les chefs de famille entre 1949 et 1959 au consulat général de Turquie à Skopje, dans lesquels ils garantissaient qu'ils migreraient comme *serbest* et ne demanderaient d'aide ni au gouvernement, ni aux fonctionnaires turcs⁴⁹.

Le développement des associations de pays balkaniques coïncide avec cette période. Elles sont créées par les migrants des périodes précédentes dans le but d'aider les nouveaux arrivants à trouver un logement et du

45. Voir Pezo, « 'Re-conquering' Space », p. 73-94.

46. Trix, *Urban Muslim Migrants in Istanbul*, p. 2.

47. Le nombre d'immigrés entre 1939 et 1963 est évalué à environ 200 000, en fonction des dossiers de naturalisation collective entre le 6 janvier 1939 et le 22 juin 1964. Voir les dossiers de naturalisation dans BCA 30.18.1.2.

48. Trix, *Urban Muslim Migrants in Istanbul*, p. 134

49. Dışişleri Bakanlığı Arşivi, Ankara, « Muhacirler – Yugoslavya », 15501684 (communication personnelle).

travail, notamment à Istanbul, Ankara et Bursa. Alexandre Toumarkine affirme que, entre 1946 et 2003, 166 associations de pays balkaniques ont été fondées et que les premières années de création pourraient s'expliquer par le climat de la guerre froide⁵⁰. La création des premières associations fut aussi encouragée par les gouvernements d'İsmet İnönü et d'Adnan Menderes⁵¹. Outre l'entraide, ces associations ont également contribué à promouvoir le panturquisme, même si leurs membres n'étaient pas tous turcophones. Ces associations ont également servi la propagande anticomuniste et ont diffusé des informations sur les mauvais traitements envers les musulmans en Yougoslavie socialiste, en Roumanie et en Bulgarie⁵². Ces initiatives ont progressivement conduit à la création de plusieurs associations de pays des Balkans, *göçmen dernekleri* portant des noms tels que *Kosovalılar* [Ceux du Kosovo], *Prizrenliler* [Ceux de Prizren], *Gostivarlı* [Ceux de Gostivar] ou *Rumelili* [Ceux de Roumélie] qui officiellement n'ont été financées que par des dons privés et les cotisations annuelles de leurs membres. Leurs directions et membres ont également développé un discours commun sur les identifications nationales et régionales, et une volonté de garder en vie un corpus de récits avec des références à la Roumélie et à la turcité. Les associations de pays ne tiennent pas un discours qui va à l'encontre du discours politique sur la turcité des migrants et cet élément est également présent dans les propos des interlocuteurs de F. Trix.

Depuis le milieu du xx^e siècle, plusieurs associations et organismes publient aussi des magazines et des bulletins⁵³. Fonder une association ou participer activement aux activités associatives est alors une manière de s'exprimer et de se rendre visible dans l'espace public. La vague de néo-ottomanisme est également présente dans certaines associations. Le *Gostivarlılar Derneği* [Association des personnes originaires de Gostivar], qui offrait par exemple des cours de langue macédonienne et albanaise jusqu'en 2012, propose désormais uniquement des cours d'ottoman sous prétexte que ses membres s'identifient davantage à l'héritage ottoman

50. Toumarkine, « Le développement des associations de *hemşehri* en Turquie », § 12.

51. Voir BCA 30.10.0.0 / 123.786.8 : Türk Göçmen ve Mülteci Dernekleri Federasyonu'nun Adnan Menderes'i Fahri Başkanlığa Seçmeleri (07.06.1955).

52. Toumarkine, « Le développement des associations de *hemşehri* en Turquie », § 12-13.

53. Voir Rumeli Türkleri Derneği Haber Bülteni (Milli Kütüphane [MK] 1994 SB 7). Les membres de *Ballı Kombëtar* exilés en Turquie après la guerre de 1939-1945 ont également publié deux journaux en Turquie pour la diaspora albanaise entre 1953 et 1975. Voir Vardar (MK 200 ALF V430) et Besa (MK 202 ALF B244).

qu'aux caractéristiques des autres communautés⁵⁴. La prise de parole se fait ainsi non pas en tant que Balkanique, mais en tant qu'Ottoman, en utilisant notamment le concept d'*evlad-ı fatihan*. Le *Rumeli Türkleri Derneği*, comme l'expose F. Trix, prône la dénomination *evlad-ı fatihan*⁵⁵ qui est aujourd'hui un récit anachronique renvoyant à une identité régionale, religieuse et ethnique qui permet d'exprimer la place légitime d'un groupe dans l'espace turc post-ottoman, construit, entre autres, sur la perception de « l'héritage » de l'Empire ottoman. L'identification à la turcité est aussi visible dans le nom de l'association. S'identifier à la turcité et nommer l'association les « Turcs rouméliotes » est ainsi une prise de parole. Il n'y a pas de silence, mais une visibilité et une revendication d'appartenance à l'ottomanité et à la turcité.

Ceci implique cependant un silence sur une éventuelle albanité. Jusqu'en 2014⁵⁶, il n'y avait pas d'association de pays utilisant le mot *arnavut* [albanais] dans son nom. Dans la plupart des cas, les associations qui regroupent ces populations portent des noms de villages, de villes ou de régions (y compris le Kosovo). Nous pouvons émettre l'hypothèse que cela est lié à l'existence d'un État albanais, dans la mesure où le mot *arnavut* est interdit par les lois sur les associations (de 1938, 1972 et 1983) parce qu'il représente non seulement une communauté ethnique et linguistique étrangère, mais aussi une nation. Le changement du nom en *Rumeli Türkleri Derneği* peut correspondre à la volonté d'englober toutes les populations balkaniques en Turquie, mais aussi à un non-dit sur l'albanité de certaines d'entre elles.

Il faudrait peut-être chercher le silence ailleurs aussi et se concentrer sur ceux qui ne se rendent pas visibles, sur ceux qui n'adhèrent pas à ces associations de pays, afin de faire une lecture fine des identifications et du lien qu'elles entretiennent avec les discours politiques dominants. Dans ce sens la question des pratiques linguistiques est centrale, étant donné que les politiques d'assimilation visaient, entre autres⁵⁷, des migrants musulmans des Balkans pour qu'ils se conforment aux principes de l'État turc. La langue et la mobilité étaient des marqueurs de l'altérité dans l'espace

54. Information et affirmation communiquées en 2013 lors de mes recherches de terrain dans le Gostivarlılar Derneği à Alibeyköy, Istanbul.

55. Trix, *Urban Muslim Migrants in Istanbul*, p. 4.

56. Il y a désormais deux associations portant des noms référant à l'albanité fondées à Bursa ; *Makedonya Arnavutluk Kosova Göçmenleri G.S.K Derneği* fondée en 2014, *Arnavut Kültür Derneği* fondé en 2016.

57. Voir Yıldız, "Ne mutlu Türküm diyebilene", p. 273.

public, et même le dialecte⁵⁸ pouvait être un signe d'étrangeté, comme le souligne F. Trix. La langue parlée à la maison subit une censure dans l'espace public et la langue turque est ainsi imposée aux nouveaux arrivants. Le quartier est une institution qui a un impact direct sur l'imposition de ces politiques et il met en œuvre le discours politique au niveau local⁵⁹. L'étude au niveau du quartier pourrait alors être une porte d'entrée pour observer les tensions et les non-dits. Le quartier possède un système de contrôle et de surveillance inhérent qui exclut systématiquement l'altérité⁶⁰. Cette forme de pratiques locales relève de ce que l'on a appelé la « pression du quartier⁶¹ » et elle façonne les configurations spatiales dans le voisinage et l'interaction sociale dans l'espace public. Selon la composition sociale et démographique du quartier, la catégorisation des populations d'origine migrante peut se faire par leur identification religieuse ou non⁶². Le quartier est sûrement un des éléments à l'origine du choix d'affiliation à la fois à l'islam et à l'Empire ottoman. Il est vraisemblablement une des raisons pour laquelle les interlocuteurs de F. Trix ont souligné leur identification à ces deux composantes.

La question du silence nous paraît désormais incontournable pour les études portant sur les migrations balkaniques. En s'imposant comme une catégorie d'analyse, elle nous permettrait d'étudier tous les processus d'assimilation qui introduisent des trajectoires d'intégration multiples. Pour comprendre ces silences et ces prises de parole, il faut toutefois aussi prendre en compte les politiques institutionnelles et les acteurs étatiques. L'ouvrage de F. Trix ouvre ainsi de nouvelles pistes et il nous permet de réfléchir à l'usage des témoignages dans les études sur les migrations en Turquie.

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58. « *There are Rumelian dialects of Turkish that are different from the Istanbul ones. 'And they would yell, 'Ma'jer, Ma'jer – a rude form of [muhacir] – at us'. This is similar to 'wetback' in America.* », Trix, *Urban Muslim Migrants in Istanbul*, p. 126.

59. Les procédures d'*iskân* montrent l'importance donnée aux configurations locales par les autorités publiques. Voir Ülker, « Assimilation of the Muslim communities ».

60. Voir Mayol, « Le quartier », p. 25-33.

61. Voir Çakır, *Mahalle Baskısı*.

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Mohebbi (Parviz), *Les mots et les choses de l'Europe en persan (12^e-15^e siècles). Le pays des Frangs, pierres précieuses et fines, pierreries, métaux*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2016, 244 p.

Fort de sa maîtrise de plusieurs langues, dont le persan et l'arabe, Parviz Mohebbi interroge les textes persans pour faire le point de ce que l'on savait du monde européen en Perse entre le XII^e et le XV^e siècle. Il arrivera que l'auteur franchisse cette limite chronologique pour suivre la destinée d'un texte médiéval intéressant. Toutes les fois où c'était possible, l'auteur a confronté les textes persans à des sources européennes, notamment italiennes. Il s'agit donc d'une contribution originale et majeure à l'histoire globale. Parviz Mohebbi a choisi de donner à son ouvrage le plan modeste d'un dictionnaire : la première partie concerne le terme *farang* « le pays des Frangs » dont le champ d'application est cerné à travers plusieurs sources (*farang* en cartes, *farang* dans les textes, *farang* diplomatique, *farang* commercial, *farang* technique, *farang* fables et merveilles). Cet ordre d'apparence rigide est encore plus vrai dans la seconde partie, où Parviz Mohebbi en s'efforçant de cerner les relations entre les Persans et l'Europe à travers le monde de la joaillerie européenne, fait se succéder ambre jaune, bague, corail, cristal de roche, émeraude, étain, malachite, rubis et pierres rouges. En réalité, du fait de l'intérêt porté aux acteurs, on a affaire à une véritable recherche et non pas seulement à la compilation organisée de résultats connus.

Farang, « pays des Frangs », le terme pour désigner dans son ensemble le monde des infidèles est dérivé d'un terme persan ancien *farang* qui existait en effet à l'époque des Sassanides mais qui désignait alors le trône royal ou le cestre. Mais la première apparition dans un texte persan pour désigner par *farang* le pays des Frangs est la relation de voyage de Nâser Khosrow en Égypte entre 1047 et 1050 où il est venu pour rencontrer ses coreligionnaires fatimides, ce qui donne à penser que le terme *farang* est une transposition en persan du terme arabe qu'il a entendu prononcer par les Égyptiens. L'origine du terme est donc frappée d'un mystère, mais son champ sémantique demeure mystérieux lui aussi. Si la cartographie du pays des Frangs a progressé entre le XI^e-XII^e siècles (cartes d'Estakhri et d'Ahmad Tusi) et le XV^e siècle (coordonnées produites par Jamshid Kâchâni), le mouvement ne s'est pas poursuivi. Même si la carte de 1662 mentionne pour la première fois l'Amérique – « *yengi donyâ* » –, elle demeure une représentation du monde en sept climats selon la connaissance antique et médiévale. Pourtant les textes d'histoire et de poésie abondent en allusions au pays des Frangs, les aléas des conflits et des alliances provisoires nourrissent les archives diplomatiques ; et le commerce des armes et des bijoux est une occasion pour souligner les capacités techniques des Frangs qui à la fin du Moyen Âge en viennent à supplanter les Chinois aux yeux des Persans. Le pays des Frangs demeure pour l'essentiel la partie du monde, diversement située selon les acteurs, proche tantôt de la Russie, de l'Égypte ou de l'Andalousie, où demeurent les « infidèles ». Cette lacune dans la connaissance a été relevée par un acteur important qui inspire le travail de Parviz Mohebbi : il s'agit de Rashid al-din, grand vizir de deux rois mongols de Perse, Ghâzan Khân (1295-1304) et Oljaïtu (1304-1316), et qui fut exécuté en 718/1318 par leur successeur. Son ambition était d'abord de rivaliser avec les Frangs pour construire une carte du monde. « Les Frangs [*ahl-e Farang*] ont tracé la figure et les contours de l'hémisphère occidentale et ils appellent cela *Bâbmundu* [*Mappa mundi*]. Et ils y ont représenté la forme de tous ses pays, de ses îles, de ses montagnes, de ses mers

et de ses déserts. Et pour le mesurage, ils ont un instrument de mesurage en parasanges [*farsakh*, 6 km environ]. » Le livre où Rashid al-din pensait transmettre ces informations cartographiques ne nous est pas parvenu. Mais on sent bien sa préoccupation d'y voir plus clair dans le « pays des Franks » par le travail d'histoire qu'il a accompli en 1305-1306 et sur lequel Parviz Mohebbi insiste à juste titre puisqu'il y voit « la description la plus complète et détaillée du pays des Franks jusqu'au ^{xix}^e siècle... Rashid al-din brasse un large tableau des pays européens du sud jusqu'à la Scandinavie en débordant sur l'Europe orientale. » Cette œuvre passa à l'époque inaperçue. Les Persans se souciaient davantage des avancées technologiques des Franks que de la délimitation exacte de leur(s) pays.

C'est à l'une de ces technologies, jalouée et enviée, la fabrication des bijoux, que Parviz Mohebbi consacre la seconde partie de son ouvrage. Mais il nous fait d'abord connaître le principal inspirateur de ces pages, qui, en dépit de leur allure de dictionnaire, vont se révéler passionnantes. Il s'agit de Jowhari Nishâburi, joaillier de son état, qui publie en 1196 un traité intitulé *javâher nâmeḥ-ye nezâmi* (livre des joyaux de Nezâmi). C'est le premier texte persan qui contienne des renseignements sur la joaillerie européenne. La ville de l'auteur, Nishâbur, est d'une étonnante avancée dans l'art de facetter les pierres précieuses, durant les ^x^e et ^{xi}^e siècles comme l'ont prouvé les découvertes archéologiques du Metropolitan Museum de New York. À ces connaissances des hommes de métier, Nishâburi ajoute une connaissance des classiques grecs (pseudo Aristote et pseudo Apollonios de Tyane), il est familier de Biruni qui, inspiré des Grecs de l'Antiquité, a formulé une manière de distinguer les pierres par leur poids pour un volume donnée (1131). Grâce à Nishaburi, nous allons suivre l'acheminement de l'ambre jaune de la Scandinavie à la mer de Bolghâr (la Baltique) où l'ambre est mise en vente. Le chapitre suivant consacré aux bagues va ouvrir une enquête passionnante qui demeurera ouverte. Nishâburi précise que les Franks « ont l'habitude de sertir sur une bague plusieurs petites pierres, chacune de la taille d'un grain de millet » ; de même, certains Franks paient le prix fort pour insérer dans les chatons des émeraudes réduites ou des rubis rouges. En confrontant les descriptions de Nishâburi aux ressources archéologiques médiévales, on aboutit à la conclusion que les bagues les plus proches sont celles de l'Empire romain dont on a découvert quelques exemplaires en Syrie. Tous les articles sur les métaux et pierres précieuses sont construits avec le même souci de croiser les sources. On retiendra tout spécialement les pages consacrées au jeu d'échec en pierres précieuses, à cause des belles reproductions bien commentées et du témoignage direct du marchand vénitien, Piero Vegliione, mort à Tabriz, qui lègue en 1263 deux échiquiers à des Vénitiens. L'article final sur les rubis et les pierres rouges constitue une conclusion de ce livre. On y voit les lapidaires persans s'obstiner à rechercher de quoi distinguer les vrais rubis (*yâqut*) des autres pierres rouges moins précieuses ; ils mettent à profit le savoir que livrent les textes antiques, le témoignage des marchands européens, leur connaissance directe de la taille et des mesures proposées par Biruni et qui se rapprochent de celles du poids spécifique.

Parviz Mohebbi, dans son ouvrage, nous transmet son estime pour les auteurs qu'il cite et dont il s'efforce de trouver les sources et les ressources. Ce sont des hommes du Moyen Âge persan que nous rencontrons dans leur débat difficile et compliqué avec les pays des Franks : avec une bibliographie complète et bien présentée, ces 242 pages constituent une vraie contribution à l'histoire globale.

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Winter (Stefan), *A History of the 'Alawis. From Medieval Aleppo to the Turkish Republic*, Princeton-Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2016, xiii + 307 p.

The past two decades have witnessed an immense increase in publications on the Alawis, with emphases on their beliefs, the emergence of their creeds, and ethnographic and sociological research. Among the outstanding works are: Y. Friedman, *The Nuṣayrī-'Alawīs*; M. M. Bar-Asher & A. Kofsky, *The Nuṣayrī-'Alawī Religion*; and F. Balanche, *La région alaouite et le pouvoir syrien*.¹ Because of their close ties to the ruling elite, the Alawis have played a disproportionate role in the civil war in Syria which began in 2011 – a fact that has increased the attention given in Western media to this community.

Still needed, however, has been a study on the history of the Alawi community focusing on political, economic, and social rather than religious developments. The book under review is just such a study. Its author, Canadian historian Stefan Winter, has done extensive research on the Alawis and here has written not only a synthesis of existing studies but – more importantly – has dug up many new sources about them, among which are numerous archival documents and records in Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, English, and French (cf. the *Introduction* p. 6-7, and the impressive list of mostly unpublished sources p. 275-279). The book covers roughly a millennium of Alawi history, from the formative period in the 10th century down to the dawn of World War II. Dr. Winter decided – we think correctly – not to deal with Alawi history after the independence of Syria, a period which certainly deserves to be treated in a monograph of its own.

The book is divided into six large chapters which follow a strict chronological order. Events and developments in Syria are central to the account, but especially in the final chapters Dr. Winter also pays considerable attention to the Alawi communities in the Turkish regions of Antioch and Cilicia. One of the main objectives of this monograph is to recheck the widely accepted notion that the Alawis have been a despised religious minority and thus the target of a continuous persecution which they could only escape in the “mountain refuge” of western Syria. But Dr. Winter particularly wishes to prove (p. 11) that the Alawis’ past was conditioned by factors other than their religion and their “otherness” in the eyes of surrounding communities.

Chapter 1 (p. 11-42) is titled “The Nusayris in Medieval Syria: From Religious Sect to Confessional Community (10th-12th centuries CE)”. It briefly discusses the origins of the sect in the Shiite *ghulat*-movements in Iraq and its spread and first formative phase under al-Khasibi, who settled in Aleppo and succeeded in gaining the support of the Shiite ruler Sayf ad-Dawlah. The subsequent conversion of the Syrian Highlands was a great step for the sect’s survival – though Winter points out that by then Alawism was probably widely spread beyond Syria proper. The crisis caused by Ismaili hostility and the Crusades was only overcome by the help of the semi-legendary Makzun al-Sinjari, who united and shaped the Alawi community in the 13th century. Only by then, according to Winter, was the transformation from an open religious to a closed, confessionally-defined and self-conscious political community essentially complete (p. 41).

1. Friedman (Yaron), *The Nuṣayrī-'Alawīs. An Introduction to the Religion, History and Identity of the Leading Minority in Syria*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2010; Bar-Asher (Meir M.), Kofsky (Aryeh), *The Nuṣayrī-'Alawī Religion. An Enquiry into Its Theology and Liturgy*, Leiden-Boston-Köln, 2002; Balanche (Fabrice), *La région alaouite et le pouvoir syrien*, Paris, Karthala, 2006.

Chapter 2 (p. 43-73) is “Beyond the Mountain Refuge: ‘Alawism and the Sunni State (13th-15th c.).” Here the author justifiably challenges the cliché of the “mountain refuge” by pointing out that the Alawis did not take refuge in Western Syria but simply left other regions because of the successful re-Sunnization in those regions by the Ayyubids and Mamluks. The defeat of another Shiite sect in Syria, the Ishaqis, is described in detail. Winter also describes the interesting tendency towards a more “orthodox”, stricter dogma propagated by the “clergy” (the *‘ulamā’*?) in contrast to the non-elected believers who remained adepts of popular cults. He compares this process towards a sharper delineation from the mainstream in times of external pressure with similar developments among the Cathar movement in contemporary Europe (p. 51). The absence of Alawis in Ayyubid and Mamluk sources of the time is interpreted by the author as evidence for fewer conflicts and a less oppressive atmosphere than was later construed. In Winter’s opinion, even Ibn Taymiyya’s infamous *fatwā* against the community may not necessarily mean that the Mamluks pursued a policy of persecution. According to him, the arrest of Ibn Taymiyya (in 1305) clearly shows that the authorities did not share his views, but did not take them as a basis for their political decisions (p. 60). The uprising of Jablah in 1318 was certainly a major crisis in the relationship between the Alawis and the state, but most probably not solely a religious conflict as later described in the sect’s historiography.

Chapter 3 (p. 74-118) is “Survey and Punish: The ‘Alawis’ Integration into the Ottoman Empire (1516-1645)” and Chapter 4 (p. 119-160) “The Age of Autonomy: ‘Alawi Notables as Ottoman Tax Farmers (1667-1808).” These chapters deal with the period between the Ottoman conquest of Syria and the early 19th century. Winter impressively proves – contrary to the common scholarly narrative – that there is a wealth of reliable sources on the Ottoman’s approach to the Alawi community. He discusses the so-called “Aleppo Massacre” of the Alawis, which allegedly took place in 1516, and convincingly reveals it to be a historical myth. He also deals with the “Alawi Rebellion”, which he downgrades to a minor conflict.

Winter makes use of *taḥrīr defters* (tax censuses), *dirhemü’r-ricāl* registers, and *mühimme* decrees to precisely define the Alawi area of that time. Numerous tables and sketches not only illustrate the Alawis’ presence, tax liability, and the various tax districts, but also testify to the author’s masterful skill in dealing with such demanding types of documents. Winter concludes that according to his data there is no evidence the Alawis were treated differently from the other subjects of the Sultan and that their religious identity *per se* was obviously not an issue for the Ottoman authorities. In Chapter 4 the author shows how individual Alawi careers developed in the 18th century. Due to the increasing decentralization of Ottoman authority and the installation of the *iltizām* tax farming system, strong local dynasties and notables (*a’yān*) developed. Alawis were not excluded from these positions, and *şer’iye* court documents enable us to track their careers and determine their social status. Winter discusses such topics as the rise to power of prominent tax-farming gentries like the Shamsin and the Bayt al-Shillit, the prominent Alawi notable Saqr ibn Mahfuz, the emergence of Latakia as a regional center for the tobacco trade, and the migration of the Alawis towards Antioch.

Chapter 5 (p. 161-217) is dedicated to “Imperial Reform and Internal Colonization: ‘Alawi Society in the Face of Modernity (1808-1888).” It presents the major events in connection with the Alawis in Ottoman Syria during this time of change and transformation. Winter emphasizes the historical continuity and consistency of the Alawis in 19th-century Ottoman Syria (p. 163). One of these events was the Berber Mustafa Agha’s rule over

Tripoli, arguably the worst period for the Alawi community during the four centuries of Ottoman hegemony.

The Egyptian conquest and following occupation of Syria under Ibrahim Pasha constitutes, despite its relative brevity (1831-1841), a watershed in the history of the Alawis. Of utmost importance, and still part of Alawi collective memory, were the high taxation, individual disarmament, and particularly the conscription of Alawi men. These measures resulted in a massive revolt which was harshly crushed by the Egyptian forces, leaving many regions of western Syria devastated, though archive records show that the devastation of Alawi land was not in fact what Ibrahim Pasha wanted (p. 187). Nevertheless, this conflict was once again much less about religion than economics, and Syrian Alawi historians see the Egyptian rule as on the whole positive because it marked the beginning of modernism. By contrast, Turkish Alawis still view Ibrahim Pasha as a tyrannical traitor. After the restoration of Ottoman rule, unrest and even anarchy continued in large parts of the Alawi territories, particularly in the north. As Winter points out (p. 198f.), it was first and foremost the lack of unity among the Alawis themselves which hindered the improvement of their situation. This was reinforced by the French and British refusal to defend their rights in the same way they protected those of the Druze and Christians in Lebanon.

The second half of the 19th century saw increasing Christian missionary activity, especially the foundation of schools. The relative success of Christian missions among the Alawis prompted an Ottoman reaction, resulting in the shutdown of many schools and the persecution of both missionaries and converts. Consequently, about half of the converts returned to their former faith (p. 205). What Winter clarifies is that the Alawis were in fact not the passive citizens as described in both Ottoman and Western sources (p. 208). Particularly under the governor Midhat Pasha, the state tried to give them more rights and administrative power (though with the ulterior motive of bringing them out of their “state of savagery”), but encountered resistance from the local Sunnis. In spite of the efforts to integrate the Alawis into the Ottoman state during the 19th century, the local conflicts (which also had a clear confessional character) kept the Alawis’ acceptance as true citizens precarious (p. 217).

The last, rather long, Chapter 6 (p. 218-268) is titled “Not yet Nationals: Arabism, Kemalism, and the Alaouites (1888-1936)”. Its main aim is to “document the ‘Alawis’ ambivalent relationship with the Syrian Arab, Ottoman/Turkish, and French colonial projects”. However, as Winter himself acknowledges, this chapter has a provisional character, raising more questions than it answers (p. 219).

The reign of Sultan Abdülhamit II was characterized by repressive attempts to “rectify” the beliefs of non-Sunni sects, among them the Yezidis and the Alawis. Many mosques and schools were built and reportedly tens of thousands of Alawis embraced Hanafi Islam (p. 222). During the last years of this Sultan’s reign, official policy seems to have departed from a concern for education and the rectification of belief and returned to a stern policy of law and order (p. 231). In the period of the Young Turks the Alawis were still not considered full and equal citizens – which Winter again says had little to do with religion (p. 236).

The so-called “Alawi Awakening” (*yaqza*) at the beginning of the 20th century and the disastrous effects of World War I are also described in Chapter 6. A long section (p. 244-256) discusses the Alawi hero Salih al-‘Ali who led the three-year resistance against the French colonial troops in Syria. Particularly interesting is Winter’s analysis of the situation of the Alawis in Cilicia after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. Although

some Alawi notables had collaborated with the French, most members of the community had supported the Kemalist resistance. However, this did not prevent them from suffering a very harsh Turkification policy in the aftermath of the war which aimed at the complete eradication of the Arabic language. In order to escape such a fate, many wealthy Alawis left the Sanjak of Alexandrette before it was handed over to Turkey in 1939. Today the Alawis of Cilicia are doubly marginalized as “Arap Alevi”, although in fact they have largely given up their Arabic language and also are not “Alevi” in the sense this term is usually understood in Turkey (p. 268).

A great virtue of this book is the numerous local sources, Ottoman tax records, and executive orders dealing with the Alawi population (often without naming them explicitly) that Stefan Winter has analysed. This has enabled him to present a picture which in its entirety is significantly, often radically, at odds with conventional wisdom about the Alawis. The book impressively demonstrates that Alawi history cannot be reduced to the question of their “heterodox” religion framed within a narrative of permanent persecution (p. 272). At some points of the book the reader may get the impression that Dr. Winter is too eager to free the Alawis from all pejorative and/or pathetic epithets like “heterodox”, “syncretistic”, “extremist”, “persecuted” etc. But he has unquestionably succeeded in correcting the conventional image of a secret, heterodox community which had to permanently hide in inaccessible mountains from Sunni persecution. However, at times the author himself uses terms he criticizes elsewhere in the book – for instance calling the *ghulāt* “ultra-Shi’i” (p. 12) and the Ismailis “another dissident group” (p. 18). One has to agree, of course, that it was rarely physical or state-organized persecution that drove the Alawis into the mountains of western Syria and hindered them from becoming fully accepted citizens of the modern states in the Middle East. What the book sometimes disregards is the power of social marginalization based on the still widespread contempt towards their religious beliefs which the Alawis suffered as a community. Religious discrimination deeply conditions the everyday life of a community like the Alawis and is not necessarily bound to state oppression.

On the whole there can be no doubt that Stefan Winter’s book is an extremely well researched study which not only presents a comprehensive and clearly structured overview of a millennium of Alawi history, but also constitutes a model for further research. *A History of the ‘Alawis* stands out for its accuracy and its masterful handling of a large variety of sources. It is a milestone in the historical research on the Alawi community and will certainly remain the main reference work on this subject for a long time to come.

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Tracy (James D.), *Balkan Wars: Habsburg Croatia, Ottoman Bosnia and Venetian Dalmatia, 1499–1617*, Lanham, MD-New York, Londres, Rowman & Littlefield, 2016, 456 p.

James D. Tracy offre dans cette monographie une analyse synoptique de l’équilibre des forces dans les Balkans occidentaux de la première modernité. À cette fin, il se focalise par une démarche synchronique sur les modalités de la prise de décision afférente aux hostilités et leur application en Bosnie ottomane, Dalmatie vénitienne et Croatie impériale qui

furent la scène de guerres aussi bien grandes que petites mais régulières (*Kleinkriegen*). Fondé sur une recherche archivistique intense mais partielle – la documentation ottomane est absente –, le livre comprend une introduction, un prologue qui contextualise l'arrivée de ces trois puissances dans l'espace ouest-balkanique, six chapitres chronologiques, la conclusion ainsi qu'une bibliographie détaillée, un glossaire fort utile et un index des noms.

Le prologue et les deux premiers chapitres traitent de la phase rapide des conquêtes ottomanes suivant les guerres de 1463-1479 et 1499-1503 et de la débâcle hongroise à Mohacs. Les chapitres suivants couvrent la deuxième moitié du xvi^e siècle – relativement moins étudiée dans l'historiographie – qui, selon l'A., se caractérise toujours par une expansion ottomane, mais beaucoup plus lente en raison des mesures effectivement prises par les Habsbourg en Croatie et, quoiqu'à un moindre degré, par les Vénitiens en Dalmatie. L'A. souligne certaines particularités expliquant le succès ottoman jusqu'aux années 1560, comme la supériorité en matière de logistique et de techniques de siège ainsi que les tactiques d'avancée territoriale plus réalistes et *terre-à-terre* des *sancakbeg*. Si la stratégie de la République consistant à utiliser la flotte pour soutenir les garnisons intérieures échoua sur le long terme, celle des Impériaux visant à appliquer une pression systématique le long de la frontière et à construire un système défensif soutenu s'est révélée plus adéquate contre l'avancée ottomane. En rendant difficile les affrontements majeurs et en imposant davantage de sièges, les Impériaux ont pu exercer une autorité comparable à celle du sultan sur les affaires frontalières. En tout cas, les deux empires ont pu mobiliser plus de ressources de leurs territoires alors que la capacité des Vénitiens à soutenir leurs bases balkaniques déclinait progressivement du début à la fin du siècle. L'A. met spécifiquement l'accent sur les capacités décisionnelles des administrateurs locaux, médians et centraux ainsi que sur les modes de leur interaction et de l'application des décisions prises. Il repère les modalités différentes pour les administrations impériales, vénitiennes et ottomanes et les analyse en fonction de leur rapport avec les capacités de ponction fiscale, de levée de l'armée et de gestion locale (p. 377-381).

L'organisation de ces trois régions par ces trois empires qui supplantent des régimes autochtones seraient donc, en grande partie, déterminée par une animosité incontournable. Soit. Or, les confins entre ces puissances se trouvent divisés et séparés plutôt par des lignes imaginaires que par des intersections naturelles. Dans ces régions majoritairement agricoles et pastorales, la continuité des terroirs, l'ancienneté des usages, les contraintes écologiques ou démographiques pèsent d'un poids plus lourd sur l'économie que les guerres et les délimitations tracées par les « nouveaux venus ». L'activité pastorale, que l'auteur évoque en passant (p. 159-160), tend surtout à se développer indépendamment des frontières politiques. Les crises récurrentes relatives à ces phénomènes sont souvent surmontées par une diplomatie frontalière efficace mise en place par les trois puissances. Ce type d'interpénétration et d'imbrication se retrouve aussi et surtout dans l'espace urbain. Ainsi, lieux et moments privilégiés de l'échange, les foires habsbourgeoises, vénitiennes ou ottomanes attirent un grand nombre d'habitants et négociants des villes environnantes, y compris ceux de l'autre côté des frontières. Qui plus est, ce commerce s'intègre dans des circuits plus larges de l'Europe orientale, de l'Italie et de l'Anatolie occidentale. Bien que cette interaction pastorale et ces différentes formes du commerce reposent sur des équilibres fragiles et se développent sous la menace constante de la guerre, pendant le xvi^e s., ils constituent une composante majeure que l'A., tout comme la diplomatie frontalière, ne prend pas assez en compte.

"Insularity in the Ottoman World", special issue of *Princeton Papers: Interdisciplinary Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* XVIII (2017).

The latest volume of *Princeton Papers* contains a series of papers by Spyros Asdrachas, Eleftheria Zei, Michael Talbot, Murat Cem Mengüç, Fatma Şimşek, and Kahraman Şakul, under the general title "Insularity in the Ottoman World", with Antonis Hadjikyriacou as a guest editor, but not as a contributor with a paper. The title of this collection of essays naturally brings in mind, since it is almost identical, the earlier important publication on the issue of Ottoman insularities, the collection of papers published by Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein as *Insularités ottomanes* (Paris 2004), including also a treatment of the islands of the Red Sea, and even of the Danube. And there are more earlier contributions to the subject, not mentioned in the introduction to this volume: the book edited by Elizabeth Zachariadou, *The Kapudan Pasha, His Office and His Domain* (Rethymnon 2002) and the 2001 volume of *Oriente Moderno* edited by Kate Fleet, under the title "The Ottomans and the Sea".

In his very short introduction to this volume of the *Princeton Papers*, Hadjikyriacou asks rhetorically "what is the purpose of revisiting this line of inquiry" (on insularity). His answer to this rhetorical question is that "the condensation of time as a result of the bibliographical rate nowadays means that the historiographical and interdisciplinary dialogue on these issues has greatly intensified" (p. ix). The study of islands is actually very much *à la mode* in our days, when the metaphor of the Archipelago has been used to describe the digitally but not spatially connected late capitalism, but to use this justification (it is a popular topic, so I am following the stream) for making research on an actually rich subject of early modern history and Ottoman historiography personally strikes me with its cynicism. Hadjikyriacou continues by making a short general reference to the "spatial turn" in historiography, arguing that the bibliography on insularity is a naturally possible contributor in this field of study; however, none of the papers in this issue discusses in detail this possible contribution in the terms of spatial historiography. Finally, Hadjikyriacou addresses a short criticism against the concept of "islandness" used in the bibliography of island studies, being himself in favor of reclaiming the existing term ("insularity"): "by reconceptualizing this term ("insularity"), one can explicitly add more attributes to the condition of being an island". I would suggest that in any case, the historiographic terms we use can and must be conceptualized of course. So why the criticism? Well, we cannot hope for an answer to that, since Hadjikyriacou finishes his five-page introduction, entitled "Envisioning Insularity in the Ottoman World" (half-copying the title of the recent book by Eleftheria Zei, *Visages et visions d'insularité*, Istanbul 2017), with the following argument, now not in favor of the term used in the title of the volume ("insularity"): "The study of islands is not an end in itself. Nor does insularity carry more weight than any other spatial category. After all, why should it offer a privileged access to reality?" (p. xi).

The paper of Eleftheria Zei ("The Historiography of Aegean Insularity"), serves as the actual introduction to this volume, and it is an excellent one. Zei analyzes in detail the evolution of the analytical term "insularity", from a study of the "isolation" and "particularity" of the insular worlds to the more recent critical exploration of the strikingly opposite possibilities of "interaction" and "connectivity" offered to the islands by their "archipelagic" or "Mediterranean" networks. Being an island is not a curse, but an asset, this is the central idea of the modern historiographical treatment of islands. Zei includes in her discussion also the problem of "micro-insularities", the study of the very small, remote, or

uninhabited (or temporally inhabited) islets, which might also have participated in larger networks. In this context, Zei discusses the model of the Aegean Archipelago as a Mediterranean “urban market”, suggested by Ruggiero Romano, or as a “dispersed city”, suggested by Spyros Asdrachas in a seminal essay translated from Greek, together with others, in this volume (under the general title “Observations on Insularity in the Greek World”). Finally, Zei explores critically the historiographic approaches of the Greek bibliography on the Aegean islands, evolving from the particularistic search for Greek communities in the 1980s to more broad and interdisciplinary approaches of the Aegean islands, recently.

Based on the study of Ottoman imperial orders of the eighteenth century concerning piracy and maritime violence, Michael Talbot argues in his paper that the Ottomans understood the islands as markers of their controllable maritime borders (*sular*), as opposed to the open sea (*bahr*). Thus, according to Talbot, “territoriality was a central part of Ottoman insularity, where islands joined coastlines in forming the limits of the Ottoman state”. These maritime borders were of course, as stated in an Imperial Order of 1779, “imagined lines” (*hatt-ı mefruz*), developed in order to stop western European ships fighting each other in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1669. Talbot, finally, contextualizes his study of these borders in the framework of “coastal history”, focusing on the diverse histories of the coastlines as spaces both bordering and connecting land and sea. This is a new and productive way of rethinking space in the Ottoman world, and the paper my Michael Talbot is in general a thought-provoking piece included in this volume.

The contribution of Murat Cem Mengüç in this volume consists of a presentation of Safai’s History of the Ottoman 1499 naval expedition to conquer Lepanto. Mengüç highlights in his presentation two main topics for historical information from this *fetihname*, the description of the naval warfare, and the importance of islands and coastlines for the provision of fresh water for the fleet. The full publication of this source would be important for maritime history. A full and carefully edited publication should also make an effort to localize correctly the toponyms mentioned in the text: for example, a locality mentioned as Kızıl Esre by Safai is located by Mengüç “on the Northeast shore of Euboea, across the Venetian stronghold of Chalkis, which the Ottomans wanted to seize.” Kızıl Esre is presumably Kızıl Hisar (Karystos), the big port in the southwest part of Euboea. And Chalkis, Ağrıboz, was Ottoman since 1470, and not Venetian in 1499.

Fatma Şimşek examines in her paper an incident of looting of a merchant ship carrying the Greek flag by the people of the small island of Kastellorizo in April 1892 and the subsequent investigation of the case by the Ottoman authorities, asked for compensation from the French insurance firms in Istanbul. It is interesting to note that the Ottoman administration enforced a blockade on the island and its communication with the outside world, in order to ensure the payment of the compensation from the islanders.

Finally, Kahraman Şakul deals in his paper with the Morea (Peloponnese), arguing that it should be treated historiographically as a “perceived island”, or a “miniature continent”. Şakul makes an effort to summarize the historical developments in the Morea in the years before the Greek Revolution, in their Mediterranean, Ottoman, and local contexts; he highlights especially the description of the Morea by the Moreot Süleyman Penah Efendi as a “republic of *ayan*, *hakim*, and *kocabaşı*, who considered the Ottoman provinces as their family inheritance”. This is a through-provoking line of argument, but it has also to be discussed alongside the developments in the southern part of the province of Rumeli (Gk. Roumeli, mod. Sterea Ellada), which also participated in the Greek Revolution and became a part of the Greek State after the Revolution, not being an island nor a peninsula

however. And a smaller remark: Evliya Çelebi, in his description of the Morea, refers to the dialect of the Tsakones (*Çakona*), not the “Lakonians” as stated in the paper. In general, this volume of *Princeton Papers* lacks careful editing.

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Rizvi (Kishwar) éd., *Affect, Emotion, and Subjectivity in Early Modern Muslim Empires. New Studies in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Art Culture*, Leyde-Boston, Brill, 2018, XII + 222 p., index.

« La Sensibilité et l'Histoire : sujet neuf. Je ne sais pas de livre où il soit traité. Je ne vois même pas que les multiples problèmes qu'il engage se trouvent formulés nulle part. Et voilà donc (qu'on pardonne à un pauvre historien ce cri d'artiste) – et voilà donc un beau sujet¹. » Il semble que l'appel lancé par Lucien Febvre, il y a plus de soixante-dix ans maintenant, ait été finalement entendu au vu du développement spectaculaire des études consacrées à l'histoire des émotions depuis plus d'une dizaine d'années. Aux États-Unis, où les recherches ont souvent été pionnières en la matière, certains n'ont pas hésité à évoquer à ce propos un véritable « *affective turn* » sur le modèle du fameux « *linguistic turn* »².

Le volume que nous propose Kishwar Rizvi participe de cette tendance. Se donnant pour objet l'art et la culture dans les empires ottoman, safavide et moghol, son intitulé met significativement en avant les termes « affect », « émotion » et « subjectivité ». L'introduction justifie l'opportunité de la démarche en rappelant que ces trente dernières années les questions liées au patronage et à la politique ont occupé les historiens de l'art islamique au détriment de problématiques davantage centrées sur l'artiste et la réception de ses œuvres (abstraction faite des importants travaux de David Roxburgh notamment). Il est vrai que longtemps a dominé l'idée que dans les pays musulmans on ne laissait guère de place à l'expression d'une « individualité » artistique. L'ouvrage se donne donc pour objectif, par l'étude de huit cas concrets, de remettre au cœur de ses préoccupations le versant subjectif de cette histoire en donnant corps d'une part aux catégories d'« intentionnalité » et d'« auctorialité », mais aussi en essayant d'autre part de reconstituer les émotions et les affects que pouvaient susciter les œuvres d'art auprès de leurs publics.

Les deux premières contributions s'intéressent ainsi à la signification culturelle des signatures laissées sur le fronton des édifices ou au bas des pages de manuscrits. Geste par lequel s'affirme l'individu, la signature permet à l'architecte ou au miniaturiste de se distinguer et de marquer son individualité en révélant qu'il n'est désormais plus le simple exécutant de la volonté d'un patron. Sussan Babaie montre ainsi que les signatures des architectes sur les façades des bâtiments qu'ils avaient conçus constituaient de subtiles insinuations visuelles de leur statut dans la culture urbaine iranienne. Dans le même sens, l'analyse des mini et micro-signatures que les calligraphes incrustaient dans les images ou

1. Cité par Hervé Mazurel, « Histoire des sensibilités », in Delacroix (C.), Dosse (F.), Garcia (P.), Offenstadt (N.) éd., *Historiographies, I, Concepts et débats*, Paris, Gallimard, 2010, p. 255.

2. Ticineto Clough (Patricia), O'Malley Halley (Jean) éd., *The Affective Turn: Theorizing the Social*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2007.

les textes des manuscrits persans permet à Marianna Simpson de comprendre comment ces marqueurs d'identité reflétaient à la fois des postures de déférence mais aussi d'auto-promotion. Emine Fetvacı se concentre sur cet autre signe d'« individuation » majeur que sont les portraits d'auteurs. Les auteurs et les illustrateurs de la cour ottomane étaient en effet représentés sur les pages d'ouverture des anthologies historiques et poétiques qu'ils composaient à partir du XVI^e siècle. Dans une copie du *Selīm-nāme* de Şükrü Bildisi datée de 1527, un ouvrage destiné à narrer la geste héroïque de Selim I, l'une des miniatures met en présence l'auteur, le scribe et le miniaturiste. Certes ce n'est pas la première fois que de tels personnages apparaissent puisqu'une illustration timouride, composée à Hérat en 1492 pour un recueil de poèmes de Husayn Bayqara (1438-1506), fait par exemple figurer le sultan entouré du même type de personnel. Mais il est significatif que dans la miniature ottomane de 1527 la figure du souverain se soit effacée au profit des seuls artistes. Loin de représenter un cas isolé, cet exemple est l'indice d'une tendance qui annonce une visibilité croissante des auteurs, des copistes et des calligraphes dans les ouvrages historiques. Ces personnes sont la plupart du temps dépeintes en compagnie de courtisans estimés, comme un moyen de signaler leur appartenance à l'élite dirigeante. Leur représentation idéalisée (ils sont souvent identifiés par les instruments de leurs corps de métiers, comme des plumes et des pinceaux par exemple) a pour objectif de souligner l'importance de leur rôle dans l'élaboration d'un codex. Aspirant à un statut social plus élevé, les chroniqueurs deviennent alors à leur tour de véritables acteurs historiques et les ouvrages qu'ils composent permettent de véhiculer leur talent et de soutenir leur carrière, en même temps qu'ils contribuent à façonner leur identité.

La question des émotions est plus particulièrement traitée dans la contribution de Christiane Gruber, qui s'intéresse à la mutilation des images dans les miniatures turco-persanes. Comment expliquer l'effacement du visage du Prophète dans ces peintures ? L'interprétation conventionnelle voit dans ces agissements une manifestation de l'interdiction de la représentation propre à la tradition islamique. Mais doit-on réduire toutes les interactions des fidèles avec ces peintures à des pratiques iconoclastes ? S'il est indéniable que certaines dégradations peuvent s'expliquer ainsi, d'autres ressortent davantage de penchants iconophiles. Il faut dans ce sens faire l'effort d'imaginer que certains dévots pouvaient frotter et embrasser la représentation du visage du Prophète jusqu'à la faire disparaître sous l'effet de leur affection. Ce que nous révèlent ces étranges absences sur la toile, ce sont d'abord toutes ces pulsions affectives que pouvaient provoquer ces images sur les spectateurs les plus dévots. Gruber nous invite ainsi à nous arracher de l'idée d'une contemplation purement intellectuelle pour considérer l'intensité avec laquelle on était prêt à investir affectivement l'art figuratif de la période. C'est aussi à travers le prisme des affects que Sylvia Houghteling nous propose d'envisager les textiles à caractère décoratif. Concernant la dimension affective que pouvaient revêtir les étoffes dans la culture de cette époque, le lecteur se rappellera que le véritable *best-seller* que fut la romance de *Yusuf et Zulaykha* raconte comment la femme du Pharaon essaya d'attiser la passion de Joseph en les représentant tous deux enlacés sur les tissus de son palais, tandis que les aventures du héros éponyme de *Sayf al-Muluk* sont déclenchées par la vision du portait de la belle Badī al-Jamāl brodé sur un vêtement. De fait, il est significatif que les soieries confectionnées dans l'Iran safavide fussent convoitées par la cour moghole et achetées en grande quantité par les membres de la famille impériale, non seulement en raison de leur beauté mais aussi parce qu'elles se révélaient de véritables « vecteurs de sentiments et d'émotions ».

On peut imaginer que le volume propose alors dans un troisième volet (mais cette tripartition reste le fruit de notre propre lecture) de croiser ces deux dimensions, l'affirmation

d'une individualité artistique, et la prise en compte des affects dans l'évaluation de l'impact esthétique, pour souligner l'émergence d'une subjectivité nouvelle. Le cadre retenu pour ce dernier moment de l'analyse est celui de la capitale moghole des ^{xvi}^e et ^{xviii}^e siècles. C'est à cette époque que Delhi devient en effet le théâtre de nouvelles expériences artistiques, et ce faisant, affectives. Selon Chanchal Dadlani, le *Muraqqa'-i Dihli*, un texte poétique composé par un jeune noble du Deccan qui renferme ses observations sur la ville, révèle qu'à mesure que l'autorité des Grands Moghols diminuait, de nouveaux types d'espaces urbains, tels que les mausolées soufis et les jardins, prenaient de plus en plus d'importances au détriment du fort impérial et du palais, autrefois les centres de la vie urbaine. Cet éclatement de l'espace aurait alors modifié le rapport que les habitants entretenaient avec la cité et les aurait invités, selon les termes de Dadlani, à renouveler la conscience qu'ils avaient de leur présence à l'intérieur de celle-ci. C'est à travers la *persona* d'un chantré de la poésie moghole tardive que Sunil Sharma explore quant à lui ces transformations de la subjectivité urbaine. Mêlant les tropes de la poésie classique persane aux audaces de la langue vernaculaire, les vers de Fa'iz Dihlavi délaissent par moment la description des foules qui animent la cité pour se concentrer sur les femmes qui croisent la route du poète et les désirs que ces dernières font naître chez lui. De nouveau, l'expérience individuelle, subjective et indépendante, prend le pas sur la représentation imposée par le pouvoir, et l'art s'offre alors comme un précieux document de l'évolution des mentalités.

La dernière contribution peut tenir lieu de conclusion au recueil puisqu'elle s'envisage comme une sorte de retour sur la méthode. Jamal Elias s'appuie ici sur diverses représentations de soufis mevlevi pour rappeler, si besoin était, que l'émotion n'est pas une donnée universelle et atemporelle mais qu'elle se conçoit davantage comme un artefact culturel, forgé par les spécificités géographiques et historiques³. Même si cet article tente de s'abstraire du cas singulier pour aller vers davantage de généralisation, il révèle peut-être à son insu qu'il serait vain d'attendre de ce volume une réflexion synthétique qui dépasse les diverses recherches individuelles proposées au lecteur du recueil.

Mais là n'est assurément pas l'objectif de cet ouvrage, qui avec la qualité de ses études de cas réhaussée par de belles reproductions en couleur des œuvres considérées, et son pari d'englober les trois empires ottoman, safavide et moghol dans un même mouvement en dépit de la brièveté de son contenu, n'a aucune difficulté à s'inscrire dans les modes académiques et éditoriales actuelles.

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3. Qu'on nous permette à cet égard de rappeler ces propos de Michel Foucault publiés il y a maintenant près d'un demi-siècle : « Nous croyons à la pérennité des sentiments ? Mais tous, et ceux-là surtout qui nous paraissent les plus nobles et les plus désintéressés, ont une histoire. » (phrases extraites d'un article paru en 1971, intitulé « Nietzsche, la généalogie, l'histoire » et republié récemment dans *Michel Foucault. Œuvres*, tome II, Paris, Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 2015, p. 1281-1304, et p. 1293 pour la citation). On sait à quel point les investigations historiques sur cette matière sont redevables, au moins en France, à tout un champ de réflexion né des études nietzschéennes. La question même de l'historicité du sensible a été posée à cette époque par des historiens comme Robert Mandrou, lequel n'hésitait pas à suggérer dans son *Introduction à la France moderne* parue en 1974 qu'au ^{xvi}^e siècle des sens comme l'ouïe et le toucher jouaient un rôle bien plus important qu'aujourd'hui.

Gharipour (Mohammad) dir., *Gardens of the Renaissance – Europe and the Islamic Empires: Encounters and Confluences*, University Park, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017, xx + 250 p.

This welcome contribution to the field of gardens and landscape studies is notable for its innovative approach that foregrounds the intertwined histories of Islamic and European Renaissance garden traditions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and offers thus a much-needed corrective to the general Eurocentric bias still looming over studies of the Renaissance. The volume brings together ten carefully researched and copiously illustrated chapters examining different facets of early modern European and Islamic gardens in dialogue with one another. It invites us to recognize the extent to which “the Renaissance was more than a European phenomenon” (p. xiv), extending arguments first advanced in the late 1990s in the context of material culture by historians of the Renaissance like Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton. In equal measure and equally important, *Gardens of the Renaissance* resituates the landscape traditions of the Muslim world away from constricted and (as Deedee Fairchild Ruggles points out in the prologue) often falsely coherent categories of analysis, such as “Islamic gardens,” and onto the much larger and interconnected world scene.

More crucially, in their cumulative effect, the chapters in this book demonstrate the near ordinariness and multi-faceted nature of the flow of exchange of knowledge and material goods between the early modern European and Islamic worlds, generated at times by political and at other times by diplomatic, cultural, or commercial relations. That contemporaneous cultures “routinely came into contact with one another” (p. 214) is brought forth most directly in the epilogue, by Anatole Tchikine’s insistence on the “lasting effects of a continual dialogue” in the *longue durée* and plea to look beyond the common diachronic view that Italian Renaissance gardens were “part of a larger humanist project of reviving the culture of antiquity” (p. 213). Tchikine is interested in revealing instead Italian gardens’ synchronous engagement with the landscape cultures and practices of contemporaneous Islamic empires, specifically by broadening the role of merchants from traders to “collectors” of botanical knowledge and unfamiliar flora they found fascinating and brought back home. The primarily local and practical nature of Renaissance Europe’s cross-cultural pursuits, the clear goal of reinvesting “at home,” is highlighted in other chapters as well. Christopher Pastore demonstrates how descriptions by *viaggiatori* (most famously the Venetian ambassador to Spain, Andrea Navagero, and the architect Francesco Sansovino) of gardens in the Muslim world (whether of Nasrid Spain, Mamluk Egypt, or the Persian and Ottoman lands) captured the imagination of Venetian nobles, prompting them to respond by investing their villa gardens with forms and design features they read about. Similarly, Cristina Castel-Branco relates how Portuguese Renaissance gardens’ increasing interest in the absorption of building materials and of construction and hydraulics techniques found in Mughal gardens began after Indian viceroys’ started returning from India; as the natural translation of direct contacts they had cultivated with the Mughals since the sixteenth century.

For these authors the point of “encounters,” that is to say forms of concrete interaction that in time generated the appropriation or adaptation of things new, is to underscore the impact of Islamic landscape cultures and practices on Renaissance gardens. These interactions were usually born through travels or travelers’ descriptions, but in rarer instances too

involved the circulation of gardeners across cultures. Laurent Paya tells the intriguing story of two Ottoman brothers who served as gardeners to the King of France, Francis I, at Blois and Fontainebleau and whose presence, the author suggests, may have ushered in a taste for the “tapis de turqueries” (parterres in the way of “Turkish carpets”) and the development of botanical gardens and acclimatization of exotic plants.

If “encounters” provide a useful conceptual frame to underscore the tangible impact of Islamic landscape cultures and practices on Renaissance gardens, intimations of “confluences” between cultures, by contrast, point immediately to the challenge of identifying source and receiver. Gharipour presents the problem at the outset: “Are such concurrent developments in European and Islamic gardens the result of concurrent political and social changes in both regions, or could these garden design traditions have mutually influenced one another?” (p. xv). While the question is left necessarily unanswered, it opens up to interesting conceptual reconfigurations: The possibility of shared traditions that drew on common legacies or coalesced through *longue durée* transmissions or – at least among ruling elites – concurrent cultural paradigms. This is hinted at in the essay by Simone Kaiser, who tentatively attributes her observations of concurrencies between Ottoman princely palaces and Roman villa gardens to reflections of their respective political system, social hierarchy, and the “ethical values of their owners’ cultures” (p. 35). Seeing specifically the art of the garden as an expression of civilization not only in the broad sense of culture but equally in the sense of the “state of refinement and progress of humanity that is to be regained or appropriated and improved” (*civis, civitas*, p. 33), she suggests that both Ottoman palaces and Roman villa gardens “constituted a stage for outdoing each other in the competition for political and cultural superiority” (p. 49).

The chapters by Gharipour on Safavid gardens and Jill Sinclair and Ebba Koch on Mughal gardens, all of which draw analogies with Italian Renaissance gardens, complicate the parameters of confluences by pointing also to an unmistakable diachronic transmission of ideas and knowledge from Timurid garden traditions. Jill Sinclair focuses on the new relationship of dwelling and garden with the wider landscape that she perceives both in Italy and in the Mughal Empire early in the sixteenth century. The lushly planted early gardens of the first Mughal emperor Babur were all situated outside city walls, on hilltops around Kabul and Samarkand, open to and overlooking the natural landscape around them, bearing the stamp of the fourteenth-century gardens he had seen during his travels across Central Asia. Similarly and at around the same time, a new sort of engagement with the surrounding landscapes became central to the experience of Roman villa gardens, such as the Villa Madama, the first garden to be built outside Rome and situated on the Monte Mario above the city, a demonstration of “humanity’s dominance over nature” (p. 81). Gharipour’s observations of change in Safavid garden design at the turn of the seventeenth century speak likewise of gardens’ new relationship with their surroundings, this time, their urban environment. Using the famous Chaharbagh of Shah Abbas’s new imperial capital Isfahan as illustration, he suggests that with their increasing integration in the urban fabric gardens acquired a more public social function – a novelty in itself if compared to the strictly private gardens of pre-Safavid times. The Chaharbagh Street, as he calls it, was conceived from the start as a public promenade integral to the new capital city’s master plan, as the city’s main axis, no less, designed to connect the two sides of the Zayanderud River – the Naqsh-e Jahan Square on the northern side to the Armenian quarter of Julfa, to the south. This changing relationship between city and garden, observable also in Renaissance Italy, was facilitated by advancements in hydraulic irrigation technologies – in the

case of Isfahan, a new type of water-distribution system (*madis*) spread throughout the city and incorporated into the design of public buildings such as mosques or madrasas. For the author, the extent to which these confluences suggest a transmission of ideas one way or the other remains unclear but does not undermine the importance of a diachronic connection with Ilkhanid and Timurid designs of gardens as urban cores, as those in Nasriyya, on the outskirts of Tabriz, in Samarkand, and particularly, in Herat, the city in which Shah Abbas was born and grew up.

The question of encounter or confluence is taken on by Ebba Koch in her compelling chapter on one of the most curious aspects of Mughal imperial garden design, namely, the artistic manipulation of nature, an interest widespread in the Italian Renaissance as well. Koch makes it clear that neither this shared concern for artificial manipulation nor its obvious symbolism as a demonstration of (human) power can be attributed to a direct transmission between the two cultures. Instead, she proposes, it reveals a synchronicity of approach in garden architecture, “synchronous connections,” as she calls them, which can be better understood in the context of the changing conceptualization of rulership in the early modern period that gave particular significance to the act of transforming nature through artifice. In the Mughal Empire, the concern to achieve an illusory transformation of nature was particularly evident in Jahangir’s gardens (through his creation of grottoes, rock-cut elephants, trees outfitted with imperial seats, inscriptions with dynastic and political messages, among others). This particular form of manipulation, “accentuated with a dynastic imprint” (p. 206), was central to Jahangir’s program to broadcast his imperial control over all his territories. In this respect, his acts came closest than any ruler’s to new ideals of rulership, such as formulated by Bacon, which appealed to rulers’ self-empowerment through “learning and scientific research to be able to understand the nature of things and thus remain in control” (p. 204). That Jahangir’s act drew on old Indo-Persianate symbolic associations between kinship and garden is not surprising, but as Koch convincingly argues, it had an entirely new twist: No longer was the ruler to represent “the good gardener” concerned with his lands’ agricultural advancements; he was “the dynastically legitimated king who claims the land as his own by artistic means” (p. 206).

This innovative collection of studies is an important read for students of Islamic landscape history and would offer a refreshing perspective for all those interested in Renaissance studies and in cross-cultural connections between Europe and the Muslim world.

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Philipps (Amanda), *Everyday Luxuries. Art and Objects in Ottoman Constantinople, 1600-1800*, Dortmund, Verlag Kettler, [2016], 197 p.

Amanda Phillips veut faire de l’histoire de l’art « islamique » autrement, en oubliant la fascination pour les « chefs d’œuvre » et en replaçant les objets dans leur contexte de production et de consommation, en l’occurrence à Istanbul à l’époque moderne. Plus précisément, elle a choisi de se détourner des cercles du Palais mais, sans doute en partie pour des raisons de conservation, de se concentrer sur des objets luxueux d’usage en ville,

en se fondant sur des registres publiés de cadis stambouliotes (notamment sur des inventaires après-décès) et sur une littérature secondaire abondante, mais quasi exclusivement en anglais et dans une moindre mesure en turc, ce qui est assez contestable¹. Elle illustre son propos en étudiant successivement la céramique, les textiles et enfin la peinture et les livres dans trois chapitres où alternent des exposés systématiques et l'analyse d'objets particuliers dont les photos (malheureusement référencées par numéro et non par page) illustrent le propos.

Un premier chapitre (*Art, Objects and Dayly Life in Constantinople, 1600-1800*, p. 11-48) sert d'introduction générale. Plusieurs sujets y sont évoqués assez rapidement : les pratiques (dépassées) des historiens de l'art islamique, les principales sources utilisées, les évolutions des modes, la ville d'Istanbul, les marchés, les maisons et leurs décors. Le tout, traité en une quarantaine de pages, laisse le lecteur un peu sur sa faim. Le développement le plus utile est certainement celui consacré à l'aménagement des maisons².

Le deuxième chapitre (*Ceramics, Food, and Drink : Sociability at Home*, p. 49-78) propose d'abord un historique des productions ottomanes et des importations (Chine principalement). Une partie bienvenue concerne les objets en *tin-i mahtûm* – la *terra siggillata* de Lemnos qui eut un concurrent, ou une contrefaçon, à Eyüp –, objets pour la boisson non vernis, car leur matière avait une valeur médicinale et protégeait des poisons. Quelques pages sont consacrées à l'importance sociale du riz et du pilaf, pour lequel des plats et bols de dimensions particulières étaient conçus. Mais la sociabilité tournait surtout autour du café, produit de consommation courante auquel étaient dédiés des objets aussi bien humbles que luxueux, voire des ensembles comportant plateaux, nappes brodées et serviettes assez belles pour être données aux hôtes qu'on recevait. Les confitures, servies dans des cuillers en matériaux précieux, et les *şerbet* exigeaient également des services particuliers. Autant d'objets qui, somptueux ou modestes, faisaient partie de la vie quotidienne tout en pouvant servir à afficher le statut de leurs propriétaires qui, parfois, les exposaient quand ils ne servaient pas.

Le troisième chapitre (*The Material of Material Culture : Textiles in the Empire and Beyond*, p. 79-110) traite d'un élément essentiel de l'ameublement ottoman : les textiles (tissus de laine ou soie, brocarts, tapis, feutre...) qui recouvraient matelas et coussins, pendaient aux murs et servaient de rideaux, s'étaient sur les sols et, tout en apportant un confort quotidien, affichaient la fortune et le bon goût de leur propriétaire. Pour reprendre les mots mêmes d'A. Phillips (p. 80), « This chapter attempts to map a topography of textiles, showing the interplay between the types of fibers, the functions of the finished textiles and their decoration, and even the categories of textile structure. » Concrètement, elle traite d'abord de la luxueuse production de soierie de Bursa et notamment des *çatma*, puis de la broderie réalisée par des artisans spécialisés, mais surtout par les femmes de la maison. Une partie est consacrée à la soie et aux soieries de Chio, produites en fonction des attentes d'une clientèle vaste et diverse, monastères chrétiens comme pieux musulmans achetant des tapis de prière. Les soieries de Chio montrent ainsi « les relations entre mode et foi, comme entre producteurs et consommateurs » (p. 101). De même, les tapis, d'origines diverses, tôt exportés en Occident mais aussi importés d'Iran, pouvaient servir à de nombreux usages.

1. Peut-être les travaux de Colette Establet et Jean-Paul Pascual fondés sur les inventaires après-décès de Damas auraient-ils pu l'intéresser ?

2. Signalons au passage que les travaux de Pierre Pinon ou Stéphane Yerasimos (il est vrai principalement en français, mais pas tous) ne sont pas mobilisés.

Le quatrième chapitre (*Ottoman Paintings : Consuming the City in Words and Images*, p. 111-141) est peut-être le plus réussi. A. Phillips y montre comment des peintures de petit format du XVIII^e siècle, qui faisaient apparemment partie d'un recueil plus important, doivent être regardées en fonction du contexte culturel stambouliote du temps : on y retrouve des réalités matérielles ancrées dans l'époque et le lieu (en ce qui concerne le vêtement et l'évolution des modes, les plaisirs de plein air, la séparation des sexes, des allusions picturales sur certaines des images aux paysages des environs d'Istanbul), mais aussi des jeux de symboles traditionnels tant dans l'art du peintre que dans les poèmes qui accompagnent les images et qui leur donnent un sens. Bien plus, A. Phillips souligne un effet de mise en abîme, le beau jeune homme courtois d'une miniature ayant précisément entre les mains un album qui a toute chance d'être un recueil de poèmes illustrés, un de ces objets d'art pictural et littéraire autour desquels on se rassemblait pour les commenter et faire assaut d'esprit et de poésie. Le chapitre se conclut par des considérations sur les métiers et l'économie du livre dans Istanbul à cette époque, le livre qui « est à la fois objet de luxe, d'usage et de consommation, tout de même qu'une tenture de soie ou une tasse à café » (p. 139).

La conclusion revient sur les leçons qu'A. Phillips entend tirer de son étude. Elle note que les Ottomans évaluaient moins les objets en fonction de leur beauté idéale que de l'abondance des matières précieuses dont ils étaient faits. Elle engage donc les historiens de l'art à changer de méthode de travail et à voir les objets comme les Ottomans les voyaient, à s'intéresser à la production de masse en se souvenant que bien des objets, parmi les plus beaux, sont le produit du travail anonyme de plusieurs artisans successifs et que, par la suite, ils ont eu une longue histoire, passant de main en main, utilisés, modifiés, abîmés au cours du temps. Il conviendrait donc de se débarrasser de la vision romantique du chef d'œuvre qui nous amène à isoler de « beaux » objets dans les vitrines des musées.

L'auteur du présent compte-rendu, n'étant pas historien de l'art, se gardera d'intervenir dans le débat. Qu'on lui permette cependant de rappeler que Levni a signé certaines de ses œuvres. D'un point de vue moins anecdotique, nul ne saurait nier la nécessité de chercher à comprendre et à faire comprendre la signification des objets « d'art » pour leur premier public. Mais puisque les objets vivent, sommes-nous si coupables d'en avoir fait, parce que nous les avons admirés et aimés, des « objets de musée » ? Ce n'est après tout que leur dernier avatar.

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Peacock (Andrew Charles Spencer), Gallop (Annabel Teh) éd., *From Anatolia to Aceh. Ottomans, Turks, and Southeast Asia*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015, xvii + 348 p.

Ce volume réunit quatorze contributions et se divise en trois parties portant sur les rapports économiques, politiques et culturels entre l'espace ottoman et l'Insulinde à l'âge moderne. Comme les éditeurs de l'ouvrage le soulignent dans leur introduction, ce projet comble une lacune majeure en ce qui concerne les relations entre le Moyen-Orient et l'Asie du Sud-Est. En effet, il existe très peu d'études dans ce dernier domaine et celles-ci portent souvent sur la diffusion de l'Islam ou sur les liens économiques avec la péninsule

Arabique. Une première raison de cette lacune selon les éditeurs serait de nature linguistique, les sources disponibles étant écrites dans une large gamme de langues « orientales ». La raison plus profonde résiderait dans l'organisation des départements et des programmes des études régionales dans lesquelles les experts restent trop souvent enfermés dans leurs champs de spécialisation.

Pour ce qui est particulièrement de l'objet de ce volume, comme le souligne Anthony Reid (p. 25) dans son évaluation historiographique, il semble que jusqu'à présent, seules deux périodes (le XVI^e siècle et le tournant du XX^e siècle) aient fait l'objet d'études approfondies. Pour autant une certaine familiarité du public musulman du Sud-Est asiatique avec les sultans et la culture de *Rûm* et *vice versa* existe tout au long de la période moderne. Plusieurs contributions dans ce volume portent justement sur les traces de cette familiarité qu'on peut constater puis évaluer à travers la lecture approfondie des textes littéraires, des registres douaniers, des colophons ou encore des chaînes de transmission d'ordres soufis.

La première partie comprend la discussion de Jorge Alves sur le rôle joué par les réseaux juifs et chrétiens nouveaux dans les relations entre les Achenais et les Ottomans au cours des années 1550-1570 ; l'étude de Peacock sur les échanges commerciaux et leurs acteurs ; l'article détaillé de Kathirithamby-Wells sur le rôle des Hadhramis dans les rapports diplomatiques, économiques et confraternels ainsi que l'enquête scrupuleuse d'Isaac Donoso sur les relations peu connues entre les Ottomans et les sultanats du sud de Sulu et de Maguindanao tout au long du XVIII^e siècle.

La deuxième partie commence par l'article de William Clarence-Smith sur les relations entre les nouveaux seigneurs américains des Philippines et les émissaires ottomans au tournant du XX^e s. Les contributions des historiens turcs İsmail Hakkı Kadı et İsmail Hakkı Göksoy fondées sur les archives du Başbakanlık (Istanbul) portent sur les appels des dirigeants de l'Asie du Sud-Est à la protection ottomane au XIX^e siècle. Dans sa contribution, Kadı tient à remettre en question les approches eurocentrées concernant la dénomination et l'évaluation du « panislamisme ». Quant aux articles d'Amrita Malhi et de Chiara Formichi, ils portent sur la nature des relations diplomatiques entre la Porte d'une part et la Malaisie britannique et les Indes orientales néerlandaises d'autre part, dans le premier quart du XX^e siècle.

La troisième partie, consacrée aux influences culturelles et intellectuelles, est la plus novatrice. Elle réunit trois contributions : la première sur la représentation du Turc dans la littérature malaise (Vladimir Braginsky) ; la deuxième sur les relations intellectuelles et religieuses entre les Ottomans et Aceh (Oman Fathurrahman) ; la troisième, enfin, sur la réception et l'influence des Corans produits dans l'espace ottoman dans le Sud-Est asiatique qui est richement illustrée (Ali Akbar). En somme, ce volume fournit une lecture stimulante aux chercheurs qui s'intéressent non seulement à ces espaces géographiques lointains mais aussi aux histoires connectées.

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Bilici (Faruk), *L'expédition d'Égypte, Alexandrie et les Ottomans : l'autre histoire*. Alexandrie, Centre d'Études Alexandrines, 2017, 363 p., ills., maps.

With every generation of historians, Bonaparte's 1798 invasion of Egypt gets another look. The moment was once viewed as a marker of the arrival of the modern in Middle Eastern affairs, a turning point in international politics, confirming British naval dominance

in the Mediterranean, and the beginnings of the Eastern Question. More recently, the events set off by Bonaparte's attack on Alexandria have acquired the stench of a colonial thrust gone wrong, Egypt's exposure to the forces of the global economy, and the affirmation of Orientalism as a discourse embodying magnificent cultural productions via a thoroughly racist lens.

Faruk Bilici's intentions concerning this story are different, as is clear in his subtitle "l'autre histoire." His story unfolds from the close examination of an extraordinary collection of contemporary Ottoman historians, not just Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, the well-known nineteenth century source of the history of the invasion. Bilici has, in addition, assembled documents and correspondence from Sultan Selim III and his entourage in Istanbul, Paris, and Cairo. The period under scrutiny runs from 1797-1801, focusing on the Battle of the Pyramids to the defeat and repatriation of the remaining French forces by an Anglo-Ottoman coalition army at the end of 1801. It is not the tale of the triumph of Nelson, or of Bonaparte's audacity and subsequent abandonment of his troops, or even of the scholarly achievements evident in the *Description de l'Égypte*, but rather of the nature of Ottoman politics, diplomatic relations and provincial instability in the face of an improbable foreign invasion.

The two central chapters describe the unfolding of Ottoman attitudes leading to the declaration of war especially after the sinking of a majority of Bonaparte's ships at Aboukir, August 1798, and the resulting mobilization of allies, fleets and armies to recapture Egypt for the sultan. The mobilization description includes an Ottoman map of the assembled coalition at Aboukir, 1801-02, ably redrawn and described.

A final chapter is on Alexandria itself, chronicling the impact of the occupation and liberation of the city (p. 159-192), universally described by contemporaries as desolate and ruined. Included are a brief history of Alexandria's economy and fragile status as the Nile basin in the late 1700s. The remaining text is dedicated to telling the story of the hydraulic system that controlled the ebb and flow of the Nile, the fortresses and walls for the defense of the city, and the operations of the local government, fragmented among the Ottoman officials and the mamelukes. After the French and Anglo-Ottoman occupations, the thin strip of land supporting the canal and dam between the Madiye and Mariout lakes was destroyed but the catastrophe inaugurated a series of works leading to the construction of the freshwater Mahmûdiya canal under Mehmed Ali Pasha. Similarly, the French envisioned repairs to the city defenses, some of which they carried out which enhanced the attractiveness of the region. Bilici suggests that Alexandria's abrupt occupation inaugurated the later intense and spectacular rise of the city.

In his conclusion, Bilici argues that the invasion considerably enfeebled the Ottomans, and permanently affected the perception of the French who became "barbarians" in the Ottoman mind following the massacre of the garrison at Jaffa. Thereafter, in the long struggle with the Russians, the Ottomans would rely on the British for protection and integration into the global economy. Furthermore, he asserts, the scholarly production of the *Description de l'Égypte* enabled later reforms in Egypt under Mehmed Ali Pasha but the revolutionary agenda, civilizational ideology and the research projects which were an essential part of the new colonial empires of France and England were never effectively taken up by the Ottomans, who remained woefully behind in modernizing their army and system of government.

While agreeing with Bilici regarding most of his assertions, I would like to suggest a variant reading of the impact of the revolutionary moment. It is indisputable that the latter half of the eighteenth century was an extraordinarily difficult period for the Ottoman

dynasty, especially for Selim III (1789-1807), enthroned during another one of the interminable wars with Russia, and struggling for a new definition of imperial suzerainty vis à vis a host of provincial power centers who actually supplied the armies that kept the empire intact. Selim III is often characterized as an ineffectual sultan, and a determined Francophile in the face of repeated evidence of French perfidy. Forced to declare war against his inclination in September 1798, Selim III quickly moved to strip the French inhabitants, subjects or foreign residents, of much of their property and wealth. But he repeatedly returned to alliances with France, in the Treaty of Paris in 1802, and in the recognition of Bonaparte as Emperor in 1806.

French revolutionary politics continued to unfold on the streets of Istanbul, one of the few cities of Europe which tolerated Jacobin slogans and cockades until the great revolt of 1807 brought down Selim III's government, even as the city's population lined up with French soldiers to defend and drive the British fleet from Istanbul harbor. The greatest long term harm to the French was in the eclipse of vibrant and lucrative trading networks which they dominated with Greek Orthodox partners for most of the eighteenth century, and which included their contributions to the remaking of the Ottoman navy and considerable parts of the new army of Selim III, and even, it will be remembered, the Napoleonic model of Mahmud II's new army, the Nizamiye.

But the greatest contribution of the disruption of Bonaparte was the 'imagined communities' of the new religion of nationalism that began to emerge. Each of the Ottoman subject Christian communities had constitutional visions to contribute to the century-long debate about Ottoman citizenship and loyalty, eroding the last few vestiges of the sultan-slave patrimonial relationships that had been foundational to the empire. Their own revolutions began immediately upon the Bonaparte invasion.

The book has been meticulously published by the CNRS Centre d'Études Alexandrines, and includes color reproductions of period maps and fortress designs, as well as eighteen important Ottoman documents, accompanied by transliterations and French translations (p. 199-321). Faruk Bilici's fascinating study is likely to serve as a definitive history of this crucial moment in the history of both the Ottoman dynasty and Alexandrian Egypt.

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Koçunyan (Aylin), *Negotiating the Ottoman Constitution 1839-1876*, Paris-Louvain-Bristol CT, Peeters, 2018, 491 p.

Aylin Koçunyan propose ici un livre sur l'histoire des principaux textes juridiques et politiques ottomans de l'époque des Tanzimat en élargissant le cadre chronologique de sa thèse soutenue en 2013 à l'Institut universitaire européen de Florence. Si le titre laisse entendre que l'intervalle couvert par le livre s'étend de 1839 à 1876, autrement dit la période allant de la proclamation de l'édit impérial de la Maison des Roses à celle de la constitution ottomane, l'objet d'étude principal reste le processus de préparation de la constitution de 1876, plus précisément les négociations des années 1875-76. Pour ce faire, cette historienne remarquablement polyglotte s'appuie sur des sources d'archives d'une impressionnante richesse : divers fonds des archives ottomanes ; sources diplomatiques

britanniques, françaises et italiennes ; procès-verbaux de l'assemblée de la communauté arménienne et archives du Patriarcat arménien à Istanbul ; archives de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle à Paris. S'y ajoutent des organes de presse contemporains en français, en anglais et en arménien ainsi que des mémoires.

Le livre s'organise autour de trois chapitres chronologiques intitulés respectivement « Three Preceding Moments: Actors, Interactions and Concepts » (p. 57-159) ; « Actors, Interactions and Negotiations in 1875-76 » (p. 160-236) et « Drafts and the Final Version of the Ottoman Constitution: Textual and Political Analysis » (p. 237-285). Une opulente partie de 16 annexes (p. 311-458), plus longue que chacune des trois parties analytiques de l'ouvrage, qui reproduit ou transcrit les divers projets de la constitution de 1876 ainsi que d'autres textes juridiques et politiques contemporains, est incontestablement un apport essentiel du livre à l'historiographie. Mais l'intérêt du livre découle d'abord du choix méthodologique que l'on peut appeler une approche socio-historique de l'histoire diplomatique combinée à celle d'histoire connectée ainsi que de l'attention accordée à la sémantique des transferts culturels inter- et infra-impériaux dans le domaine du lexique constitutionnel.

Avant d'aborder les apports du livre en détail, faisons le tour, tout d'abord, de quelques faiblesses. La longue introduction du livre se présente malheureusement comme une succession excessive de citations (272 notes en 51 pages) tirées de livres et articles souvent datés de l'historiographie sur les Tanzimat. L'auteur renvoie ainsi trop souvent aux travaux de Carter Findley, Roderic Davison, Niyazi Berkes et Bernard Lewis. Or, les hypothèses et les conclusions de ces auteurs (qui ont réalisé leurs travaux à la fin des années 1950 et publié au début des années 1960 à l'exception de ceux de Findley, plus tardifs, datant des années 1980) sont, sinon complètement invalidées ou contredites, du moins bien critiquées, nuancées, développées ou prolongées par une nouvelle génération d'historiens depuis une vingtaine d'années. Ainsi, les nombreux travaux de Maurus Reinkowski, Olivier Bouquet, Marc Aymes, Jeff Hanssen, Thomas Kühn, Nazan Çiçek et d'autres encore n'apparaissent pas dans la bibliographie. Des thèses relativement récentes, non publiées au moment de la préparation du livre mais néanmoins accessibles aux historiens intéressés, qui ont profondément marqué l'historiographie sur les réformes ottomanes de ces dernières années, n'y figurent pas non plus¹. Autrement dit, visiblement captivée par ses sources primaires remarquablement riches et variées, Aylin Koçunyan reproduit dans son introduction la littérature secondaire des années 1960-1980 en négligeant les remarquables remises à jour du début des années 2000 à nos jours. Pour ne donner que trois exemples concrets, lorsqu'elle évoque les Jeunes Ottomans (p. 45), Koçunyan s'appuie sur l'étude classique mais bien datée de Şerif Mardin en omettant de mentionner le livre beaucoup

1. İlicak (Hüseyin Şükrü), *A Radical Rethinking of Empire: Ottoman State and Society during the Greek War of Independence (1821-1826)*, Harvard University, 2011 ; Şiviloğlu (Murat Remzi), *The Emergence of Public Opinion in the Ottoman Empire (1826-1876)*, University of Cambridge, 2014. Cette dernière thèse vient d'être publiée sous le titre *The Emergence of Public Opinion. State and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018. Il n'est naturellement pas question d'y ajouter une autre thèse tout aussi remarquable mais soutenue en 2017, certainement après la déposition du manuscrit chez l'éditeur Peeters, qui aurait pu faire gagner une importante profondeur historique à l'étude d'Aylin Koçunyan : Topal (Alp Eren), *From Decline to Progress. Ottoman Concepts of Reform from 1600 to 1876*, Ankara, Bilkent University, 2017.

plus récent de Burak Onaran qui a corrigé certaines interprétations erronées de Mardin². Quand elle aborde la question de l'apostasie dans l'Empire ottoman dans les années 1840 (p. 71-72), elle cite deux auteurs anciens, Temperley (1932) et Engelhardt (1882) mais pas le livre récent de Selim Deringil qui constitue l'étude la plus élaborée en la matière³. Quand il est question d'analyser la tension entre les idées de centralisation et de décentralisation dans l'histoire du constitutionnalisme ottoman (p. 209-216), ce n'est pas l'importante mise au point de Jeff Hanssen parue en 2002⁴ qui est utilisée mais les études de Roderic Davison et de Walter F. Weiker datant des années 1960. Il n'est pas nécessaire ici de multiplier les exemples. L'usage exclusif de cette littérature secondaire ancienne prive l'ouvrage des apports des nouveaux questionnements issus du renouvellement historiographique des années 2000-2010, ce qui se manifeste, entre autres, par le recours non critique aux grands concepts paradigmatiques d'« occidentalisation » (que l'auteur critique légèrement aux pages 288-289, mais de façon plutôt contradictoire avec l'usage général qu'elle en fait avant) et de « modernisation » tout au long de son étude⁵. Cette absence de la bibliographie critique récente nuit incontestablement à la qualité de ce livre.

Il y a aussi quelques erreurs factuelles qu'il faut signaler ici. On lit dans l'introduction que le *şeyhülislam* n'était pas membre permanent du conseil impérial (p. 20) et puis, qu'il y siégeait (p. 22), formulations qui prêtent à confusion. Mehmed Ali ne fut jamais le khédive d'Égypte (p. 58) contrairement à ce qu'affirme l'auteur, car le khédivat est un titre accordé par le sultan en 1867, presque vingt ans après la mort de Mehmed Ali, à son petit-fils Ismail pacha. Koçunyan se trompe aussi sur les dates du rétablissement de la constitution de 1876 et de l'ouverture du parlement ottoman en 1908 en écrivant que « la constitution a été rétablie et le parlement a été ouvert le 3 juillet » (p. 240). Le 3 juillet est la date de la révolte des Jeunes Turcs en Macédoine : la constitution a été rétablie après vingt jours de révolte généralisée, le 23 juillet par le Comité Union et Progrès à Bitola et proclamée officiellement le 24 juillet par le sultan, à Istanbul. Quant au parlement, celui-ci a été inauguré, à la suite des élections législatives qui avaient duré plusieurs mois, le 17 décembre de la même année et non pas le 3 juillet. Elle écrit aussi qu'une tentative de contre-révolution éclate « neuf mois après l'ouverture du parlement » (p. 240), ce qui est évidemment erroné. La tentative de contre-révolution a commencé le 31 mars 1325 selon le calendrier *rûmî* (donc « romain ») ou *mâlî* (donc « financier ») ottoman, ce qui correspond au 13 avril 1909 selon le calendrier grégorien. La contre-révolution a donc éclaté trois mois et demi après l'ouverture du parlement, pas neuf mois. Cet événement est connu depuis comme « l'Incident de 31 mars » du fait du calendrier historique que les Ottomans utilisaient à l'époque. Se trompant cette fois-ci sur les trois systèmes de datation

2. Onaran (Burak), *Détrôner le sultan. Deux conjurations à l'époque des réformes ottomanes* : Kuleli (1859) et Meslek (1867), Paris-Louvain, Peeters, 2013.

3. Deringil (Selim), *Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012.

4. Hanssen (Jens), « Practices of Integration – Center-Periphery Relations in the Ottoman Empire », in Hanssen (Jens), Philipp (Thomas), Weber (Stefan) éd., *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Würzburg, Ergon Verlag, 2002, p. 49-74.

5. Pour une excellente critique récente à ce propos, voir Bouquet (Olivier), « Du déclin à la transformation. Réflexions sur un nouveau paradigme en histoire ottomane », *Revue d'histoire du XIX^e siècle* 53 (2016), p. 117-136.

historique entre lesquels les Ottomans avaient l'habitude de jongler au dernier siècle de l'Empire et, oubliant que les noms des mois dans le calendrier de l'Hégire sont différents des noms des deux autres calendriers utilisés par les Ottomans (*rûmî* ou *mâlî* d'une part et grégorien d'autre part), Koçunyan écrit que la contre-révolution a été déclenchée le « 13 avril selon le calendrier de l'Hégire » (p. 241), ce qui est une autre erreur. Il ne peut y avoir un mois de mars dans le calendrier de l'Hégire. La formulation correcte serait d'écrire « le 13 avril selon le calendrier grégorien ». En outre, l'auteur qui fait se rétablir la constitution le 3 juillet 1908 à la page 240, écrit à la page 241 que la constitution a été ré-promulguée le 23 juillet 1908. Bref, cette accumulation d'erreurs factuelles et calendaires porte préjudice au livre. Prise apparemment par l'étude fine des textes en turc ottoman, en arménien et en français des éléments sémantiques, A. Koçunyan a été moins vigilante sur certains repères historiques et a laissé passer quelques erreurs factuelles qu'une relecture attentive aurait dû rectifier.

Malgré ces erreurs, *Negotiating the Ottoman Constitution 1839-1876* est une contribution importante à l'histoire du constitutionnalisme ottoman.

Dans les trois chapitres qui constituent le cœur de l'ouvrage, A. Koçunyan tente constamment d'adopter une approche socio-historique de l'histoire diplomatique en se plaçant à une échelle d'observation micro-historique quand ses riches sources primaires le permettent. La capacité d'action ainsi rendue aux individus que sont les diplomates, hommes d'État et intellectuels est louable et permet à Koçunyan de nuancer les grandes lignes méta-narratives sur l'influence et la pression européenne dans les réformes constitutionnelles ottomanes du XIX^e siècle. La focale sur les circuits trans-impériaux à travers le cas des communautés arméniennes et des activités de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle constitue un autre apport du livre. Grâce à cette approche novatrice due à un choix méthodologique assumé et rendue possible par la polyglossie exceptionnelle de l'auteur, des acteurs négligés voire ignorés par l'historiographie du constitutionnalisme ottoman émergent au fil des pages. Plus précisément, les analyses sur la préhistoire du constitutionnalisme arménien en Inde au XVIII^e siècle (p. 112-118), les trajectoires biographiques des acteurs qui ont préparé la constitution de la communauté arménienne de l'Empire dans les années 1850 et 1860 (p. 118-121) ainsi que ses développements sur l'influence des lobbies ethniques diasporiques des communautés non musulmanes ottomanes sur le constitutionnalisme dans l'Empire (p. 194-199) sont particulièrement instructives. A. Koçunyan, qui combine une approche socio-historique avec celle d'une histoire connectée, ouvre ainsi de nouvelles pistes de réflexions et de recherche pour les ottomanistes. La comparaison du projet de constitution arménienne de 1857 avec le texte final de 1863, en passant par la version de 1860 (p. 121-124), démontre d'une manière claire les rapports de force et les divergences d'approche entre le gouvernement ottoman, les intellectuels libéraux arméniens et le patriarcat arménien. L'analyse textuelle très détaillée des différents projets de constitution ottomane et l'analyse politique des amendements du Conseil des ministres qui renverse l'architecture du projet final de la constitution en accordant au sultan en particulier et à l'exécutif en général la prééminence sur le législatif (p. 237-267) constituent un bon exemple des perspectives inspirantes que peut offrir une approche d'histoire des possibles non advenus⁶. La comparaison des nombreux

6. Voir le travail stimulant de deux historiens français : Deluermoz (Quentin), Singaravelou (Pierre), *Pour une histoire des possibles. Analyses contrefactuelles et possibles non advenus*, Paris, Seuil, 2016.

projets constitutionnels de 1876 avec, d'une part, diverses constitutions européennes et d'autre part la constitution arménienne ottomane de 1863 (p. 267-275) ainsi que l'analyse textuelle approfondie de la version finale de la constitution de 1876 (p. 275-285) constituent des contributions majeures à l'histoire du constitutionnalisme dans l'Empire ottoman. Enfin, tout au long de son livre, A. Koçunyan mène une réflexion fine sur les processus de transfert culturel en accordant une attention particulière aux péripéties des concepts politiques « traduits » d'une culture, d'une langue, vers une autre, ce qui fait de ce livre une source d'inspiration pour des études sur la sémantique historique de la langue politique ottomane au XIX^e siècle.

Özgür TÜRESAY
EPHE, PSL

Turnaoğlu (Banu), *The Formation of Turkish Republicanism*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2017, 296 p.

Ce livre vise à démontrer l'existence d'un courant de « républicanisme » dans la culture politique ottomane et turque et propose de suivre son développement pendant des siècles. L'auteur se place dans la lignée des études sur la tradition républicaine anglo-américaine (comme Quentin Skinner, Philip Pettit et John Dunn) et souhaite démontrer l'apport des débats ottomans au courant mondial du républicanisme (p. 8). Pour cela, elle établit un récit d'histoire intellectuelle qui s'étale de la fondation de l'Empire ottoman à la première décennie de la République de Turquie, se concentrant particulièrement sur les XIX^e et XX^e siècles. Par son étude, l'auteur veut mettre en cause le récit linéaire d'occidentalisation qui, d'après elle, marquerait toujours l'historiographie sur l'Empire ottoman et la Turquie ; en même temps, elle propose de revenir sur l'idée de rupture entre la période moderne et prémoderne de l'Empire ottoman et celle entre la Turquie et l'Empire ottoman (p. 2-4, 8-11). La fondation de la République de Turquie en 1923 s'inscrirait ainsi dans une tradition républicaine ancestrale à voix différentes et serait « la victoire du républicanisme radical » (p. 229, parfois aussi « autoritaire ») au détriment d'autres interprétations du républicanisme.

Le livre est ambitieux et semble proposer une thèse nette. Au fond, ni l'objet de l'étude ni son argumentation ne sont clairs. « Républicanisme » semble se référer à toute mise en question du pouvoir absolu du sultan – un procédé herméneutique discutable qui toutefois pourrait mener, avec une méthodologie pointue, à une problématique pertinente. Cependant, la notion sert de terme chapeau pour parler d'une façon disparate de différents courants intellectuels qui ont marqué les XIX^e et XX^e siècles (comme le constitutionnalisme, le nationalisme, l'islamisme, le positivisme ou le matérialisme) et pour proposer un récit peu cohérent d'histoire intellectuelle avec des résultats assez conventionnels. Le manque d'originalité s'explique par l'encadrement méthodologique insuffisant, la nature limitée du corpus et la lecture sélective de l'historiographie. L'étude s'appuie principalement sur la littérature secondaire et sur des sources en langue turque moderne. Des sources ottomanes originales (et françaises pour le positivisme) ont été vraisemblablement utilisées d'une façon accessoire et, compte tenu des translittérations et des interprétations qui frôlent parfois le grotesque, souvent à l'aide de traductions par des tiers. Opérant avec

une définition imprécise du républicanisme, le livre répète essentiellement des interprétations avancées à maintes reprises sur la continuité entre l'Empire ottoman et la Turquie, un sujet qui, nonobstant la tonalité empathique du livre, occupe l'historiographie depuis des décennies.

L'apport du livre est donc bien limité et la réinterprétation de l'histoire intellectuelle ottomane et turque sous la lumière du « républicanisme » ne s'impose pas. De nos jours, la critique du républicanisme kémaliste, l'insistance sur la continuité dans l'histoire ottomane et turque et la construction des traditions intellectuelles non-occidentales proprement turque et islamique sont des sujets populaires. Mais plus qu'autre chose, le livre démontre que l'intérêt pour l'histoire des idées politiques ottomanes et turques dépasse le cadre des spécialistes, au point qu'une maison d'édition prestigieuse semble peu se soucier de la qualité des manuscrits qui lui sont soumis.

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Greve (Martin) éd., *Writing the History of "Ottoman Music"*, Istanbul-Würzburg, Orient Institut – Ergon Verlag, 2015, 276 p.

Cet ouvrage édité par Martin Greve, chercheur à l'Orient-Institut d'Istanbul, présente une synthèse sur les développements récents de l'histoire de la musique ottomane, et plus généralement sur les actuelles orientations de la musicologie en Turquie. Il fait suite à un colloque qui s'est tenu au Conservatoire d'État de Musique turque de l'Université technique d'Istanbul (ITÜ) en novembre 2011. Mais il contient des articles qui dépassent largement le cadre de simples « actes de colloques », comme l'impressionnante contribution de Walter Feldman.

Le livre est organisé en quatre parties.

La première a donné son titre au livre (« *Writing the History of Ottoman Music* ») et donne les cadres méthodologiques généraux permettant d'aborder l'histoire de la musique ottomane dont une spécificité majeure est l'absence, ou l'extrême rareté de sources musicales écrites. Selon Bülent Aksoy, dans ses « *Preliminary Notes on the Possibility (or Impossibility) of Writing Ottoman Musical History* », qui figure en tête de l'ouvrage, le « répertoire authentique (...) est constitué des manuscrits de Ufkî, Cantemir, Nâyî Osman Dede, Kevseri, Abdûlbaki Nâsir Dede et des manuscrit de Hamparsun », auxquels il convient d'ajouter la collection de manuscrits de musiques d'Istanbul en neumes byzantins, magnifique objet d'étude que nous présente Kyriakos Kalaitzidis dans la seconde partie de l'ouvrage (p. 139-150). Bülent Aksoy rappelle également comment l'histoire de la musique ottomane et sa musicologie, qui naît au début du ^{xx}e siècle, sont tributaires des idéologies accompagnant les grands changements politiques de la fin de l'Empire, et des premières années de la République. Il importait que fût abordée, dans la même introduction méthodologique, les différences d'approche entre l'histoire de la musique occidentale et celle de la musique ottomane, comme le fait Ralf Martin Jäger (« *Concepts of Western and Ottoman Music History* »), qui compare les conceptions et les institutions musicologiques en Allemagne et en Turquie, notamment à travers les deux figures de Rauf Yekta Bey (1871-1935), père de la musicologie turque, et Johann Forkel, fondateur

de la musicologie allemande, qui vécut un siècle plus tôt. Les autres particularités de l'histoire musicale ottomane sont examinées, comme le statut du compositeur, qui ne correspond pas à la figure d'un génie individuel qui crée du nouveau, comme en Europe occidentale, mais est défini comme un musicien éclairé, membre d'une communauté musicale, et qui crée une « dérivation » à partir de formes et matériaux préexistants : par voie de conséquence, la notion d'*opus* est également fort différente, puisque toute composition transmise au fil des siècles est passée par les mains des maîtres, qui l'interprètent selon le goût du temps, et par la « transmitting community ». Quant à la notion de « source », elle n'est pas une catégorie pour la pratique de la musique d'art, du fait de la transmission orale. Martin Jäger souligne l'absence d'une vraie édition critique de toutes les sources de la musique d'art ottomane, qu'il appelle de ses vœux comme programme prioritaire. Ruhi Ayangil, dans « *Thoughts and Suggestions on Writing Turkish Music History* », propose un rapide panorama des questions, perspectives pratiques, sources, liées à la constitution d'une musicologie « objective » de la Turquie, en la dégagant de parti-pris et options idéologiques. Pour conclure cette première partie, l'article d'Ersu Pekin, « *Neither Dates nor Sources : A Methodological Problem in Writing the History of Ottoman Music* », souligne que l'œuvre musicale est potentiellement soumise à d'incessants changements à travers ses répétitions, et que le contrôle des paramètres de ces changements est assuré par le *meşk*, apprentissage traditionnel, que l'auteur décrit et analyse. Enfin, l'auteur constate que puisque les sources écrites, traités théoriques (*edvâr*) et anthologies de poèmes chantés (*mecmû'â*) ne peuvent combler l'absence de trace sonore, l'histoire de la musique ottomane ne peut s'écrire sur la base des compositions musicales, mais doit développer des méthodes spécifiques qui redéfinissent la composition même.

La deuxième section de l'ouvrage, intitulée « *Periodization of Ottoman Music* », propose quatre contributions historiques. La première, par Nilgun Doğrusöz, est consacrée à l'histoire de la théorie musicale : « *from Anatolian Edvâr (Musical Theory Book) Writers to Abdülbâkî Nâsir Dede : an Evaluation of the History of Ottoman/Turkish Music Theory* », où l'auteur rend compte des transformations de la théorie musicale à travers les traités (*edvâr*) du xv^e siècle à Nâsir Dede (*Tedkik ü Tahkik*, « observation et recherche », 1794). Nâsir Dede est choisi comme *terminus ad quem* de cette étude pour être le premier à proposer des explications sur les *makam* et *usûl* proche de nous, pour avoir privilégié la pratique réelle, et la pédagogie. Cet article est une utile contribution à l'histoire des concepts musicaux ottomans (*makam*, *âvâz*, *şu'be*, *usûl*, etc.). Vient ensuite un article considérable de Walter Feldmann, sans aucun doute le plus important de ce livre, « *The Musical 'Renaissance' of Late Seventeenth Century Ottoman Turkey : Reflections on the Musical Materials of Ali Ufkî Bey (ca 1610-1675), Hâfız Post (d. 1694) and the 'Marâghî' Repertoire* ». Ce long article (50 p.) complète, après 20 ans, la somme du même auteur *Music of the Ottoman Court* (Berlin, 1996) et traite d'une période décisive pour l'émergence de la musique « ottomane turque », entre la seconde moitié du xvii^e siècle et 1800, marquant à la fois un déclin d'anciennes normes musicales liées au modèle persan et la naissance d'une culture musicale distincte parvenant à maturité. Walter Feldmann reprend l'étude des matériaux musicaux laissés par Ali Ufkî (Wojciech Bobowski), dont le *mecmû'a-i saz ü sôz* est le premier corpus de musique ottomane notée, ceux du Prince Cantemir et des anthologies comme celle de Hâfız Post ; son article entre en dialogue avec le musicologue Owen Wright dont il examine et prolonge les travaux décisifs consacrés à cette même période. On voit en effet dans les sources comment une esthétique ancienne décline,

laissant affleurer des répertoires plus « populaires » chantés en langue turque. W. Feldmann examine les conditions sociales et politiques qui n'ont pas permis aux répertoires anciens de se conserver, même s'ils ont coexisté un temps avec les nouveaux. Sa perspective est celle d'une anthropologie historique rigoureuse, s'attachant aux figures individuelles de compositeurs documentés à leur époque, aux changements de contextes de la pratique musicale du Palais, s'ouvrant progressivement à la Ville et à sa vie musicale. La musique ottomane est étudiée en parallèle avec l'évolution de l'Iran safavide et post-safavide, dont les sources sont désormais mieux connues, et peuvent être intégrées dans la compréhension du langage musical ottoman à partir du XVIII^e. Il s'agit également de dégager la musique ottomane – et son histoire telle qu'elle se constitue au début du XX^e siècle à partir de Rauf Yekta Bey – des mythes sur lesquels elle a pu s'appuyer, comme la figure d'Abdülkadir Merağı, mort en 1534, invoqué comme le *Hoca*, le Maître, et dont le répertoire vocal qui lui est attribué a longtemps été présenté comme référence fondatrice. Cette relation au mythe a également pu produire, au XIX^e siècle, à la suite de l'adoption de l'écriture musicale venue d'Europe occidentale, une véritable *pseudographie*, attribuant par exemple à Farabi, exemple classique, des compositions dont le style est clairement celui d'époques récentes. Le chapitre suivant, de Kyriakos Kalaitzidis, s'intitule Post-« Byzantine Musical Manuscripts as Sources for Oriental Secular Music: The Case of Petros Peloponnesios (1740-1778) and the Music of the Ottoman Court ». Il complète utilement celui de W. Feldmann, en faisant état des manuscrits post-byzantins d'une vaste collection de compositions ottomanes écrites en neumes byzantins, dont une partie se trouve au Mont Athos. Enfin, Gönül Paçacı, « Changes in the Field of Turkish Music during the Late Ottoman/Early Republican Era », analyse les changements survenus entre l'Empire et la République, dans la théorie, l'enseignement et ses méthodes.

La troisième partie de l'ouvrage s'occupe de l'histoire de la « musique populaire » (*folk music*), dans son rapport au nationalisme dans les deux premiers articles : ainsi, Arzu Öztürkmen (« The Quest for "National Music": A Historical-Ethnographic Survey of New Approaches to Folk Music Research ») et Okan Murat Öztürk (« An Effective Means for Representing the Unity of Opposites: The Development of Ideology Concerning Folk Music in Turkey in the Context of Nationalism and Ethnic Identity ») s'occupent tous deux, moyennant des approches différentes, de la même thématique. Arzu Öztürkmen s'intéresse au processus historique qui a mené à découvrir, inventer et interpréter la musique « populaire » (*halk müziği*) et à la transformation historique de notre perception de cette musique : aux origines de la République, et plus précisément à travers les *Halk Evleri* et les *Köy Enstitüleri*, s'élabore un espace anatolien imaginaire, dont la géographie est détachée de ses origines démographiques. Puis à partir des années 1970, des identités linguistiques et musicales émergent peu à peu (alevi, kurde, arménienne, etc.), créant un nouvel espace pour l'écoute. Okan Murat Öztürk, de son côté, aborde des questions similaires, en insistant sur l'invention de la *türk halk müziği* et l'idéologie incarnée par ce concept, en insistant sur la période 1936-1952 où un travail considérable de collectes a été supervisé par le Conservatoire d'Ankara. Il déconstruit certaines fausses généalogies fondées sur le mythe d'une origine centrasiatique des musiques et des instruments anatoliens. L'auteur regrette que l'immense base de données constituée par les collectes musicales de ces années n'ait donné lieu à aucun travail de recherche, qui se verrait utilement assisté par les nouvelles technologies, et que finalement cette « musique populaire » ait toujours été enseignée et transmise sur le modèle de la pédagogie occidentale. La conclusion de l'article

comporte ainsi un appel (salutaire) à une collaboration internationale sur ces sujets. Dans le troisième article, « Ottoman *türkü* », Süleyman Şenel s'occupe de la musique populaire dans les temps ottomans proprement dits, en proposant une histoire de la notion de *türkü* (anciennement *türkü*), depuis les textes du xv^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours, montrant comment ce terme a surtout désigné les formes poétiques chantées en langue turque, de toutes les provinces de l'Empire ottoman, avant de désigner des chansons anatoliennes au xx^e siècle.

La dernière partie de l'ouvrage concerne « The Reconstruction of Historical Ottoman Music », ce que nous appelons « interprétation historiquement informée », pratiquée en occident par les interprètes de musique ancienne et baroque. Concernant la musique ottomane, plus encore que pour l'euro-péenne, cela peut d'autant plus sembler une gageure que ses traces écrites sont quasi-inexistantes et ne se trouvent que dans de rares recueils d'Ali Ufkî-Bobowski et Dimitrius Cantemir (curieusement, Charles Fonton reste fort peu mentionné dans cette partie). C'est à ce sujet que s'attaque Fikret Karakaya, par ailleurs représentant renommé de cette « reconstruction » à travers son ensemble Bezmarâ : son court article « Do Early Notation Collections Represent the Music of their Times? » éclaire sa propre méthode en constatant d'abord que la notation des chants, chez Ali Ufkî, est plus simple que celle des pièces instrumentales, ce dont il tire argument pour élaborer l'ornementation des premières en s'appuyant sur les secondes. Pour le reste, il doit bien reconnaître que la fonction de l'interprète, sa connaissance approfondie du style de l'époque, restent fondamentales dans la restitution de la musique, ce qui sous-entend que la marge d'incertitude reste grande. L'article suivant, de Şehvar Beşiroğlu (décédée en 2017) s'intitule « Demetrius Cantemir and the Music of his Time: The Concept of Authenticity and Types of Performance ». À la recherche d'une authenticité comprise comme fidélité à l'origine, Şehvar Beşiroğlu s'attache à déduire des commentaires de Cantemir sur les musiques qu'il a transcrites des critères pour leur interprétation, en s'efforçant de mettre de côté les conditionnements imposés par les xix^e et xx^e siècles. Pause dans la succession de tous ces articles consacrés à la musique ottomane, le musicologue allemand Andreas Haug rappelle les modalités de cette interprétation musicalement informée dans « Reconstructing Western "Monophonic" Music », à propos de la musique médiévale.

Enfin, dernier article de l'ouvrage, « Is an Echo of Seljuk Music Audible? », de Recep Uslu, qui s'attache surtout à interroger les *makam* et les *usûl* existants à cette période : sur ce sujet de l'interprétation historiquement informée, les articles sont peut-être moins convaincants que les articles proprement historiques de la deuxième section de l'ouvrage.

Globalement ce recueil est vraiment bienvenu : tout d'abord il révèle une vraie dynamique de la musicologie ottomanisante et une franche prise d'indépendance par rapport à une musicologie plus vétuste trop souvent limitée par le carcan des arrière-plans idéologiques, nationalistes principalement. Ensuite, nous trouvons dans cet ouvrage des indications et des matériaux précieux pour tout chercheur qui souhaiterait s'investir dans ce domaine. À plusieurs reprises, les auteurs appellent de leurs vœux des collaborations et des projets de recherche internationaux : il serait temps que davantage de vocations s'éveillent, pour que la musicologie ne soit plus un parent pauvre des études turques et ottomanes, ni la musique ottomane, un domaine représenté seulement par une petite poignée de chercheurs.

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Fraser (Elisabeth A.), *Mediterranean Encounters. Artists Between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, 1774-1839*, University Park, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017, 299 p. + 142 ill.

Dans ce beau livre, qui propose de très nombreuses illustrations en couleurs et en noir et blanc, Elisabeth Fraser nous invite à découvrir le travail laborieux déployé par des artistes et des éditeurs français pour produire et diffuser des peintures et des gravures sur la Méditerranée orientale durant la période 1774-1839. Tout en cherchant à décloisonner les disciplines – histoire, histoire de l'art, études ottomanes –, elle nous présente une étude systématique sur cinq livres de voyage illustrés. Allant au-delà du récit orientaliste conventionnel, E. Fraser met en avant les échanges interculturels continus et durables, beaucoup plus importants qu'on ne le pense, entre les pays européens et le monde ottoman.

L'introduction donne un aperçu sur son approche théorique en termes de contact. Elle appréhende l'écart entre interprétations et réalité à partir des livres, des images et des personnes qui, comme elle le suggère, alimentent cette circulation des connaissances et du savoir. Depuis quelques temps déjà, notre compréhension des interactions, des confrontations et des transformations entre l'Europe et l'Empire ottoman est en effet profondément renouvelée. Des approches historiographiques récentes contribuent à ce renouveau dans une perspective résolument transnationale¹.

Pour étudier ces relations interculturelles, E. Fraser présente cinq entreprises éditoriales, chacune étant systématiquement replacée dans son contexte historique, reflet d'une pratique sociale liée à la recherche de connaissances selon l'esprit des Lumières. Bien que leurs qualités esthétiques soient loin d'atteindre le niveau de la *Description de l'Égypte* (1809-1828), imposant travail publié après la campagne d'Égypte de Bonaparte, ces cinq ouvrages permettent d'appréhender une érudition scientifique et savante du monde ottoman.

Le premier livre présenté est le *Voyage pittoresque en Turquie et en Grèce* du comte de Choiseul-Gouffier. Dès la parution de son premier volume en 1782, ce livre connut un énorme succès de librairie et exerça une fascination durable dans l'imaginaire occidental. Il s'agissait de la plus belle production de ce genre qu'on eût encore vue. Choiseul-Gouffier a su inventer une forme bibliographique nouvelle, dans laquelle le premier rang est donné à l'illustration (on compte 126 planches gravées pour 204 pages). Le texte lui-même est de peu d'importance car, comme l'affirme E. Fraser, il ne s'agit que d'une « *protophilhellenic dissertation on the political advantages to France of commercial and political influence in the Near East* » (p. 27).

Marié avec la fille unique d'un des hommes les plus riches de France, Choiseul, devenu Choiseul-Gouffier, se ruine en dépensant sans compter pour tenir son rang, mais aussi pour publier une suite à ce somptueux volume. Deux autres volumes, en 1809 et 1822 (le dernier étant posthume) verront le jour. La publication de cet ouvrage lui valut les plus grands honneurs : élection, dès 1779, à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, puis à l'Académie Française où il occupa le siège prestigieux de d'Alembert (1784) ; cette

1. Robert (Mary), *Istanbul Exchanges. Ottomans, Orientalists, and Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture*, Oakland, University of California Press, 2015.

même année, il fut nommé ambassadeur de France près la Sublime Porte. Tout à sa gloire littéraire, il voulut tirer profit de ce nouveau séjour officiel pour faire entreprendre de plus amples recherches sur la Grèce antique.

Le second chapitre de *Mediterranean Encounters* est consacré à la personnalité et aux travaux de Louis-François Cassas (1756-1827). En 1784, cet artiste rencontre le comte de Choiseul-Gouffier alors nouvellement nommé ambassadeur de France à Constantinople. Le diplomate est alors à la recherche d'un dessinateur expérimenté pour l'accompagner sur les rives du Bosphore afin d'effectuer des cartes, des vues de monuments et des représentations de costumes. Cassas accepte cette charge qui le conduira après la Turquie, à Chypre, en Syrie, au Liban, en Palestine, en Basse-Égypte et en Libye. Il devint un « agent » ou « subalterne » (p. 53) sous la protection du comte. Certains dessins illustreront le récit du *Voyage pittoresque*. Cependant, l'exil du comte pendant la Révolution française mit fin à cette collaboration et aboutit à une querelle entre les deux hommes autour de la propriété des dessins réalisés par Cassas. Ce dernier rentra à Paris en 1791, après avoir séjourné quatre ans à Rome où ses productions rencontrèrent un vif succès. Il fit d'ailleurs graver nombre d'entre elles afin de subvenir à ses besoins et entreprit la réalisation de son ouvrage *Voyage pittoresque de la Syrie, de la Phénicie, de la Palestine et de la Basse Égypte*, publié de 1798 à 1804 et qui resta inachevé. Louis-François Cassas, grand voyageur et dessinateur de talent, nous laisse un témoignage exceptionnel des contrées qu'il a traversées, notamment du site de Palmyre où il séjourna trente-quatre jours. Comme *Le Voyage pittoresque* du comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, son travail contribua à propager le goût pour l'Antiquité et l'Orient méditerranéen et annonça la peinture orientaliste du XIX^e siècle. Un siècle plus tard, Lawrence d'Arabie, admirateur de Cassas, n'écrivait-il pas : « Cassas m'a inspiré plus que nul autre » ?

À la différence de Choiseul-Gouffier et de Louis-François Cassas, les deux ouvrages suivants ont été réalisés par des personnages faisant partie des cercles ottomans. Le premier, Ignatius Mouradyan, plus connu sous le nom d'Ignace Mouradega d'Ohsson (1740-1807), est à l'origine un interprète dont l'intime connaissance de l'Orient ottoman permit de servir les ministres de Suède en poste à Constantinople de 1760 à 1780, avant d'être nommé chargé d'affaires de Suède en 1782-83. Lors de son séjour à Paris, de 1784 à 1791, Ignace Mouradega d'Ohsson publia le *Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman*, deux volumes *in-folio* parus en 1787 et 1790 (le troisième parut après sa mort, en 1820). Cette œuvre monumentale, fruit de vingt-quatre années de recherches, comporte une présentation de la « nation » ottomane avec ses dogmes, son culte, ses mœurs, son administration publique et son code religieux. Elle offre des descriptions précises sur les mœurs et coutumes de la société ottomane. Pour E. Fraser, d'Ohsson est indéniablement l'un des plus importants promoteurs de la culture ottomane en Occident. Son *Tableau général* est considéré comme la meilleure description que l'on ait eue de l'Empire ottoman puisqu'elle est faite par une personne du pays même. À ce texte savant, il faut ajouter deux cent trente-trois planches réalisées par les artistes Charles-Nicolas Cochin puis Jean-Michel Moreau.

Antoine-Ignace Melling (1763-1831), architecte, dessinateur, peintre, a vécu également au sein de la société ottomane dans la mesure où il séjourna dix-huit ans au service de la princesse Hatice Sultane, puis en qualité d'architecte impérial auprès de son frère, le sultan Selim III. Cette position privilégiée lui permit d'observer la cour et d'être, plus que tout autre, familiarisé avec ce monde oriental. Il réalisa un grand nombre de dessins, notamment des *vedute* de la ville et de ses environs, devenant le peintre sans rival du Bosphore. De retour en France, Melling publia par souscription entre 1809 et 1819 son célèbre *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore* (Paris, Treuttel & Würtz, 1819,

3 vol.). Fraser soutient que l'œuvre picturale de Melling s'est en partie développée au contact de l'élite impériale et que Melling ne doit pas être considéré uniquement comme un artiste européen inspiré par l'Orient, mais comme un artiste à part entière de la cour ottomane. Pour appuyer sa démonstration, elle insiste sur les similitudes qui existent entre ses dessins et les peintures représentées sur les murs de certains *yali* (maisons installées sur le front de mer du Bosphore) et palais. D'une page à l'autre, le thème de l'eau relie les magnifiques panoramas de Melling et forme « *a navigational narrative* » (p. 136) guidant à la fois le spectateur et le voyageur le long des rives du Bosphore et de la Corne d'Or. C'est cette continuité matérielle et cette uniformité picturale qu'E. Fraser souhaite affirmer, qui confère à l'album une qualité proto-cinématique.

Le *Voyage à Athènes et à Constantinople* (Paris, imprimerie de Dondey-Dupré, 1825) de Louis Dupré (1789-1837) est certainement l'ouvrage le plus satisfaisant en termes de qualités esthétiques. Ancien élève de Jacques-Louis David, pensionnaire à Rome de Jérôme Bonaparte, roi de Westphalie, dont il devint le peintre officiel en 1811, Dupré est l'auteur de grandes lithographies *in-folio* réalisées à la suite de son voyage à Athènes et à Constantinople en 1819. À la différence des quatre auteurs précédemment cités, il est l'un des premiers artistes à utiliser la lithographie, technique beaucoup moins onéreuse à la réalisation et nécessitant peu de personnel. À titre de comparaison, Choiseul-Gouffier disposait d'une équipe de trente personnes, tandis que Cassas, au plus fort de son projet, en comptait quatre-vingts. Comparativement aux techniques de gravure que l'on n'acquiert qu'après un long apprentissage, le succès de la lithographie tient à sa facilité d'exécution : Louis Dupré dessine à l'encre ou au crayon directement sur une pierre calcaire, les tirages étant ensuite teints à la main, par une certaine Mademoiselle Van Cutsem (p. 167). Son livre est à la fois un recueil de costumes exotiques en intérieur et extérieur et un témoignage de ses rencontres avec des personnalités importantes en Grèce et en Turquie telles que le consul de France à Athènes, M. Fauvel ; Ali Tebelen, pacha de Janina ; le prince de Moldavie, Michel Soutzo ; Hélène Soutzo, etc.

Par leur exactitude, les costumes « exotiques » de ces lithographies rappellent les portraits orientaux réalisés à la gouache un siècle plus tôt par l'artiste genevois Jean-Étienne Liotard (1702-1789), mais Dupré a une approche plus volumétrique du corps. E. Fraser a raison d'invoquer une certaine similitude avec les albums-costumes, thème qui fera l'objet de son prochain livre, *Dressing Empire: Transculturation and the Ottoman Costume Album*.

Il est à noter que dans son chapitre consacré à l'œuvre de L. Dupré, E. Fraser n'évoque absolument pas la Guerre d'indépendance grecque qui éclata en 1821, alors que l'artiste a voyagé à Athènes et Constantinople en 1819-1820 et n'a publié son ouvrage qu'en 1825. Cette période troublée ne transparaît aucunement dans les 52 grandes lithographies des portraits, vues et costumes grecs, arméniens et ottomans, alors que, dans le même temps, le texte est farouchement philhellène. Ses représentations des élites locales au repos offrent d'ailleurs un contraste saisissant avec la violence des peintures réalisées à la même époque par François-Auguste Vinson, Eugène Delacroix ou Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps.

Le dernier chapitre, consacré au voyage du peintre Delacroix au Maroc en 1832, est en décalage par rapport au sujet principal du livre, puisqu'il ne s'agit pas d'un livre de voyage imprimé et ne concerne pas la Méditerranée orientale, mais le Maroc. En qualité de spécialiste réputée de Delacroix², Elisabeth Fraser a souhaité finir son ouvrage en

2. Fraser (Elisabeth), *Delacroix, Art, and Patrimony in Post-revolutionary France*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014 ; Ead., « Uncivil Alliances : Delacroix, the Private Collector, and the Public », *Oxford Art Journal* 21/1 (1998), p. 87-103.

présentant les carnets de croquis et d'aquarelles de cet artiste. Mêlant l'écrit et l'image à la perfection, Delacroix retrace son expérience personnelle à travers des notes et des esquisses prises sur le vif. Accompagnant une mission diplomatique française auprès du sultan Abd Al-Rahman, il symbolise le rôle de la diplomatie en tant que déclencheur de sa réussite artistique, et représentant de l'iconographie de l'altérité. Si Delacroix est un grand artiste, on peut s'étonner du choix d'E. Fraser de prendre en compte ses carnets de dessins, forcément limités dans leur diffusion. Pour suivre la logique de l'ouvrage, peut-être aurait-il été plus judicieux d'utiliser les récits de voyages illustrés d'Isidore Taylor (*Voyage pittoresque en Espagne, en Portugal et sur la côte d'Afrique, de Tétouan à Tanger*, Paris, 1826-1832, 3 vol.) ou de l'écossais David Roberts (*The Tourist in Spain and Morocco*, Londres, Jennings, 1838).

Ce livre, exceptionnellement bien documenté et élégamment écrit, nous fait découvrir le marché des estampes de ces *peintres-voyageurs*, une industrie qui, comme le montre Elisabeth Fraser, était à son apogée dans les années 1780-1840. Associant gravures, lithographies et textes littéraires, il souligne à quel point les récits de voyage doivent être nuancés, selon leurs auteurs, par rapport à l'idéologie expansionniste européenne dominante à laquelle ils sont généralement associés, tandis que d'autres peuvent témoigner de la vitalité de la culture ottomane. En définitive, ce livre ne peut manquer de devenir un livre de référence pour quiconque s'intéresse aux voyages en Orient et aux représentations de l'Orient.

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Samancı (Özge), *La cuisine d'Istanbul au XIX^e siècle*, Rennes-Tours, Presses universitaires de Rennes-Presses universitaires François-Rabelais de Tours, 2015, 394 p., 25 ill. en couleur.

Cette publication, issue de la thèse de doctorat de l'auteure, est une riche et utile contribution à un domaine qui reste encore très peu étudié et représenté, non que l'histoire de l'alimentation et des phénomènes sociaux qui l'entourent soit pauvre ; la longueur de la liste des titres déjà parus dans la collection « Tables des hommes », dont cet ouvrage fait partie, prouve bien que le sujet reçoit toute l'attention qu'il mérite. La pauvreté réside dans la diversité culturelle et géographique épousée : sur vingt-cinq titres, un seul, traitant du saké, sort des sentiers battus d'une histoire fortement centrée sur la France et l'Europe, avec quelques rares incursions dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine. Ce n'est pas là un reproche mais une simple constatation du retard de la « périphérie » dans ce domaine pourtant crucial de l'histoire sociale et culturelle.

Certes, l'auteure, ainsi qu'elle le note en introduction, a eu des prédécesseurs, mais ils restent peu nombreux. Par ailleurs, peu de ces travaux adoptent une vision synthétique du sujet, préférant se pencher sur l'approvisionnement ou la cuisine du palais, sur un certain type de mets, sur un règne ou une période fort courte, ou sur une approche presque philologique de sources culinaires. Beaucoup sont extrêmement ponctuels et n'atteignent un semblant de synthèse que par l'intégration dans des ouvrages collectifs ou des revues plus ou moins spécialisées. De plus, la plupart de ces travaux portent sur la période « noble »

de l'histoire ottomane, soit tout ce qui précède les transformations radicales caractérisant le XIX^e siècle.

Encore une fois, il ne s'agit pas de critiquer des auteurs et chercheurs qui n'avaient et n'ont aucune obligation de fournir une synthèse sur un sujet aussi difficile à cerner, mais simplement de souligner le double mérite de cette étude qui ose faire la synthèse d'une période aussi longue que complexe. Les six chapitres reflètent une construction solide et logique. La matière première – les aliments – font l'objet du premier chapitre, suivi d'un second traitant des cuisines, du palais aux demeures plus modestes, en passant par les cuisines palatiales du XIX^e siècle, pionnières d'une transformation à l'occidentale. C'est ensuite le tour de la cuisine proprement dite (chapitre III), qu'Ö. Samancı suit de ses multiples origines pré-ottomanes jusqu'au tournant du XX^e siècle. Le XIX^e siècle, déjà évoqué à la fin du chapitre précédent lors de la présentation de six livres de cuisine publiés en turc, est à proprement parler entamé au quatrième chapitre, à travers l'étude des principaux plats, classés un peu comme dans un menu de restaurant. Les deux derniers chapitres traitent plus précisément des transformations de la cuisine et de la table ottomanes sous l'influence de l'Occident : apparition, diffusion et appropriation de la cuisine *alla franca* (chapitre V) et, en parallèle, modification des mœurs et des règles de bienséance à table à la suite du même processus d'occidentalisation. En quelque quatre cents pages, le lecteur parvient à se faire une idée assez nette d'un phénomène complexe, de longue haleine et sujet à des transformations parfois radicales.

L'utilité de l'ouvrage est évidente : il s'agit d'un travail minutieux, structuré et fort complet qui initiera le profane et profitera à l'initié. Encore une fois, il comble un vide historiographique notable et permettra donc à d'autres études de venir se greffer sur cette base aussi solide que fertile ; on ne peut qu'espérer qu'il fera des émules.

Il faut toutefois signaler certaines faiblesses, à commencer par le danger presque inévitable d'un tel effort de synthèse : qui trop embrasse... Non que l'étreinte soit vraiment mauvaise, mais plutôt qu'elle reflète un compromis difficile entre le livre d'histoire et l'encyclopédie. Évidemment la tâche était ingrate. Vu le manque de travaux dans le domaine, comment parler du XIX^e siècle – et de ses transformations – sans fournir un aperçu général des siècles précédents ? Près de la moitié du livre reprend ainsi une littérature, certes éparse, mais secondaire, avant de pouvoir entrer dans le vif du sujet. Même là, le descriptif tend à l'emporter sur l'analytique, ne serait-ce que parce qu'encore une fois, il y a tant de choses peu familières au public visé qu'il faut forcément les expliquer. Tout cela ne remet pas en cause l'utilité de l'ouvrage, mais en réduit l'originalité. Un vrai reproche, cependant : une fois ce choix fait, comment faire l'économie d'un index ? Le glossaire en fin de volume est fort utile, mais un index aurait donné à l'ouvrage une souplesse et une maniabilité qui lui font sérieusement défaut. Pour rester dans la forme, notons aussi de nombreuses coquilles et maladroites qu'une bonne relecture aurait certainement évitées.

L'ambition de synthèse est une invitation à reprocher des absences et des lacunes, même s'il est évident qu'un tel sujet ne peut guère être couvert dans sa totalité et à la satisfaction de tous. Il y a quand même quelques absences qu'il paraît difficile de justifier, ne serait-ce que par une évocation de leur importance. La question du genre en est une, cruciale dans un domaine qui est si complètement imbriqué dans le quotidien domestique et familial. Il en va de même de la rue et des espaces publics ou semi-publics impliqués dans la production, la diffusion et, surtout, la consommation alimentaire. Restaurants, auberges, tavernes, soupes populaires, couvents, épiciers, cafés, regrattiers, vendeurs des rues... Toute une gamme de lieux et d'acteurs où la cuisine se fait parfois différemment et souvent pour des

couches ou groupes sociaux différents. Certains apparaissent bien de manière fort brève, parfois au détour de quelque produit, de quelque mets ; mais ils ne sont pas traités à part entière, comme le sont les cuisines « bourgeoises » d'après 1850, ou le palais impérial sous toutes ses formes. On décèle un de ces tropismes si caractéristiques de l'histoire ottomane qui favorise le haut – toujours mieux documenté – au détriment du bas, que l'on tend à jeter en pâture à des anecdotes ou des généralités. Il est peut-être intéressant de découvrir des *trüf* et du *fuagra* égayant les menus du palais, mais on aimerait aussi en savoir plus sur les pratiques alimentaires et culinaires de cette très silencieuse majorité.

Grands absents, les non musulmans, qui, vers 1900, représentent à peu près la moitié de la population de la ville. L'auteur se défend de cette absence en invoquant, avec raison, les barrières culturelles et linguistiques qui rendent la tâche pratiquement impossible. Rien de plus légitime, même s'il aurait quand même été souhaitable de donner un aperçu général des présences arménienne, grecque et juive dans l'espace culinaire de la ville. Toutefois, vu ces obstacles, il aurait certainement mieux valu parler de « cuisine musulmane d'Istanbul », ne serait-ce que pour éviter de tomber dans le cas, hélas trop fréquent dans la discipline, surtout en Turquie, d'établir une équivalence implicite entre ottoman, musulman et turc. C'est là un amalgame et une distorsion que l'historien devrait à tout prix éviter.

Enfin, un point de détail : comment expliquer l'absence du célèbre livre de cuisine de Muhiddin Ekrem Yeğen, *Alaturka ve Alafranga Yemek Öğretimi* (Apprentissage de la cuisine à la turque et à la franque) ? Cette bible culinaire de générations de citoyens turcs est peut-être parue en 1945, mais son titre et son contenu semblent tellement bien représenter cette cuisine du XIX^e siècle, qu'on a du mal à ne la voir pas figurer, ne serait-ce qu'en conclusion ou en épilogue de l'ouvrage.

Ouvrage sérieux et utile, *La cuisine d'Istanbul au XIX^e siècle* d'Özge Samancı intéressera tous les adeptes de l'histoire sociale et culturelle de l'Empire ottoman et inspirera ceux qui y verront une base solide sur laquelle bâtir de nouvelles études.

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Saraçoğlu (M. Safa), *Nineteenth-Century Local Governance in Ottoman Bulgaria. Politics in Provincial Councils*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2018, 199 p.

Le titre de cet ouvrage est trompeur, car il accorde un cadre très large à une étude en réalité très restreinte, voire minuscule. Il n'y est en effet question que d'un seul *sancak*, celui de Vidin, dans le nord-ouest de la Bulgarie actuelle, pendant une période d'une quinzaine d'années tout au plus (1864-1877). La base documentaire de la recherche est aussi très mince, puisqu'il s'agit de la correspondance du conseil de sancak (*liva irade meclisi*) et du conseil d'appel et criminel (*meclis-i temyiz-i hukuk ve cinayet*) de Vidin avec la capitale du Vilayet du Danube, Rusçuk/Ruse. Cette documentation de base est complétée par l'analyse de documents réglementaires (*Düstür, salname*) et, de façon ornementale, par quelques éléments tirés de voyageurs (Kanitz), de consuls britanniques ou de la presse

révolutionnaire bulgare. En revanche, des comparaisons sont fréquemment établies avec d'autres provinces de l'Empire, parfois très éloignées géographiquement, comme Jérusalem ou Bagdad, dans la conviction implicite qu'il existerait une « gouvernance ottomane » commune, ce dont, pour notre part, nous doutons fortement.

Tout le travail souffre d'un tiraillement pénible entre le micro-local et le très général. D'un côté une poignée de documents, épluchés avec une minutie extrême, en établissant des listes de fonctionnaires de sous-préfecture et de petits notables provinciaux ou bien en réfléchissant sur l'usage qu'ils font de leur cachet. De l'autre, des réflexions très générales sur l'État moderne, sur les rapports centre-périphérie, sur continuités et ruptures dans l'histoire ottomane, etc. Le lecteur est accablé de références théoriques, convoquant Habermas et Foucauld, et tous les grands débats de l'historiographie ottomane.

L'auteur est visiblement très à l'aise dans ce second registre. Il est en revanche assez démuni pour aborder l'histoire locale. Cela tient à sa méconnaissance des travaux bulgares réalisés sur le Vilayet du Danube ; il ne recourt pas aux sources consulaires (françaises et russes) sur Vidin ; il ne consulte pas le journal de vilayet *Tuna/Dunav*. En fait, il n'est pas vraiment intéressé par ce qui se passe à Vidin, Vraca ou Berkovica. Lui qui annonce vouloir s'intégrer dans une histoire longue, ne voit pas les spécificités de la domination de Pasvantoglu sur la région et de ses interactions avec le mouvement révolutionnaire serbe un demi-siècle auparavant.

Dépouillé de son appareil théorique envahissant, ce livre aurait pu fournir deux articles intéressants, l'un condensant les chapitres 3, 4 et 5 sur les nouvelles modalités de gouvernance vues à l'échelon local ; l'autre à partir du chapitre 6, sur la question des réfugiés tatars et tcherkesses implantés dans la région danubienne, sur laquelle l'auteur dispose d'éléments très intéressants. Il se refuse cependant à s'engager dans cette voie, affirmant avec une mauvaise foi évidente que « *In determining the number of the settlers, the narrower one's geographic focus is, the more difficult it becomes to reach a gross estimate* » (p. 148). C'est un véritable désaveu de l'approche monographique, pour laquelle l'auteur n'a pas d'affinités.

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Wigen (Einar), *State of Translation: Turkey in Interlingual Relations*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2018, 276 p.

Le livre d'Einar Wigen aborde trois champs d'études distincts : les relations internationales, l'histoire des concepts et l'histoire de l'Empire ottoman. Il part du constat que les hommes d'État ottomans se servent de concepts, considérés comme des instruments de restructuration des rapports sociaux. L'objectif de l'auteur est donc d'expliquer les usages des concepts employés par les hommes d'État (p. 2). Dans une perspective plus large, l'auteur vise à rendre compte d'un « récit causal de la transformation » de l'Empire ottoman multiethnique et multiconfessionnel en un État-nation, la République turque, en montrant comment les concepts sont traduits et utilisés dans la réorganisation et la stabilisation des rapports sociaux » (p. 27).

Le concept de traduction est expliqué par la métaphore des deux filets de pêche qui se relient, leurs liens se renforçant en fonction de la densité des échanges entre langues,

L'auteur souligne néanmoins que cette métaphore ne doit pas être appréhendée de façon rigide (p. 41-43). Dans le sillage de Mikhail Bahktin (p. 7, 32, 55, 61), Wigen se sert de métaphores gustatives et olfactives telles que le goût, la saveur et le fait de sentir. Le transfert conceptuel s'explique le plus souvent par la métaphore de l'attelage (p. 11, 14, 165, 180, 203, *passim*), c'est-à-dire un assemblage d'un « nouveau » concept avec un autre inscrit dans le vocabulaire existant et disponible pour l'acteur en question.

S'appuyant sur cette définition métaphorique de la traduction, Wigen conclut qu'il existe à terme une convergence sémantique (p. 29-30, 104) entre un concept originaire d'une langue et son équivalent dans la traduction. Autrement dit, au fur et à mesure du temps, les enchevêtrements conceptuels tendent à estomper les différences sémantiques, aboutissant ainsi à une compatibilité conceptuelle accrue (p. 43, 74). Pourtant, une compréhension fondée sur la convergence sémantique des concepts risquerait, me semble-t-il, de reproduire l'interprétation eurocentrique dominant dans l'historiographie ottomane depuis les années 1950, que Wigen critique à plusieurs reprises en s'appuyant sur les critiques saidiennes de l'orientalisme (p. 14-18). Car la convergence ne se fait pas réciproquement, mais plutôt de manière unidirectionnelle, du concept « traduit » vers le concept « originaire » (p. xvi). Ce présupposé constitue le fil conducteur de l'interprétation des concepts tout au long du travail. Or, cette approche risque de ne pas prendre suffisamment en compte les usages des concepts dans la lutte politique ou idéologique dans le sens koséleckien du terme, laissant ainsi apparaître une image complètement pacifique des « jeux de langue » à l'œuvre. Tel n'est pourtant pas le cas quand il s'agit des rapports ambivalents des Ottomans, les intellectuels au premier chef, avec les grandes puissances européennes, qui représentent pour eux à la fois un point de référence qu'il faut atteindre et une menace existentielle grandissante, notamment à partir des années 1880. Il est à regretter que la bibliographie de l'ouvrage ne contienne aucune référence aux travaux de Cemil Aydın, qui a fait l'une des plus amples études concernant les rapports entre les grandes puissances européennes et le monde musulman et asiatique avec une attention particulière prêtée au concept de civilisation¹.

Le choix des concepts étudiés est expliqué par le fait « qu'ils montrent comment la langue ottomane est transformée en une langue sémantiquement plus compatible avec l'anglais, le français et l'allemand » (p. 29-30).

D'abord, la civilisation : d'un côté, les grandes puissances européennes colonisatrices utilisent le concept de civilisation – qu'elles érigent en norme de civilisation sans laquelle il est impossible de réclamer l'indépendance ou l'autonomie – afin de légitimer leur domination sur les peuples colonisés ou leur ingérence politique, économique et juridique dans des États relativement moins puissants tels que l'Empire ottoman. De l'autre côté, le même concept sert aux dirigeants ottomans d'appui dans leur élan pour réformer leur propre pays. Ils l'utilisent également dans un cadre khaldounien qui explique la montée et le déclin des dynasties dans un schéma cyclique. Wigen revient ensuite sur les différentes formulations que le concept connaît tout au long du XIX^e et jusqu'aux années 1940, parmi lesquelles se trouvent le progrès, l'*edeb*, l'*ahlak* et le darwinisme social. Étrangement, il ne prend pas en considération les premières occurrences et définitions de ces concepts dans les dictionnaires contemporains, qui incluent, entre autres, *tehzib-i ahlâk* et *ünsiyet* (le raffinement

1. Aydın (Cemil), *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2007.

du caractère et l'humanité/la familiarité). Or, ce concept est profondément ancré dans la littérature de la philosophie éthique musulmane. Du fait de cette omission, la notion n'est expliquée que par référence à l'*edeb* en tant que concept central de l'initiation au service de l'État. Il devient, par la suite, une mesure pour qualifier un comportement social d'étranger au caractère qui « nous » définit (p. 91-92).

La carence bibliographique évoquée ci-dessus conduit l'auteur à un jugement erroné : il situe l'usage accru du concept de civilisation au pluriel à la fin de Première Guerre mondiale (p. 98), même s'il remarque déjà son utilisation par Şemsettin Sami au début des années 1880 (p. 90). Or, cet usage au pluriel s'amplifie comme une réponse au discours d'Ernest Renan à la Sorbonne en 1883 qui, dans une hiérarchie raciale, dénie aux peuples musulmans la capacité de se civiliser. L'interprétation raciste du concept de civilisation et de progrès prend ainsi le pas notamment à partir des années 1880 sur sa définition universaliste, ce qui oppose un obstacle infranchissable à l'aspiration des non-Européens à la civilisation sur un pied d'égalité avec les Européens. La mise au pluriel du concept se renforce et prend une allure nouvelle après la guerre russo-japonaise de 1904-05, qui, aux yeux des intellectuels ottomans, montre qu'un peuple extra-européen peut faire preuve de capacité civilisationnelle sans y perdre son identité². Ainsi, l'argument d'une convergence sémantique entre des concepts issus de langues différentes semble peu convaincant. Au contraire, une éventuelle divergence sémantique, à travers laquelle chaque individu ou groupe chercherait à imposer sa propre compréhension ou définition du concept, semble plus pertinente.

Wigen aborde dans le chapitre 4 le concept d'empire et son évolution dans une perspective de longue durée. Toutes les désignations du sultan et de l'Empire, chacune puisée dans les différentes traditions dont l'Empire hérite, servent à imposer ou raffermir la légitimité du sultan (p. 110). Si l'auteur montre d'une manière remarquable l'accumulation historique des titres régaliens et leur utilisation politique variable, concernant les usages du concept au XIX^e siècle, il réitère presque littéralement l'analyse proposée par Ussama Makdisi à propos de « l'orientalisme ottoman » et par Selim Deringil concernant « la mission civilisatrice de l'Empire ottoman », pour laquelle l'Empire imite vis-à-vis de ses sujets le comportement des puissances colonisatrices (p. 61, 122-123). Or, ces interprétations sont actuellement remises en cause à l'aide même de l'histoire des concepts³. Dans les années 1920, c'est à partir de la fondation d'un nouveau régime à Ankara que le concept d'empire perd son contenu positif sous l'influence des Quatorze Points de Wilson, qui privilégient le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Les républicains font alors du concept un vestige qui n'appartient pas à l'époque contemporaine (p. 125-28). Wigen montre très bien les usages rivaux du même concept par des acteurs concurrents.

Le chapitre 5 porte sur le concept de citoyenneté. Wigen retrace une longue histoire des usages, à commencer par le couple conceptuel *askeri-reaya*, jusqu'aux échanges de populations qui marquent la structure démographique de la période républicaine. En étudiant la différence administrative entre ceux qui appartiennent aux classes *askeri* et *reaya*, l'auteur ignore pourtant la condition fiscale de ces deux groupes (p. 135-137). Dans cette histoire, les concepts s'avèrent être des instruments à travers lesquels les politiques sont

2. Aydın, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism*, p. 47-53.

3. Cf. Aymes (Marc), « Many a Standard at a Time: The Ottomans' Leverage with Imperial Studies », *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 8/1 (2013), p. 26-43.

déployées de manière à homogénéiser et discipliner la population. Autrement dit, il s'agit du processus de transformation de l'ensemble des communautés multiconfessionnelles en un État-nation. Les délimitations confessionnelles de l'époque ottomane contribuent également à la définition de la nation dans une tension entre inclusion et exclusion, voire, lors de circonstances extrêmes, dans une frontière entre vie et mort. La disciplinarisation se fait particulièrement par l'éducation civique par laquelle on entend former le « citoyen acceptable » (*makbul vatandaş*). Remarquons au passage que Wigen traduit *türkçülük* par *turkicness* (p. 147), alors que le bon équivalent doit être *turkism*.

Le chapitre 6 est consacré au concept de démocratie, qui entre en jeu notamment à la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, lorsque le rapprochement de la Turquie vers les États-Unis devient une nécessité existentielle contre les prétentions territoriales de l'Union soviétique. Dans ce contexte, le retour aux élections multipartites s'impose comme une précondition du régime démocratique. Avant et pendant la guerre, en rupture avec leur prédilection pour une définition illibérale du terme, les dirigeants du Parti Républicain changent remarquablement de discours pour arriver à une conception plus proche de la définition américaine. De même, le nouveau Parti Démocrate fait amplement usage de ce concept en vogue pour légitimer son existence et son aspiration au pouvoir. Dans ce paysage politique réaménagé, les réformes kémalistes se reforment, si bien que le but ultime de toute réforme est désormais de conduire le pays à la démocratie. Wigen analyse d'une façon remarquable comment le concept de démocratie devient un champ de bataille pour deux partis rivaux. Néanmoins, le chapitre souffre d'une interprétation erronée de la période républicaine qui consiste à considérer l'expérience du Parti Républicain Progressiste (*Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası*, 1924) dans un cadre similaire à celui du Parti Libéral (*Serbest Fırka*, 1930) (p. 164, 184). Pourtant le premier cas représente une lutte de pouvoir entre le Parti Républicain Progressiste et le Parti du Peuple, alors que l'expérience du Parti Libéral (1930) est une entreprise propre de Mustafa Kemal qui y met lui-même un terme quand il le juge menaçant. Or, Wigen brosse un tableau monolithique de la période républicaine, comme si le règne du parti unique commençait dès le début de sa formation. Ainsi, il est déplorable de ne pas voir dans la bibliographie au moins l'ouvrage de Mete Tunçay qui rend compte du régime du parti unique dans son devenir, ou ceux de Cemil Koçak au sujet du règne d'İsmet İnönü⁴. Par ailleurs, s'il est vrai que les six flèches du Parti Républicain du Peuple sont constitutionnalisées en 1937, elles ne sont pas, contrairement à ce qu'écrit Wigen, retirées de la constitution en 1950 à la suite de l'arrivée au pouvoir du Parti Démocrate (p. 153). Il semble que cette erreur découle de l'idée répandue selon laquelle l'arrivée de ce dernier au pouvoir marque une rupture brutale dans le paysage politique de la Turquie républicaine. Or, les six flèches restent dans la constitution jusqu'au coup d'État de 1960, qui annule celle-ci. Une autre question concernant le concept de démocratie se pose à propos de l'introduction du suffrage universel dans l'Empire ottoman. Wigen prétend que celui-ci est introduit pour les hommes en 1876 (p. 26), alors qu'il s'agit en fait d'un suffrage censitaire⁵.

4. Tunçay (Mete), *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek-Parti Yönetiminin Kurulması 1923-1931*, Ankara, Yurt Yayınları, 1981 ; Koçak (Cemil), *Türkiye'de Milli Şef Dönemi 1938-1945. Dönemin İç ve Dış Politikası Üzerine Bir Araştırma*, Ankara, Yurt Yayınevi, 1986.

5. Akşin (Sina), "Birinci Meşrutiyet Meclis-i Mebusan," *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi* 25/1 (2014), p. 21.

On observe quelques légèretés dans l'argumentation. À titre d'exemple, l'auteur se laisse diriger par sa prédilection pour un parti-pris méthodologique (*while I like Skinner's empiricist methodological position*, p. 37), ou utilise l'*argumentum ad populum* (*As anyone who has ever written anything of a certain length can attest...*, p. 44), ou, non moins étonnant, donne son propre enfant comme exemple (p. 232). L'utilisation très fréquente de références sans préciser le numéro de page ne permet pas au lecteur de vérifier la pertinence des propos de l'auteur en les comparant aux sources citées. Tout cela diminue considérablement la rigueur scientifique de l'œuvre.

Pour conclure, il s'agit d'une étude mal documentée, grevée d'erreurs de différents ordres, encline à reproduire les récits devenus conventionnels que les concepts ne font que justifier dans ses grandes lignes.

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Onuma (Takahiro), Brophy (David), Shinmen (Yasushi) éd., *Xinjiang in the Context of Central Eurasian Transformations*, Tokyo, The Toyo Bunko, 2018, x + 284 p., ill.

Created in 2001, the Toyo Bunko Research Library offers the international scholarship still another English-language collaborative work characterised by both impeccable erudition and innovative historical approach. Being the fourth volume of the same collection dedicated specifically to Central Eurasia, the present opus has been intended by its editors to reflect the emergence of a “new wave” in Xinjiang studies, characterised by the growing integration of a scholarly community working on this region, around transversal key issues such as the social dynamics of imperial crossroads, or interconnections and commonalities within the socialist bloc. In the wake of a precedent volume,¹ *Xinjiang in the context of Central Eurasian transformation* applies multi-archival and multi-language inquiry to the study of the socioeconomic and political evolution of Xinjiang in a long period – from the seventeenth century to 1949 – of deep transmutations of the region's connectivity with the surrounding areas.² Focusing on the Qing (1759-1911) and Republican (1911-1949) eras of China's history, several contributions deal with the restrictions imposed on existing forms of mobility by the region's gradual transformation, between 1759 and Russia's annexation of the Khanate of Kokand in 1876, into a frontier region between two non-Muslim empires. Many sketch new and promising research prospects on the effects (or, sometimes, the absence of effect...) of modern imperial policies upon community building and social relations, in terms of protection systems and family strategies, in particular, so far rarely dealt with by Xinjiang historians.

1. See in particular J. Millward, Y. Shinmen, J. Sugawara, eds., *Studies on Xinjiang Historical Sources in the 17th-20th Centuries*, Tokyo, The Toyo Bunko, 2010.

2. To be mentioned, among the public archive collections mobilised: those of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and of the Almaty Region, as well as a rich collection of published Chinese materials.

The first section, "Trans-Regional Ties, Trade and Diplomacy," highlights the growth of interregional relations, with South Asia especially, at the end of the Chaghatayid period, at court level and within the Sufi world in particular. Rian Thum insists on the constant flood of goods "in all periods for which we have records," alternatives appearing immediately when embargos, wars or banditry were closing one specific route – especially when the Makhdumzada ruling Sufi dynasty of Kashghar, of Transoxianian origin, had turned local, by the second half of the seventeenth century ("Moghul Relations with the Mughals: Economic, Political and Cultural," p. 9-32). The modern history of Kashghar's native merchantry is dealt with, too, through an innovative analysis of restrictions imposed by Qing conquest and administration on the outward mobility of Altishahri (modern-day Southern Xinjiang) caravan traders: the author of this chapter shows that such a policy, combined with the channelling of Kazakh trade towards military logistics, suiting the interest of both Qing officials and local Muslim *begs*, permitting the latter to control trading privileges for the exclusive benefit of their political clientele (Takahiro Onuma, "Political Power and Caravan Merchants at the Oasis Towns in Central Asia: The Case of Altishahr in the 17th and 18th Centuries," p. 33-58). The emerging triangular relationship between Russia, the Qing and the Kazakhs is analysed through the failure of imperial efforts to confine loyalty and mobility to fixed political boundaries until the early twentieth century (Jin Noda, "Crossing the Border, Transformation of Belonging and "International" Conflict Resolution between the Russian and Qing Empires," p. 59-78). The development, in the nineteenth century, of Ürümchi into a regional capital is evoked through a visit of Hui, Tatar and Uyghur districts, highlighting the role of Russia's Muslims in expanding commercial activity in the province, from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century.

The second section, "Social History and the Family," adopts a focal length centred on kinship relations, still uncommon, as suggested above, in historical studies on modern Uyghur society. On the basis of anthropological fieldwork carried out in Kashghar, combined with the rich existing historical anthropology of early-twentieth-century Xinjiang, Rune Steenberg ("Qing Policies and Close Marriage: Transforming Kinship in Kashgar," p. 117-142) shows how indirect administration, in the form of the Qing *beg* system, reduced the significance of heredity in oasis society, increasing the importance of marriage alliance as family strategy. Historian Ablet Kamalov, through the analysis of a set of contracts, casts light on the persistence until the 1950s of the *baliliq*, a system of bondage in which children could be entrusted to a new household for a fee, against a period of service until their adulthood ("Uyghur Civil Documents on Child Adoption in Republican Xinjiang," p. 143-168).

A third and substantial section, "Texts and Genres," is composed of three studies dedicated, each, to a text or genre of text. The late-eighteenth-century description of Xinjiang by Manchu low-ranking official Qi Shiyi is analysed through its wide reception as a "pseudo-gazetteer" of the Western Regions, long popular but rejected as for the mid-nineteenth century for its lack of accuracy (Matthew Mosca, "Cišii's Description of Xinjiang: Its Context and Circulation," p. 169-200). Another popular work, a post-WWI Tatar-language romance, illustrates Russia's Muslim discourse on Xinjiang and its Muslim population, critically portrayed as a non-receptive audience for Russian Tatar-made Islamic reform, through the adaptation of French literary models (Xavier de Montépin, especially) conveyed to Turkistan in Ottoman Turkish translations (David Brophy, "Class, Subjecthood and Ethnicity in a Continental Treaty Port: Gabdulgaziz Munasib's *Taranchi Girl* (1918),"

p. 201-220). The Soviet-inspired cultural transformations of the 1930s are depicted through previously understudied Uyghur-language publications, from private local experiments to the centralisation of mass culture in the hands of Ürümchi officials (Joshua L. Freeman, "Uyghur Newspapers in Republican China: The Emergence of Mass Media in Xinjiang," p. 221-250).

In all, the collected contributions propose a captivating tentative portrait of a wide typology of protagonists, individual and collective, of Central Eurasian history, through a reconstruction of their dynamic interactions against the backdrop of quickly changing, multi-scale historical contexts. Among the potentially productive issues dealt with in the different chapters can be mentioned, especially, the specific relation of Southern Xinjiang to South Asia in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, combined with the role of the Ferghana Valley as a refuge for rebels and exiles throughout the nineteenth, and the multiple, long-term impacts of the *beg* system set up in Western Xinjiang after the Qing conquest and expansion of China's monetised economy, in terms of inter-bases commerce and of modern kinship culture (with insights on the rise of cousin marriage during this period, and on differences in this matter between western and easternmost districts of the region, exposed to different co-optations of local elites in the second half of the eighteenth century).

The balance of continuities and ruptures is well reconstructed, and always precisely resituated against a variety of historical backdrops. Such is the case of the reconstructed evolution of documentary demand and representations by Chinese literati and administrators about Xinjiang;³ of the analysis of the effect of Qing restrictions on activities by merchants from the Kokand Khanate on the replacement of "Andijanis" by "Tatar" traders in Northern Xinjiang, until the abolition of the Khanate in 1876; of the constant underlying of the high degree of mobility of Islamic religious leaders across the Eurasia of the period, counterbalanced by the authors' sensitivity to the multiple cleavages between the different Muslim-background migrant populations of the region; of the attention to the impact exerted by small groups of intellectuals and officials, through printed literature and press, on the redefinition of community identities and on the formation of modern Uyghur language; as well as of a contextualisation of the logics of oscillating political alliance systems (for example through the case of the Kerei "clan" and Kungajalsan Lama in the 1860s-80s); the role of the Qing and Russian empire in the political and administrative instrumentation of "customary law" and "the sharia" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – typically an issue of potential comparative study between the late-nineteenth-century Muslim-majority colonial possessions.

Among the rare although necessary subjects of frustration for the reader, in a volume that raises so many interrelated issues, of strong comparative potential: the absence of Uyghur research among the volume's contributors, despite several chapters' sporadic references to Uyghur scholarship (in folklore studies and anthropology, principally); the ignorance of French and German-language scholarships even when they offer significant contributions to such or such problem (for instance as to the history of interrelations between South and Central Asia); the uncritical, anachronistic use of notions such as "nomadic nation" or "tribe" and "clan" for seventeenth or eighteenth-century Altishahr, for example; the

3. As to Qi Shiyi's late-eighteenth-century depiction of Xinjiang, one wonders whether its lasting popularity can be explained by its character as an 'anti-gazetteer', conveying information non-normed by court discourse.

quasi absence of Kazakh primary sources on an issue such as the Eastern Kazakh tribes' political obedience systems throughout the nineteenth century; the lack of parallel between 'Abd al-'Aziz Munasib's view of the Xinjiang Muslims as a poor melting pot for Islamic reform, and the same derogatory representations in Russia's Tatar-language press of the 1906-1918 period on the lack of receptiveness of steppe peoples to reformist ideas; an overall weak interest of the authors in the intense political migrations between Soviet Central Asia and Xinjiang in the 1920s to 1940s, and in these migrations' influence on the latter's political sociology; the absence of reference to the works by Rudi Matthee when the volume deals with Armenian trading diasporas; an overall weak interest in iconographic primary sources, photographic and cartographical among others, whatever their importance for the history of collective representations. Still, these reserves are of a reader impressed by the intellectual ambition of this volume – showing that a relatively peripheral area of human and social sciences can show a productive field of philosophical experimentation –, and by the extreme care with which it has been edited.

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Sugawara (Jun), Dawut (Rahila) éd., *Mazar. Studies on Islamic Sacred Sites in Central Asia*, Tokyo, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies Press, 2016, 344 p. + 80 ill. et cartes.

Les vingt articles publiés dans cet ouvrage sont issus d'un colloque international organisé en 2005 par l'Université du Xinjiang, à Urumchi (Région autonome uyghur du Xinjiang, République populaire de Chine). Ils abordent des aspects variés du culte des saints et des tombeaux (*mazar*) en Asie centrale et au Xinjiang. C'est certainement, à ce jour, la plus belle et la plus riche contribution scientifique sur ce sujet.

L'ouvrage est divisé en cinq sections. La première traite plusieurs aspects généraux du fonctionnement des tombeaux et du culte avec des études de cas. Dans un article introductif (« Mazar Pilgrimage Among the Uyghurs », p. 3-20), Rahila Dawut se livre à un essai de classification des *mazar* du Xinjiang et étudie leur distribution géographique. Elle s'intéresse ensuite aux éléments provenant de religions préislamiques qui sont présents dans les rituels de ce culte, principalement le bouddhisme et le chamanisme. L'article est illustré par de très belles photographies de terrain. Zhou Xijuan (« Transition and Transformation. Healing Rituals and Mazar Worship », p. 21-34) compare le culte des tombeaux chez les Uyghurs et chez les Hui du Xinjiang. Il rappelle que le pèlerin se rend sur la tombe d'un saint parce qu'il a des doléances particulières à adresser au défunt, ce qui n'est pas le cas lorsqu'il se rend à la mosquée où il se contente d'obéir aux commandements de la religion et de prier. Z. Xijuan remarque également que le *mazar*, pour les Hui, est une extension du culte des ancêtres, ce qu'il n'est pas pour les Uyghurs. Il ajoute que, dans la mesure où un tombeau est partagé par les deux ethnies, Uyghur et Hui, les rituels peuvent être accomplis au même moment mais séparément. Puis il fait des analyses pertinentes au sujet des transformations que connaissent ces rituels. Un autre auteur, Wang Ping (« Ziyara' and the Hui Sufi Orders of the Silk Road », p. 47-54), aborde aussi le cas des tombeaux (*gongbei*) du Xinjiang qui sont fréquentés par les Hui de cette région et compare les rituels

effectués sur ces lieux avec ceux accomplis au Gansu et au Ningxia par la même minorité. Il s'arrête plus précisément sur quelques rituels, les dons (*ermanli/amal*) et l'encensement. Le culte des saints chez les Hui est traité également par Wang Jianxin (« The Saint Mausoleums of Sufi Order Lingmingtang », p. 55-62) qui montre la place prépondérante occupée par le culte des saints et des tombeaux dans une confrérie soufie de création récente, l'ordre Lingmingtang (1915) basé à Langzhou, au Gansu, mais qui possède des antennes chez les Hui du nord-ouest de la Chine et chez ceux de Hami, au Xinjiang (tombeau de Kao Futang). L'une des spécificités de cette confrérie est d'imposer le célibat à ses chefs spirituels. W. Jianxin précise que dans cet ordre soufi, la vénération des saints – il s'agit des maîtres de la confrérie – est fondée théologiquement puisque, selon une source locale collectée par l'auteur, Muhammad aurait reçu deux types différents de lumière sacrée de Dieu : la première, accessible à tous les musulmans est la « loi sacrée », la *sharia* ; la seconde qui ne peut être transmise qu'aux soufis capables d'en saisir la signification est la *tariqa*. Comme dans le reste du monde musulman, le tombeau de saint est un lieu de prières et de pratique de l'intercession mais il est aussi, dans l'ordre Lingmingtang, un espace de méditation personnelle pour les disciples les plus mystiques. L'article de Gulbahar Ghojesh (« Kirghiz Bakhshi and the Mazar », p. 35-46), interroge la place occupée par les saints et leurs tombeaux dans la croyance et les rituels des chamanes islamisés (*bakhshi*) d'ethnie kirghiz du Xinjiang. Son étude, effectuée en 2008, porte précisément sur les Kirghiz du district de Kizilsu, près de Kashgar. L'auteur indique que les tombeaux, qui sont perçus comme la demeure des esprits à l'aide desquels le chamane exerce son art, occupent une place notable dans la formation de ce thérapeute. En effet, après sa maladie élective qui marque le début de sa carrière, celui-ci doit se recueillir sur les tombes de saints plus ou moins illustres afin de se familiariser avec la communauté des esprits et d'obtenir le soutien de celle-ci. Les esprits de cette communauté seront ensuite convoqués lors de séances chamaniques, ce qui associe de très près ce culte à celui des tombeaux. Le dernier article de cette section, par Aitzhan Nurmanova (« Pilgrimages to Mazars in Contemporary Kazakhstan. The Processes of Revivalism and Innovation », p. 63-72), est dédié à un nouveau courant soufi appelé Atayoli (voie des ancêtres), apparu au Kazakhstan en 1996. Ce mouvement, établi près du tombeau de Aristan Bab, un saint yasawi, au sud du pays, met à l'avant la pratique du rêve électif, c'est-à-dire la maladie initiatique ; il n'est donc pas sans lien avec la confrérie soufie Yasawiyya. Au moment de la cérémonie de réception dans cet ordre Atayoli, l'initiateur souffle sur le récipiendaire, acte interprété comme « l'ouverture du cœur ». Par ailleurs, la confrérie encourage ses membres à se rendre en pèlerinage sur les tombes des grands soufis yasawi du Kazakhstan et d'entretenir le culte des ancêtres, ce qui va dans le sens de la croyance générale des Kazakhs, et même de pratiquer l'incubation nocturne dans ces tombeaux. Les membres de l'ordre Atayoli exécutent aussi, dans ces lieux, des rituels de lucernaire (*shīraq*) auxquels ils associent des pratiques thérapeutiques accomplies à l'aide d'esprits (*arwah*) – ce qui laisse penser qu'une influence du chamanisme islamisé n'est pas à écarter. Le mouvement Atayoli s'est diffusé dans l'ensemble du Kazakhstan ainsi qu'en Russie, à Omsk et à Orenbourg.

La deuxième section de cet ouvrage, qui est consacrée à la présence d'éléments provenant de l'islam iranien dans le culte des tombeaux, comprend deux articles qui abordent la place de l'imam Ali dans le culte des saints. La première étude, par Ablimit Yasin (« A Cultural Layer in Relation to Hazrat-i Ali. A Preliminary Approach to Mazars of 'Imam' in Khotan », p. 75-94) s'intéresse plus précisément aux tombeaux de l'oasis de

Khotan qui sont supposés abriter les dépouilles d'Ali, de ses parents et enfants et celles enfin de quelques imams chi'ites. L'auteur prend aussi en compte les sanctuaires qui conservent des traces de pas de l'imam. Il s'interroge sur l'emploi du nom d'Ali qui, dans le cas de plusieurs tombeaux, est soit celui de l'imam, soit celui des trois autres califes de l'islam. L'article est complété par l'édition et la traduction d'une hagiographie de Āskār, le neuvième imam des chi'ites, dont le tombeau se trouve justement dans l'oasis de Khotan. Cette hagiographie en langue uygghure moderne a été reconstituée par l'auteur à partir d'enquêtes de terrain et de sources orales. L'auteur a procédé de même avec l'hagiographie dédiée à l'imam à venir, l'imam caché, le Mähdi, dont il a collecté des sources orales sur le mausolée de Imam Āftāh, à Aqsayay (Qaratash). La traduction anglaise des textes a été effectuée par J. Sugarawa. La deuxième contribution de cette section, par Nadjirjon Abdulhatov (« Sacred Sites Associated with Hazrat 'Ali in Central Asia », p. 95-124), étend l'enquête sur les sanctuaires attachés à l'imam Ali à l'Asie centrale ex-soviétique et en particulier à la vallée du Ferghana dont on sait la richesse sur ce point. L'auteur propose une classification originale de ces *mazar*, que l'on pourrait qualifier d'alides, selon qu'ils concernent l'imam Ali, sa descendance, ses proches serviteurs, sa mule Duldul ou le chameau qui a porté son corps après sa mort. Il se livre ensuite à une synthèse des sources écrites et orales qu'il a rassemblées sur le sujet. Une grande partie de sa documentation a trait au grand mausolée de Shahimardan, « Shah des hommes », autre nom d'Ali, qui se trouve non loin de la ville de Ferghana.

La troisième section de l'ouvrage rassemble des études de documents d'archives qui éclairent la dimension économique et juridique de l'institution des mausolées. Le premier article, par Zhang Shicai (« The waqf System and the Xinjiang Uyghur Society from the Qing Dynasty to the Republic of China Period », p. 127-140), fait un historique de l'administration des biens de main-morte (*waqf*) au Xinjiang en relation avec les tombeaux. L'auteur précise entre autres que le système des *waqf* est apparu dans cette région au x^e siècle avec le mausolée du saint Satuq Bughra Khan. Le document analysé par Ashirbek Muminov (« A Holy Place and its Shaykh in the XIX Century History of Kazakhstan », p. 141-152), issu d'un fonds d'archives privées à Tashkend (facsimilé joint), a pour cadre les relations existant au xix^e siècle entre le khanat de Kokand et ses tribus vassales du sud du Kazakhstan. La tribu étudiée dans l'article, appelée Diwana/Duana, se rattache à une lignée de *khwaja* kazakh et yasawi de la région de Taraz ; son saint ancêtre, Zhalan Ayaq Qozha, repose dans un tombeau situé dans le district de Sozaq, à proximité de la ville de Taraz. En 1839, cette tribu avait refusé de payer l'impôt, qui était trop lourd, et s'était rebellée contre l'administration du khanat. Le troisième article de cette section, par Sugawara Jun (« Opal, a Sacred Site on the Karakoram Highway », p. 153-174), aborde dans le détail les *waqf* de quelques tombeaux de saints de la région d'Opal (Karakoram), région présentée comme un « vaste complexe sacré » (facsimilés joints). Les sanctuaires étudiés sont le *mazar* de Mahmud al-Kashghari, le *mazar* Imamlarim et le *mazar* Qondaq. L'auteur a complété par ailleurs son étude par plusieurs enquêtes de terrain en quête de sources orales et de documents conservés dans des fonds privés. Elles enrichissent ce que les hagiographies nous disent des saints concernés, en particulier sur la hiérarchie et le rôle des desservants des tombeaux, sur leurs sources de revenus etc.

La quatrième section de l'ouvrage traite le cas particulier d'un groupe de quarante ou sept saints, les Chiltān (*chahal* = quarante en persan), qui sont particulièrement renommés dans l'ensemble de l'Asie centrale. Trois études leur sont consacrées. La première, par Shinmen Yasushi (« The Historical Significance of Chiltān Mazar in Yarkand City »,

p. 177-188), aborde le cas d'un tombeau à Yarkand, le Chiltān Mazar ou Haft Muhammadan (Les Sept Muhammad), qui est dédié à ces saints. Après avoir mis l'accent sur les liens de ce mausolée, bâti à la fin du XIX^e siècle (1872-1873), avec la vie politique de l'oasis, l'auteur décrit les croyances attachées à ce lieu et les rituels qui y sont pratiqués. Il reconstitue ensuite la légende de ces quarante ou sept saints à partir de plusieurs hagiographies écrites et de la tradition orale. Le deuxième article, par Abliz Orxun (« A Few Remarks on Muhammad Siddiq Zālīfī and his Tadhkira-i Chihiltan », p. 189-192), concerne l'hagiographie que le poète Muhammad Siddiq Zālīfī consacre aux Chiltān, au début du XVIII^e siècle. Le contenu de ce texte de Zālīfī présente peu de différences avec les hagiographies analysées dans l'article précédent. Le troisième article, par Patrick Hällzon (« Mazar Pilgrimage in the Footsteps of Swedish Missionaries in Eastern Turkestan », p. 193-224), propose une synthèse de plusieurs travaux publiés en langue suédoise par des missionnaires installés au Xinjiang entre 1892 et 1938. Ceux-ci décrivent divers aspects du culte des tombeaux et insistent sur le rôle des conteurs professionnels qui sont chargés de faire la lecture publique des hagiographies de saints aux pèlerins. Les missionnaires suédois relèvent également toutes les actions dites superstitieuses qui sont accomplies sur ces lieux et qu'en bons protestants, ils ne manquent pas de critiquer, ce qu'ils auraient fait du reste à l'égard des saints catholiques. Ces critiques, écrit P. Hällzon, manquent cependant d'objectivité et trahissent un sectarisme chrétien ; en fait, d'après l'auteur, les missionnaires n'ont pas compris la place centrale que l'islam populaire, celui des saints, et la littérature qui lui est associée, occupent dans la culture du Xinjiang. Pour terminer, P. Hällzon s'intéresse aux travaux que l'orientaliste suédois Gustaf Raquette a fait paraître en 1917 sur une hagiographie orale des Chiltān dont le contenu reprend avec quelques variantes notables celui des textes présentés dans les deux premiers articles de cette section. P. Hällzon livre en annexe de son étude la traduction anglaise du texte complet de cette hagiographie.

La cinquième et dernière section de l'ouvrage a trait aux hagiographies en général. La première étude, par Devin De Weese (« The Tale of Jānbāz Khoja – Pilgrimage and Holy War in a 19th-Century Tadhkira », p. 227-252), aborde la *tadhkira* de Zayn al-Dīn Qāghrāqī de Artush. Le principal intérêt de ce manuscrit (Ms B731 Institute of Oriental Studies, Saint-Petersburg), copié au XIX^e siècle mais qui date probablement du XVI^e siècle, est de contenir une liste (« shrine catalogue ») de vingt-sept lieux saints situés dans la région de Kashgar et de Yarkand, tous liés à une guerre d'islamisation dont le personnage central, un compagnon du Prophète, est Sahāba Jānbāz Khoja. La deuxième étude, par Alexandre Papas (« A Sufi Travelogue as a Source for the History of Mazars in the Tarim Basin », p. 253-274), veut attirer l'attention du lecteur sur les textes qui apportent des renseignements sur les « aspects religieux des *ziyāretgāh* », c'est-à-dire sur les rituels et les dévotions accomplies autour des sites de pèlerinage. Le texte poétique présenté dans cet article – *Safarnāma* (Relation de voyage) – écrit par Muhammad Siddiq Zālīfī en 1718, à Khotan, est effectivement un témoignage exceptionnel sur les pèlerinages accomplis par un soufi auprès de plusieurs tombeaux du Xinjiang méridional, à Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, Kira et Niya. Il décrit avec une langue poétique le quotidien de la vie du pèlerin et du soufi : les rituels de circumambulation (*tawāf*) autour des tombeaux de saints, les séances de litanies soufies (*dhikr*) et de musique au son des tambourins, son séjour dans des couvents de derviches (*khānaqāh*) etc. Les traductions de plusieurs poèmes de Zālīfī illustrent l'article. La troisième étude, par Rian Thum (« Untangling the Bughrā-Khān Manuscripts », p. 275-288), passe en revue les manuscrits de l'hagiographie de Sultān Satīq Bughrā-Khān (« Tadhkira-i Bughrā-Khān » ou « Tadhkira-i Ūwaysiyya »), le premier roi de la Kashgarie

à avoir épousé l'islam, et montre les liens existant entre les textes hagiographiques et les mausolées de saints. Il rappelle entre autres que ces textes étaient généralement conservés par les gardiens des tombeaux et lus aux pèlerins. Le quatrième article de cette section, par Sawada Minoru (« The Genealogy of Makhdûm-i A'zam and the Cultural Tradition of Mazars », p. 289-300), compare deux généalogies de Makhdûm-i A'zam, un saint soufi naqshbandî du xvi^e siècle enterré à Samarkand, et attire l'attention sur le soufi Muslih al-Dîn Khujandî qui fut le maître spirituel de Burhân al-Dîn Qīlīch, l'un des ancêtres de Makhdûm-i A'zam. Muslih al-Dîn, qui était considéré comme le pôle (*qutb*) de son temps en Asie centrale, au xv^e siècle, est une figure emblématique de l'islam au nord du Tadjikistan. Son majestueux mausolée a été préservé et trône au centre de la ville de Khojand. La cinquième étude, par Omerjan Nuri (« The Mazar of Imâm Mûsâ Kâzim of Khotan – A Quest for Legends and Other Cultural Elements », p. 301-319), a pour objet une hagiographie de Mûsâ Kazim, le septième imam chi'ite, découverte récemment (copie du début du xx^e siècle, collection privée), et dont la tradition centrasiatique place le tombeau dans l'oasis de Khotan. En fait, l'imam repose en Irak, près de Bagdad. L'auteur remarque que le terme *sūmā*, parfois utilisé pour désigner ce mausolée comme d'autres tombeaux en Asie centrale, est sans doute une déformation du persan *sawm'a* (temple). Il signale que chez les Uyghurs jaunes du Gansu, qui sont des bouddhistes, *sūmā* signifie justement le temple. En annexe, l'auteur produit le texte de l'hagiographie en uyghur moderne et le facsimilé du manuscrit. La dernière étude, de Sugahara Mutsumi (« Remarks on the Tazkira-yi Awliya in the Uyghur Script », p. 321-329), aborde le cas d'une hagiographie écrite en uyghur ancien d'époque timouride (xv^e siècle), traduite et publiée par Pavet de Courteille en 1889. S. Mutsumi interroge l'orthographe, la relation à l'original en persan et la langue de ce texte surprenant.

Thierry Zarcone
GSRL (CNRS-EPHE, PSL)

Herrou (Adeline), dir., *Une journée dans une vie, une vie dans une journée : Des ascètes et des moines d'aujourd'hui*, Paris, PUF, 2018, 436 p.

L'argument en filigrane de ce livre n'est pas sans rappeler celui qu'utilisa Soljenitsyne dans *Une journée de la vie d'Ivan Denissovitch* (1962) pour décrire la vie du goulag à partir d'une journée d'un zek : ici, Adeline Herrou se propose d'utiliser cette focale temporelle courte pour poser la question : « Qu'est-ce qu'une si petite séquence de la vie d'un homme ou d'une femme – un jour – permet de dire d'une société qui se profile à travers lui ou elle ? » (p. 10).

Dans le domaine de la religion, et spécialement de l'ascétisme monacal, l'hypothèse consiste à considérer que les activités quotidiennes du renonçant constituent un élément d'un feuilletage qui fait sens, *pars pro toto*, pour le tout de ce qui fait un ascète (p. 18).

Ce livre est l'aboutissement d'un projet collectif, lancé en 2007 et poursuivi jusqu'en 2012, qui a rassemblé dix-sept ethnologues. En ce cas précis, l'ethnologue, en tant que *sapiens sapiens* « sachant qu'il sait », est confronté à une tâche particulièrement ardue dans sa description de l'ascète méditant : dire « ce qu'il pense qu'il pense »...

Le pari est tenu et ce livre, loin d'être une collection hétéroclite d'expériences de vie est une belle et explicite illustration de ce qu'ont en commun les diverses traditions de monachisme, au-delà des différences de formes de vie, de socialités, de modèles économiques.

Écrit pour le grand public, l'ouvrage est d'une lecture agréable et enrichissante. Je n'en tends pas résumer les parcours décrits, ce serait les amoindrir. Au demeurant je ne suis pas compétent sur l'ensemble d'une aire géographique aussi vaste, qui promène le lecteur de l'Asie au Moyen-Orient et même en France. Je recommande ce livre pour son œcuménisme et son objectivité. Découvrir l'humilité et le courage de celles et ceux qui ont choisi de renoncer au monde, non pas pour leur salut égoïste, mais pour le bien de l'humanité, nous donne des raisons d'espérer.

J'ai regroupé les contributions en fonction des différentes religions évoquées ; j'indique le pays considéré, le sujet de l'étude (Une journée d'un/d'une...), l'auteur de l'article et la pagination de sa contribution, à laquelle j'intègre la photo de l'ascète présenté.

BOUDDHISME		
Birmanie	un abbé thérapeute	Bénédicte Brac de la Perrière, p. 36-57
Népal	un lama maître de maison	Charles Ramble, p. 58-81
Laos	un moine collectionneur	Catherine Choron-Baix, p. 110-125
Chine	un abbé du temple des arts martiaux	Ji Zhe, p. 146-174
Thaïlande	une moniale engagée	Ayako Itoh, p. 216-244
Inde	une dâkinî tibétaine	Nicola Schneider, p. 318-357
Corée du Sud	une novice en apprentissage	Florence Galmiche, p. 336-357
CHRISTIANISME		
Liban	une « servante » de la communauté de La Croix	Emma Aubin-Boltanski, p. 82-109
Égypte	une mère supérieure copte	Séverine Gabry-Thienpont, p. 176-196
France	un moine de la Sainte Montagne	Laurent Denizeau, p. 246-266
France	une sœur carmélite	Francesca Sbardella, p. 296-317
Syrie	une moniale de Sainte-Thècle	Anna Poujeau, p. 404-425
HINDOUISME		
Inde	un yogi shivaïte	Véronique Bouillier, p. 198-214
Inde	un ascète chanteur	Raphaël Voix, p. 358-377
JAÏNISME		
Inde	un ascète « vêtu d'espace »	Marie-Claude Mahias, p. 268-295
TAOÏSME		
Chine	un sauveur de temple	Adeline Herrou, pp. 378-403
ISLAM		
Pakistan	un fakir soufi	Michel Boivin, p. 126-144

Au terme de ce parcours initiatique fascinant, qui nous a entrouvert la porte des cellules, des cloîtres¹ et des temples, mon plus grand regret est évidemment que la Turquie soit

1. À ce propos, je ne peux que recommander une visite au remarquable site Internet « Le cloître & la prison ».

absente de ce panorama du mysticisme. Je suis bien certain qu'il est des derviches bektachis ou mevlevi, par exemple, dont l'existence est exemplaire. C'est bien ce qu'affirmait d'ailleurs Gérard de Nerval au terme de son *Voyage en Orient* (II, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1997, p. 406-407) :

« Dois-je me défendre auprès de toi de mon admiration successive pour les religions diverses des pays que j'ai traversés ? Oui, je me suis senti païen en Grèce, musulman en Égypte, panthéiste au milieu des Druzes et dévot sur les mers aux astres-dieux de la Chaldée ; mais, à Constantinople, j'ai compris la grandeur de cette tolérance universelle qu'exercent aujourd'hui les Turcs. (...) »

J'ai été fort touché à Constantinople en voyant de bons derviches assister à la messe. La parole de Dieu leur paraissait bonne dans toutes les langues. Du reste, ils n'obligent personne à tourner comme un volant au son des flûtes – ce qui pour eux-mêmes est la plus sublime façon d'honorer le ciel. »

C'était la conclusion de Gérard de Nerval, ce sera aussi la mienne !

Rémy DOR

Professeur des universités émérite